CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Evans
Lumen Learning

Cultural Anthropology

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Licensing

1: What is Anthropology?

- 1.1: Anthropology
- 1.2: Holism in Anthropology
- 1.3: Biocultural Approach
- 1.4: What is Culture?
- 1.5: Ethnocentrism
- 1.6: Cultural Relativism

2: Culture

- 2.1: Antropological Culture Concept
- 2.2: Levels of Culture
- 2.3: Micro or Subculture
- 2.4: Familial Culture
- 2.5: Enculturation
- 2.6: Cultural Universals
- 2.7: Culture Change
- 2.8: Culture Shock
- 2.9: Values and Norms
- 2.10: Two Views of Culture: ETIC and EMIC
- 2.11: Symbols and Culture
- 2.12: Explore: Learn More about the Anthropologists

3: Anthropological Theory

- 3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
- 3.2: Historical Particularism
- 3.3: Functionalism
- 3.4: Culture and Personality
- 3.5: Cultural Ecology
- 3.6: Structural Anthropology
- 3.7: Cultural Materialism
- 3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology
- 3.9: Postmodernism
- 3.10: Feminist Anthropology
- 3.S: Anthropological Theory (Summary)
- Index

4: Methods

- 4.1: Methodology
- 4.2: Ethnography and Ethnology
- 4.3: Fieldwork
- 4.4: Ethics
- 4.5: Structured Interview

- 4.6: Unstructured Interview

5: Language

- 5.1: Linguistic Anthropology
- 5.2: Language
- 5.3: Focal Vocabularies
- 5.4: Non-verbal Communication
- 5.5: Models of Language and Culture
- 5.6: Human Language Families Map

6: Deconstructing Race

- 6.1: Deconstructing Race and Racism
- 6.2: Human Adaptations
- 6.3: Skin Color and UV Index
- 6.4: Ethnicity and Race
- 6.5: Social Constructions of Race
- 6.6: Eugenics in the United States

7: Economic Organization

- 7.1: Subsistence Strategies
- 7.2: Foraging
- 7.3: Pastoralists
- 7.4: Horticulturists
- 7.5: Intensive Agriculture
- 7.6: Neolithic Revolution
- 7.7: Distribution

8: Kinship

- 8.1: Kinship Diagrams
- 8.2: Descent Rules
- 8.3: Descent Groups
- 8.4: Kinship Terminology

9: Marriage and Family

- 9.1: Functions of Marriage
- 9.2: Forms of Marriage
- 9.3: Rules for Marriage
- 9.4: Economic Aspects of Marriage
- 9.5: Types of Families
- 9.6: Postmarital Residence Patterns
- 9.7: Residence Patterns

10: Sex and Gender

- 10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
- 10.2: Sexual Orientation
- 10.3: Inis Beag
- 10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia

- 10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies
- 10.6: Gender Role
- 10.7: Two-Spirit
- 10.8: Hijra
- 10.9: Gender and Language
- 10.10: Gender Inequality
- 10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)
- 10.12: Double Burden (Part 2)
- 10.13: Gender and Employment
- 10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report
- 10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1)
- 10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2)
- 10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)
- 10.18: Missing Women of Asia

11: Politics and Culture

- 11.1: Political Systems
- 11.2: Bands
- 11.3: Tribes
- 11.4: Chiefdoms
- 11.5: States
- 11.6: Social Stratification
- 11.7: Indian Caste System
- 11.8: Social Control
- 11.9: Genocide

12: Supernatural Belief Systems

- 12.1: Introduction to Religion
- 12.2: Definitions of Religions
- 12.3: The Function of Religion
- 12.4: Aspects of Religion
- 12.5: Patterns of Belief
- 12.6: Religious Practitioners
- 12.7: Religious Change
- 12.8: Four Categories of Religion
- 12.9: Rite of Passage
- 12.10: Vision Quest
- 12.11: Religious Demographics
- 12.12: Health and Illness

13: Art

- 13.1: Art
- 13.2: Anthropology of Art
- 13.3: Purpose of Art
- 13.4: Paleolithic Art
- 13.5: Tribal Art
- 13.6: Folk Art
- 13.7: Indigenous Australian Art

- 13.8: Sandpainting
- 13.9: Ethnomusicology
- 13.10: Dance
- 13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

14: Globalization

- 14.1: Introduction to Globalization
- 14.2: Globalization
- 14.3: Modernization
- 14.4: Development
- 14.5: GNI Per Capita, Atlas Method (Current US $)
- 14.6: Technology
- 14.7: The Global Digital Divide
- 14.8: Global Life Expectancy and Mortality Statistics
- 14.9: Global Warming
- 14.10: Indigenous People
- 14.11: Cultural Survival
- 14.12: Multiculturalism

Index

Glossary

Detailed Licensing

Licensing

*A detailed breakdown of this resource's licensing can be found in **Back Matter/Detailed Licensing**.*

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

1: What is Anthropology?

1.1: Anthropology
1.2: Holism in Anthropology
1.3: Biocultural Approach
1.4: What is Culture?
1.5: Ethnocentrism
1.6: Cultural Relativism

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1.1: Anthropology

Cultural Anthropology is the study of human cultures, their beliefs, practices, values, ideas, technologies, economies and other domains of social and cognitive organization. This field is based primarily on cultural understanding gained through first hand experience, or participant observation within living populations of humans.

This chapter will introduce you to the field of anthropology, define basic terms and concepts and explain why it is important, and how it can change your perspective of the world around you.

Anthropology is the scientific study of human beings as social organisms interacting with each other in their environment, and cultural aspects of life. Anthropology can be defined as the study of human nature, human society, and the human past. It is a scholarly discipline that aims to describe in the broadest possible sense what it means to be human. Anthropologists are interested in comparison. To make substantial and accurate comparisons between cultures, a generalization of humans requires evidence from the wide range of human societies. Anthropologists are in direct contact with the sources of their data, thus field work is a crucial component. The field of Anthropology, although fairly new as an academic field, has been used for centuries. Anthropologists are convinced that explanations of human actions will be superficial unless they acknowledge that human lives are always entangled in complex patterns of work and family, power and meaning. Anthropology is holistic, comparative, field based, and evolutionary. These regions of Anthropology shape one another and become integrated with one another over time. Historically it was seen as "the study of others," meaning foreign cultures, but using the term "others" imposed false thoughts of "civilized versus savagery." These dualistic views have often caused wars or even genocide. Now, anthropologists strive to uncover the mysteries of these foreign cultures and eliminate the prejudice that it first created.

While it is a holistic field, anthropology is typically considered to consist of five sub-disciplines, each focusing on a particular aspect of human existence:

- **Archaeology:** The study and interpretation of ancient humans, their history and culture, through examination of the artifacts and remains they left behind. Such as: The study of the Egyptian culture through examination of their grave sites, the pyramids and the tombs in the Valley of Kings. Through this branch, anthropologists discover much about human history, particularly prehistoric, the long stretch of time before the development of writing.

Figure **1.1.1** - Excavated ruins of Mohenjo-daro, Pakistan

- **Cultural Anthropology:**(also: sociocultural anthropology, social anthropology, or ethnology) studies the different cultures of humans and how those cultures are shaped or shape the world around them. They also focus a lot on the differences between every person. The goal of a cultural anthropologist is to learn about another culture by collecting data about how the world economy and political practices effect the new culture that is being studied.
- **Biological Anthropology** (also: Physical Anthropology):Specific type of Anthropology that studies humanity through the human body as a biological organism, using genetics, evolution, human ancestry, primates, and the ability to adapt. There was a shift in the emphasis on differences (with the older "physical anthropology") due to the development of the "new" physical anthropology developed by Sherwood Washburn at the University of California, Berkley. This field shifted from racial classification when it was discovered that physical traits that had been used to determine race could not predict other traits such as intelligence and morality. Some biological anthropologists work in the fields of primatology,which is the study of the closest living relatives of the human being, the nonhuman primates. They also work in the field of paleoanthropology which is the study of fossilized bones and teeth of our earliest ancestors.
- **Linguistic Anthropology:** examines human languages: how they work, how they are made, how they change, and how they die and are later revived. Linguistic anthropologists try to understand language in relation to the broader cultural, historical, or

biological contexts that make it possible. The study of linguistics includes examining phonemes, morphemes, syntax, semantics, and pragmatics. They look at linguistic features of communication, which includes any verbal contact, as well as non linguistic features, which would include movements, eye contact, the cultural context, and even the recent thoughts of the speaker.

- **Applied Anthropology** includes the fields of Applied Medical Anthropology, Urban Anthropology, Anthropological Economics, Contract Archaeology and others. Applied anthropology is simply the practice of applying anthropological theory and or methods from any of the fields of Anthropology to solve human problems. For example, applied anthropology is often used when trying to determine the ancestry of an unearthed native American burial. Biological anthropology can be used to test the DNA of the body and see if the DNA of the burial has any similarities to living populations.

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External Links

- What is Anthropology? – Information from the American Anthropological Association
- SLA– Society for Linguistic Anthropology

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1.2: Holism in Anthropology

Holism is the perspective on the human condition that assumes that mind, body, individuals, society, and the environment interpenetrate, and even define one another. In anthropology holism tries to integrate all that is known about human beings and their activities. From a holistic perspective, attempts to divide reality into mind and matter isolate and pin down certain aspects of a process that, by very nature, resists isolation and dissection. Holism holds great appeal for those who seek a theory of human nature that is rich enough to do justice to its complex subject matter.

An easier understanding of holism is to say that *the whole is greater than the sum of its parts*. Individual human organisms are not just *x* percent genes and *y* percent culture added together. Rather, human beings are what they are because of mutual shaping of genes and culture and experiences living in the world produces something new, something that cannot be reduced to the materials used to construct it. It is important to note that humans who grow and live together are inevitably shaped by shared cultural experiences and develop into a much different person than they would have if developing in isolation.

Sally Engle Merry, an anthropologist, got a call from a radio show asking her to talk about a recent incident that happened in Pakistan that resulted in a gang rape of a young woman authorized by a local tribal council. She explained to them that it was an inexcusable act and that the rape was probably connected to local political struggles and class differences. This relates to holism because the gang rape was authorized by higher authorities because it is a cultural norm for socially higher class men to feel more empowered over women. This emphasizes the connection between human actions and their environment and society.

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1.3: Biocultural Approach

Definition

Biocultural theory, related to the anthropological value of holism, is an integration of both biological anthropology and social/cultural anthropology. While acknowledging that "the term biocultural can carry a range of meanings and represent a variety of methods, research areas, and levels of analysis" (Hruschka et al. 2005:3), one working definition of biocultural anthropology "a critical and productive dialogue between biological and cultural theories and methods in answering key questions in anthropology" (Hruschka et al. 2005:4).

The use of a biocultural framework can be viewed as the application of a theoretical lens through which disease and embodiment are integrated. This way of understanding takes local, cultural views and understanding of illness and disease and the local practices of traditional or biomedical healing. "This integrative work requires a significant focus on methods, and an openness to different, often competing theoretical paradigms. Studying health and healing from a biocultural perspective takes illness and/or disease and puts it in the context of how a culture embodies the illness they feel as a result of the disease.

Thus, a biocultural approach can be understood as a feedback system through which the biological and cultural interact; biology allows certain behaviors to exist and in turn those behaviors influence biological traits. Through the understanding of both the biological and cultural implications of disease and embodiment, healing becomes a cultural product, something that makes sense within a particular cultural context. Biocultural research involves integrating how cultures approach health and healing based on gender, class, age, education, and their own traditional experience with illness and healing.

There are three different approaches to biocultural research:

1. Biological: 'biology matters' this approach focuses on evolution and how it influences disease
2. Cultural: 'culture matters' this approach focuses on the interpretation and explanations of illness
3. Critical: 'inequality matters' this approach focuses on how inequality shapes disease in society

History

Early Anthropological History

Under the influence of Franz Boas and a number of his early students, 20th century American anthropology emphasized a holistic, four-field approach to the study of human life[2] . Holism can be defined as "overarching and integrated"[3] , "encompassing past, present and future; biology, society, language and culture"[4] and assumes "an interrelationship among parts of a subject"[5] . As a result of this emphasis, anthropologists were encouraged to pursue training and research that integrated the cultural, biological, archaeological and linguistic subfields of anthropology.

Cultural/Biological Split

In response to critiques that the idea that four-field holism is merely an artifact of 19th century anthropology, divisions have occurred between biological and cultural anthropologists[6] [7] . These cleavages had become so contentious that some departments fully split, such as the highly publicized Stanford University division into departments of "Cultural and Social Anthropology" and "Anthropological Sciences" in 1998[8] . While the department has since been reconstituted[9] and some of these ideological divisions are closing, there continues to be debate in this area.

Adaptation

In "Building a New Biocultural Synthesis"[10], Alan Goodman and Thomas Leatherman discuss a history of biocultural anthropology. They note that work in the 1960s and 1970s focused on an adaptation paradigm, which sought to understand human biological diversity. The adaptation paradigm hypothesized that physical and social environments present challenges, and humans try to adjust or cope with these challenges through genetic, developmental, physiological, and sociocultural adaptations. One example of this type of work would be Livingstone's work demonstrating the adaptive nature of sickle cell anemia in high malaria environments[11]

But while this approach sought to integrate biology and culture, there were significant critiques. Typically, aspects of environments and organisms were analyzed as independent and dependent variables; the environment was seen as presenting challenges while the

organism was reduced to a set of discrete traits or responses. However, these types of research were characterized as being inherently reductionist because biology and culture are dialectically intertwined[12]. Another critique of the adaptation paradigm was the lack of acknowledgment of political economic forces in their analyses. Anthropologists engaged in adaptation work were accused of "missing the revolution" in Peru[13] .

Incorporating Political Economic Perspectives

Political economy is an anthropological perspective that emerged in the 1970s which views "sociocultural form at the local level as penetrated and influenced by global capitalism[14]. Political economy can also be conceived as the "web of interrelated economic and power relations in society"[15] within which the intersection of global processes and local actors, histories and systems must be examined[16] .

At the Wenner-Gren Foundation International Symposium held in 1992, anthropologists from various subfields discussed ways to revitalize physical anthropology and more closely integrate it with other subdisciplines of anthropology[17]. One of the main themes of the conference was the question of how a focus on political economy could promote interdisciplinary work between the fields of cultural and biological anthropology. Leatherman and Goodman (1998:19) argue that political economic perspectives are useful "(b)ecause human biologies are affected by and reciprocally influence such factors as the control, production, and distribution of material resources, ideology, and power". In addition, Goodman and Leatherman (1998:19-20) highlight the contributions that political economic perspectives bring to biocultural anthropology, which include:

1. the examination of social relations, which are essential to resource production and distribution, and points to the need to look at social processes;
2. the importance of the links between the local and global;
3. that history is critical to understanding the direction of social change;
4. that humans are active agents in constructing their environments;
5. ideology and knowledge of researchers and study participants are key to understanding human action.

An example of incorporating a political economic perspective into biocultural anthropology is the work conducted by Thomas Leatherman in the Peruvian Andes. Leatherman's work sought to understand the health and social implications of material inequalities by focusing on broad social, structural and political economic forces that shaped individual coping strategies, nutrition, growth and development, behavior, and health outcomes[18] [19]

Applying a Critical Lens

Critical anthropology can be seen as critiquing the concept of positivism[20], questioning not only epistemology but also relations of power and hegemony within anthropology itself[21] . It has been argued that the application of a critical lens to biocultural anthropology provides a "strong sense of the contingency of social realities", and shows "how power and meaning are constructed in specific contexts and moments of everyday action and discourse" (Goodman and Leatherman 1998: 14). By merging critical perspectives with biocultural anthropology, we can acknowledge the shift from "viewing science and scientists as absolute authorities and problem solvers" (Goodman and Leatherman 1998: 14). In doing so, we can open a space for collaboration as well as reflexivity about what we "know" and how we know it.

One example of critical biocultural anthropology is Michael Blakey and colleagues' work with the African Burial Ground in New York. In his contribution to "Building a New Biocultural Synthesis" (1998, University of Michigan Press), Blakey sought to make four points:

1. studies of the biology of human populations have been consistently influenced by political ideologies (and thus are not "value-free");
2. the historical tendency toward the use of naturalistic explanations to support apologetic explanations of economic inequality, racial oppression, and imperialism;
3. a critical, social scientific approach to human population biology is advocated as one that best contributes to exposing the causes and biological effects of societal problems;
4. publicly engaged and activist approaches to science further elevate the critical capacity and social significance of anthropological research, while promoting a qualitative transformation of our understanding of biology toward a more humanistic way of knowing. (Blakey 1998:379)

Michael Blakey and colleagues also discuss the “interaction between ethics and theory” related to carrying out this 12-year project, and offer recommendation on how to carry out critical, engaged, multidisciplinary research informed by political economy[22] .

Figure **1.3.1** - African Burial Ground- area of excavation

Other Examples

For example, cancer is a multifaceted, complicated disease. Biocultural approaches on how to treat cancer and get the patient on the path to healing would also have to be multifaceted and complicated. It would involve not only the biomedicine aspects, chemotherapy, surgery, radiation, and gene therapy, but also treat the illness that comes with disease. There would have to be aspects of healing that deal with the hair loss, weight loss, water retention, color changes, nausea, as well as the emotional trauma that comes with a chronic disease, all in the cultural context of the patient.

Another example could be the different views of how to treat addiction. Addiction can be understood to be partly caused by genetics, sociocultural conditions and environment matter for the manifestation and expression of addictive behavior. There are also two different approaches in how to treat addiction: the Addiction as Disease biological model and the Disease Model of Addiction cultural model. Neither is comprehensive or entirely successful. The cultural model provides an explanation of the addiction phenomenon, accounts for anxiety and uncertainty, and carries cultural weight but is judged because it is a made up explanation that those in the field can make money off. The biological model understands that biological pathways are involved in this chronic, relapsing disease that progressively worsens over time. It does not account for the different cultural compounding factors that affect these pathways and their manifestation. A melding of the two models through biological and behavioral therapy is currently the best healing mechanism we have for addiction.

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1.4: What is Culture?

Culture is the patterns of learned and shared behavior and beliefs of a particular social, ethnic, or age group. It can also be described as the complex whole of collective human beliefs with a structured stage of civilization that can be specific to a nation or time period. Humans in turn use culture to adapt and transform the world they live in.

Figure **1.4.1** - Ashanti flag, note the golden stool

This idea of Culture can be seen in the way that we describe the Ashanti, an African tribe located in central Ghana. The Ashanti live with their families as you might assume but the meaning of how and why they live with whom is an important aspect of Ashanti culture. In the Ashanti culture, the family and the mother's clan are most important. A child is said to inherit the father's soul or spirit (ntoro) and from the mother, a child receives flesh and blood (mogya). This relates them more closely to the mother's clan. The Ashanti live in an extended family. The family lives in various homes or huts that are set up around a courtyard. The head of the household is usually the oldest brother that lives there. He is chosen by the elders. He is called either Father or Housefather and everyone in the household obeys him.[1]

The anthropological study of culture can be organized along two persistent and basic themes: **Diversity** and **Change**. An individual's upbringing, and environment (or culture) is what makes them diverse from other cultures. It is the differences between all cultures and sub-cultures of the worlds regions. People's need to adapt and transform to physical, biological and cultural forces to survive represents the second theme, **Change**. Culture generally changes for one of two reasons: selective transmission or to meet changing needs. This means that when a village or culture is met with new challenges for example a loss of a food source, they must change the way they live. This could mean almost anything to the culture, including possible forced redistribution of, or relocation from ancestral domains due to external and/or internal forces. And an anthropologist would look at that and study their ways to learn from them.
Culture is:

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

"Culture" vs. "culture"

At its most basic level, the difference between Culture and culture is in the way they are defined. Culture with a capital C refers to the ability of the human species to absorb and imitate patterned and symbolic ideas that ultimately further their survival. Culture is a trait all humans have, whereas culture with a lower case c refers to a particular learned way of life and set of patterns an individual person has picked up, representing one variation amongst many different cultures.

Figure **1.4.2** - "Petty apartheid": sign on Durban beach in English, Afrikaansand Zulu (1989)

The concept of Culture vs. culture becomes more complex when it comes to how the two terms are misinterpreted and misused. Originally the overlap of the two concepts had a positive effect, especially during colonial times; it helped spread the idea that vulnerable seemingly "primitive" and "uncivilized" cultures had some intrinsic value and deserved protection from other more dominating cultures. But there are drawbacks to this mentality, as it assumes first that culture is a static thing that it can be preserved, unchanged by the changing people and times it runs into. It also assumes that the people accept at face value and do not wish to change their patterns or ways of life. If people then do change, often they are criticized by member from within and outside their own culture for not valuing 'authenticity' and tradition. This relates to the Culture vs. culture in that anthropology's focus and appreciation of Culture and how it develops differently can be twisted when talking about Cultural relativism or human rights. Appreciation and defense of Culture does not imply blind tolerance to all aspects of all cultures. A pertinent example of this would be Female Genital Cutting and how as an aspect of little c culture, it can be examined and judged a violation of human rights. This does not however, diminish an anthropologist's appreciation for the ability of the human being to develop Culture.

An example of how defense of culture has been misused is in apartheid South Africa, where the white supremacist government justified the oppression of black Africans, or the bantu peoples because their aim was a "higher Bantu culture and not at producing black Europeans". They argued that "not race but culture was the true base of difference, the sign of destiny. And cultural differences were to be valued". In such cases, the abuse of the term is clear, in that they were using it as a basis for unequal treatment and access to services such as education.

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1.5: Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the term anthropologists use to describe the opinion that one's own way of life is natural or correct. Some would simply call it cultural ignorance. Ethnocentrism means that one may see his/her own culture as the correct way of living. For those who have not experienced other cultures in depth can be said to be ethnocentric if they feel that their lives are the most natural way of living. Some cultures may be similar or overlap in ideas or concepts, however, some people are in a sense, shocked to experience differences they may encounter with individuals culturally different than themselves. In extreme cases, a group of individuals may see another cultures way of life and consider it wrong, because of this, the group may try to convert the other group to their own ways of living. Fearful war and genocide could be the devastating result if a group is unwilling to change their ways of living.

Figure 1.5.1: "Colonization of New England" – Early settlers cut and saw trees and use the lumber to construct a building, possibly a warehouse for their supplies. This is the first scene painted entirely by Costaggini.

China, as the Middle Kingdom, has had a major cultural influence on bordering countries, extending from Japan on the north to Sri Lanka on the west. Many of these countries have their own ancient cultures and have resisted sinocentrism even while incorporating elements into their cultures and even languages. Kaji are symbols of Chinese origin, adopted into Japanese writing. Chopsticks are the main utensils in China, Korea, Japan, and Vietnam and users regard them as superior to Western ones, but for example they are only used for noodles in Thailand, Malaysia and Indonesia. The cultural interchange was driven by trade and the settlement of Chinese people throughout the region, but has also led to ethnic unrest, and Malaysia and Singapore separating into two countries, the population in Singapore, although diverse, being predominantly Chinese, and that in Malaysia, Malay.

Another example of ethnocentrism is colonialism. Colonialism can be defined as cultural domination with enforced social change. Colonialism refers to the social system in which the political conquests by one society of another leads to "cultural domination with enforced social change". A good example to look at when examining colonialism is the British overtake of India. The British had little understanding of the culture in India which created a lot of problems and unrest during their rule.[10]

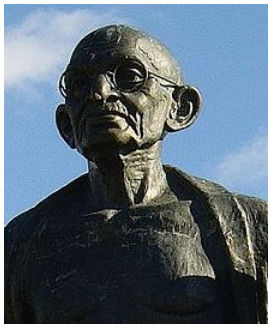

Figure 1.5.2: "Statue of Gandhi" – Gandhi was an important figure in the struggle to end the period of British colonial rule in India, he fought for peace and understanding during this time of unrest.

Ethnocentrism may not, in some circumstances, be avoidable. We all often have instinctual reactions toward another person or culture's practices or beliefs. But these reactions do not have to result in horrible events such as genocide or war. In order to avoid such awful things like those we must all try to be more culturally relative. Ethnocentrism is one solution to tension between one cultural self and another cultural self. It helps reduce the other way of life to a version of one's own.

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1.6: Cultural Relativism

The Cross-Cultural Relationship is the idea that people from different cultures can have relationships that acknowledge, respect and begin to understand each others diverse lives. People with different backgrounds can help each other see possibilities that they never thought were there because of limitations, or cultural proscriptions, posed by their own traditions. Traditional practices in certain cultures can restrict opportunity because they are “wrong” according to one specific culture. Becoming aware of these new possibilities will ultimately change the people that are exposed to the new ideas. This cross-cultural relationship provides hope that new opportunities will be discovered but at the same time it is threatening. The threat is that once the relationship occurs, one can no longer claim that any single culture is the absolute truth.

Cultural relativism is the ability to understand a culture on its own terms and not to make judgments using the standards of one’s own culture. The goal of this is promote understanding of cultural practices that are not typically part of one’s own culture. Using the perspective of cultural relativism leads to the view that no one culture is superior than another culture when compared to systems of morality, law, politics, etc. [11] It is a concept that cultural norms and values derive their meaning within a specific social context. This is also based on the idea that there is no absolute standard of good or evil, therefore every decision and judgment of what is right and wrong is individually decided in each society. The concept of cultural relativism also means that any opinion on ethics is subject to the perspective of each person within their particular culture. Overall, there is no right or wrong ethical system. In a holistic understanding of the term cultural relativism, it tries to promote the understanding of cultural practices that are unfamiliar to other cultures such as eating insects, genocides or genital cutting.

There are two different categories of **cultural relativism**: **Absolute**: Everything that happens within a culture must and should not be questioned by outsiders. The extreme example of absolute cultural relativism would be the Nazi party’s point of view justifying the Holocaust.

Critical: Creates questions about cultural practices in terms of who is accepting them and why. Critical cultural relativism also recognizes power relationships.

Absolute cultural relativism is displayed in many cultures, especially Africa, that practice female genital cutting. This procedure refers to the partial or total removal of the external female genitalia or any other trauma to the female reproductive/genital organs. By allowing this procedure to happen, females are considered women and then are able to be married. FGC is practiced mainly because of culture, religion and tradition. Outside cultures such as the United States look down upon FGC, but are unable to stop this practice from happening because it is protected by its culture.

Figure **1.6.1** - A Chinese woman with her feet unbound

Figure **1.6.2** - A Chinese Golden Lily Foot by Lai Afong, c1870s

Cultural relativism can be seen with the Chinese culture and their process of feet binding. Foot binding was to stop the growth of the foot and make them smaller. The process often began between four and seven years old. A ten foot bandage would be wrapped around the foot forcing the toes to go under the foot. It caused the big toe to be closer to the heel causing the foot to bow.[4]In

China, small feet were seen as beautiful and a symbol of status. The women wanted their feet to be “three-inch golden lotuses”三寸金蓮[3] It was also the only way to marry into money. Because men only wanted women with small feet, even after this practice was banned in 1912, women still continued to do it. To Western cultures the idea of feet binding might seems torturous, but for the Chinese culture it was a symbol of beauty that has been ingrained the culture for hundreds of years. The idea of beauty differs from culture to culture.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

2: Culture

2.1: Antropological Culture Concept
2.2: Levels of Culture
2.3: Micro or Subculture
2.4: Familial Culture
2.5: Enculturation
2.6: Cultural Universals
2.7: Culture Change
2.8: Culture Shock
2.9: Values and Norms
2.10: Two Views of Culture: ETIC and EMIC
2.11: Symbols and Culture
2.12: Explore: Learn More about the Anthropologists

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2.1: Antropological Culture Concept

Culture is a concept that often invokes thoughts of a Monet, a Mozart symphony, or ballerinas in tutus dancing Swan Lake. In the popular vernacular culture often refers to the arts. A person that is cultured has knowledge of and is a patron of the arts. Then there is pop culture; what trends are current and hip. Within anthropology these things are simply aspects of culture. To understand the anthropological culture concept, we need to think broader and holistically.

Anthropologists have long debated an appropriate definition of culture. Even today some anthropologists criticize the culture concept as oversimplifying and stereotyping cultures, which will be discussed more below. The first anthropological definition of culture comes from 19th-century British anthropologist Edward Tylor:

Culture…is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor 1920 [1871]: 1).

It is probably the most enduring definition of culture even though it relates more to the specifics, or particulars, of culture groups. As Bohannan and Glazer comment in High Points in Anthropology (1988: 62), "…[it is the definition] most anthropologists can quote correctly, and the one they fall back on when others prove too cumbersome." Tylor, echoing the French idea of civilization progressing from a barbaric state to "science, secularism, and rational thought" (Beldo 2010), believed that all human culture passed through stages of development with the pinnacle being that of 19th century England. He believed, as many others of this time period did, that all other cultures were inherently inferior. Franz Boas, a German American anthropologist, challenged Tylor's approach. He drew on the German concept of kultur, local and personal behaviors and traditions, to develop his ideas about culture. Boas thought that cultures did not follow a linear progression as espoused by cultural evolutionists like Tylor, but developed in different directions based on historical events. Boas took years to develop a working definition of culture, but it is one that influences anthropologists to this day: culture is an integrated system of symbols, ideas and values that should be studied as a working system, an organic whole (Kuper 1999:56).

Over time, anthropologists learned that including specifics into the definition of culture limited that definition. In other words, the definition would not apply to all cultures. Anthropologists began to develop a definition of culture that could be applied broadly. Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn proposed that culture was not simply behaviors, but a product of psychological, social, biological, and material factors (Beldo 2010). Thus began a focus on the meaning of behavior, not just a description of the behavior itself.

A general definition of **culture** that can be applied to all cultures is patterns of behavior that are common within a particular population of people. One way to think about culture is to break down the concept into two distinct categories: the Big C and the little c. The Big C is an overarching general concept that can be applied to all culture groups; it is the anthropological perspective. The little c is the particulars of a specific culture group.

Figure **2.1.1**

It is easiest to think of the Big C as elements that comprise culture (not a specific group).

- Big C is learned behavior. Culture is not something we are born with; it is non-biological. We learn it over our lifetime.
- Culture is shared. While we each have our own cultural peculiarities, we share a large part of our culture with others.
- Culture is symbolic. It gives meaning to things. Language might be the most important example of the symbolic nature of culture. Language is one of the primary ways that we communicate with one another.

- Culture is holistic. Ideally, culture is all encompassing. It is a blueprint for living and tells us how to respond in any given situation. Of course in reality, culture doesn't give us all the answers. That's when we see culture change.
- Lastly, culture is integrated. Think of it as a clock. Clocks have an intricate mechanical system that work together to make the clock operational. Culture is also a system – a system of institutions that work together to meet the needs of the group.

Little c, as mentioned above, is the particulars of any given culture group, for instance, the marriage or subsistence pattern of a group of people. Traditions, a concept many people associate with culture, would fall into the little c. A good portion of this course is devoted to examining the various manifestations of social institutions, or some of a culture group's particulars, so we will return to the little c later.

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2.2: Levels of Culture

Anthropologists describe patterns of behavior that are common within a particular population of people—a culture. This is sometimes referred to as the **dominant or mainstream culture**. In using the word dominant, do not confuse this with "majority." The **dominant culture** may be a result of political power and not absolute numbers of people. However, the dominant culture draws on other cultures, adding and dropping elements that are seen to be either beneficial or no longer necessary. Within the dominant culture, there are **subcultures** that vary somewhat from the mainstream. Even at the individual level there may be differences from the dominant culture. Keep in mind that while anthropologists talk about these general patterns, it is acknowledged that there is variation within any given culture. The levels that are discussed below is a classification system. Classification systems help people organize the plethora of information that comes their way, breaking it down into understandable units. The levels of culture allow us to understand culture in smaller interconnected units.

The overarching patterns described by anthropologists can be grouped at several different levels. The levels move from general to specific. While most people don't think about their culture at the most general levels, these levels do impact our cultures even if we're not aware of it. As mentioned above, one of the criticisms of the culture concept is that it generalizes and stereotypes groups of people. Indeed as you read about the levels of culture you may agree with this criticism. However, these generalizations can be used to develop a starting point in learning about a culture.

The Levels

Figure **2.2.1**

International: this is divided into two categories: Western culture and Eastern culture. Historically, the division fell along two lines: religion and industry.

Eastern culture is usually thought of as non-industrial; however, through the process of modern development, this line is less clear than it used to be.

Eastern culture also refers to a different way of thinking, which is best exemplified in the East's religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Confucianism. Interdependence of people is a defining characteristic of "eastern" philosophy. Duty to family over self is stressed.

The other thing that encapsulates eastern culture is their approach to healing—in the east, it is generally identified as ancient, naturalistic traditions…think acupuncture and herbal remedies.

Western culture arose out of the philosophies of ancient Greece and Rome. Currently it is characterized by industrial economies where capitalism rules and behavior geared for independent success is stressed. Western cultures are predominately Christian or Islamic. In regards to health, institutionally educated doctors and scientifically developed medicines are predominant.

There is much variation within Western and Eastern cultures, but think in terms of dominance. Eastern cultures do encourage people to develop their skills; it's just that it is not for themselves, but for their group (which can be family, village, or some other entity). In western cultures, duty to family is not absent; it's just not stressed as strongly.

Keep in mind that the East vs. West mentality or approach is rapidly breaking down through the process of globalization and not all levels will apply to every culture.

The variability of the international level can be broken down into various subcultures, starting with the most general, the National. Subcultures incorporate values and norms from the more general levels, but perhaps not all of the same values and norms.

Figure 2.2.2

National: Just as the word implies, we're talking about a country's culture. For instance, if someone talks about Ireland, Russia, or Brazil certain mental pictures come to mind.

Regional: Nations are frequently divided into regions. If we were to talk about the United States in terms of the South, the Midwest, or the Southwest, we start to make some assumptions about the culture of individuals from those geographic regions, e.g., the Midwest is populated by farmers.

State-level: Within regions, there are often states, provinces, or territories. If we picked a state in the United States, many people would start to form a mental picture of the people there. If we were to choose an east coast state such as Massachusetts we would make some assumptions about the people's forms of dress, speech, etc., that is very different from what would assume if the person was from California.

Local: This level could be along the lines of urban vs. suburban vs. rural or it could be something like Seattle vs. Tacoma. It could be a neighborhood or an occupation. There are simply a lot of ways to view the local.

Counter-cultures: Counter-cultures go against something in the mainstream or dominant culture. The classic example of a counter-culture is the hippie/protest movement during the 1960s in the United States. A more recent example is the anti-globalization movement.

The final level of culture, and the most specific, is the **idiosyncratic** culture. This refers to our personal culture. We are influenced by and choose norms from all of the previous levels of culture to create our personal cultures. Our family and friends are often most influential, but as we mature and move away from home our personal culture may begin to look nothing like the culture we grew up in.

Clearly, all of these levels of cultures are broad generalizations. There is variety of culture in any given place in the world. What these broad generalizations do is provide us with a level of expectations. They help us cope with the unknown. Problems arise when people use these generalizations as a way to judge other peoples. Ethnocentrism, the judging of others using your own culture as the standard, contributes to negative views of The Other and is a way to dehumanize another human being, a necessary step before being able to compete successfully against our fellow humans.

Culture is both **overt** and **covert**. There are elements of culture that we are specifically taught–they are overt…how to eat with utensils or how to ride a bicycle. But there are also elements that we are not taught—they are covert and picked up most likely through observation…a good example of this is proxemics. **Proxemics** refers to our personal bubble—how much space we need around our physical person. In the United States, we have a large personal bubble. We don't like people to get near to us unless invited. Standing smashed up against someone else on the bus is considered bad manners in the US and is only tolerated if there is absolutely no choice. We aren't specifically taught this; we pick it up through observation.

We think about our culture, particularly our national culture, in its ideal form. For instance, when asked to describe the values of US culture, people often mention equality, democracy, and freedom. The reality of US culture is that there is not complete equality of citizens and some believe the US only promotes democracy unequally across the globe.

All of these things contribute to our worldview. **Worldview** is a way of understanding how the world works and what our place is in it. Everyone has a worldview that impacts their perceptions and interpretations of events occurring in their lives. Some people think everyone else interprets or sees things the same way they do. This is referred to as naïve realism. We all start out that way, but through education, our naïve realism lessens as we learn about other people's perspectives…in effect, our culture is changing.

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2.3: Micro or Subculture

Micro or Subculture– distinct groups within a larger group that share some sort of common trait, activity or language that ties them together and or differentiates them from the larger group. A micro or subculture is also not limited on how small it can be. It could be defined similarly to a clique. An example of this could be Mexican-Americans within the U.S. society. They share the same language, but they are found in a larger whole. This is similar the subculture of an African American, they are fully accepted in the American culture but are also capable of also maintaining a individual smaller culture too. An example of a micro-culture would be the Japanese hip hop genba (club site) that is becoming more and more popular throughout Japanese cities.[2] Although rap started in the United States, it has created its own unique appearance and style in the Japanese youth culture today. The physical appearance of rappers may be the same to those in the States, however the content of the music differs along with the preservation of Japanese traditions.

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2.4: Familial Culture

Familial culture is how you express culture as a family through traditions, roles, beliefs, and other areas. Many aspects can influence a family culture such as religion, and the community around you. Religion can strongly influence family culture, which can be demonstrated by the Catholic religion in many Hispanic countries. Most Hispanic cultures practice Catholic beliefs and within a family these beliefs are practiced to different degrees. For example, one family may go to the Catholic mass every week while some may only go once a month. This can all depend on the standards and cultural norms for a given community. Every family is different, and every family has its own culture.

Familial culture is also passed down from generation to generation and this means that it is both shared and learned. It is shared because as a family grows, new generations are introduced to traditional family practices and then it becomes a routine to that new generation. Familial culture is learned by means of enculturation which is the process by which a person learns the requirements of the culture that he or she is surrounded by. With enculturation an individual will also learn behaviors that are appropriate or necessary in their given culture. The influences of enculturation from the family direct and shape the individual.

Figure **2.4.1** - The Royal Family of Great Britain is deeply set in family tradition

The present Royal family of Great Britain is a good example of family tradition because each male member of the royal family has served in the armed forces. Prince Andrew joined the Navy in 1979, Prince Edward joined the Royal Marines as a second lieutenant in 1983, Prince Charles the current prince of Wales was appointed in 1969 as the as colonel-in-chief of the Royal Regiment of Wales, the Duke of Edinburgh joined the Navy in 1939 and served in World War 2 and as of June 12, 2003 Prince Henry announced that he would be continuing the tradition by joining the Army. This long standing tradition of serving in the armed forces is an important aspect of familial culture because it shows the connection of the generations of the royal family of Great Britain through the years.

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This page also draws upon the following Wikipedia resources:

- anthropology

- cultural anthropology
- sociology
- social science
- cultural relativism
- female genital cutting

EXTERNAL LINKS

- What is Anthropology? – Information from the American Anthropological Association
- SLA- Society for Linguistic Anthropology

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2.5: Enculturation

Growing up in any culture, all humans go through the process of **enculturation**. This process is the way in which we obtain and transmit culture. It describes how each individual comes to terms with the already set ideals that their culture has established, and how each person adapts to prohibited behaviors and beliefs, which are 'proscribed', versus encouraged behaviors and beliefs, which are 'prescribed'.

Parents and other authority figures in young children's lives are usually the initiators of this process, steering the children toward activities and beliefs that will be socially accepted in their culture. Through this process these authority figures definitely shape the child's view on life. Enculturation results in the interpretation of these ideals established by our culture and the establishment of our own individual behaviors and beliefs.

Figure **2.5.1** - The !Kung People diligently work on making a fire

For example the !Kung Bushman who live in the Kalahari were raised quite differently than someone who grew up in Washington State, or the States in general. In the United States, we tend to tolerate arrogance more so than the !Kung people.[5] For example, when we give people gifts and they thank us graciously for it, we acknowledge their acceptance by saying "It was no big deal", which by accepting their gratitude makes us in a way arrogant because we accept the fact the receiver appreciates the gift. Growing up in another culture, there are different guidelines that people have to follow in order to be socially accepted. In the !Kung Bushman tribe they look down upon people who think highly of themselves and who are arrogant. To avoid these characteristics, each child was raised to put down and mock others when they do things such as hunting and other activities. Their view is that by telling someone who had just hunted a huge ox, that the ox is a "bag of bones" or "thin, sick, and dead," then they are preventing this person from being arrogant and full of them self.

In contrast, enculturation in the United States teaches people to see this behavior as mean and wrong. Often in the United States culture arrogance is also viewed as a negative quality, but it is not discouraged in the same way. A common way members of the United States culture discourage displays of arrogance is simply by telling the younger generation that it is a bad quality. The !Kung people use enculturation strongly to impress their cultural value of humility; in United States culture, it is emphasized less and it shows in the much wider acceptance of arrogance. In the US, a hunter might have been praised for doing good things such as hunting large game and providing food for everyone else. All of the members of these two cultures went through the process of enculturation but just into different cultures with different established ideals.

Cultural Transmission

Figure **2.5.2** - Barack Obama shows multi-cultural respect by hosting a Sedar dinner. Sedar is a Jewish tradition passed down through families for generations.

Cultural Transmission is the passing of new knowledge and traditions of culture from one generation to the next, as well as cross-culturally. Cultural Transmission happens everyday, all the time, without any concept of when or where. Everything people do and say provides cultural transmission in all aspects of life. In everyday life, the most common way cultural norms are transmitted is within each individuals' home life. Each family has its own, distinct culture under the big picture of each given society and/or nation. With every family, there are traditions that are kept alive. The way each family acts, communicates with others and an overall view of life are passed down. Parents teach their kids everyday how to behave and act by their actions alone.

Another big influence on **cultural transmission** is the media. The distinct way the media portrays America to other countries and themselves. One example is the way that hip-hop has formed all over the world, each with its own distinct way of interpretation formed by any such culture. Each, separate translation of the meaning of hip-hop is an example of cultural transmission, passed from one culture to the next. In Japanese culture, hip-hop[6] for instance, has become quite a popular aspect as more of an underground scene and has made its own concepts of what hip-hop is, but still has similar characteristics of original hip-hop. Cultural transmission cross culturally happens very easily now with Globalization. For example, hip-hop is not just music; it's a lifestyle, an image, and a culture of its own. Cultural transmission is what keeps cultures alive and thriving.

Dakar, the capitol of Senegal located in Western Africa, has also seen its media become influenced through cultural transmission and Hip-Hop. As shown in the film "Democracy in Dakar," Dakar's 2007 elections were heavily influenced by underground Hip-

Hop. The documentary shows how the youth of Dakar have used their musical talents to encourage everyone to vote, in an attempt to void the corruption present within the government. [7]

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2.6: Cultural Universals

Figure **2.6.1** - Cinco de Mayo dancers greeted by former Pres. George W. Bush."The holiday, which has been celebrated in California continuously since 1863, is virtually ignored in Mexico."[3]

Cultural universals (which has been mentioned by anthropologists like George Murdock, Claude Levi-Strauss, Donald Brown and others) can be defined as being anything common that exists in every human culture on the planet yet varies from different culture to culture, such as values and modes of behavior. Examples of elements that may be considered cultural universals are gender roles, the incest taboo, religious and healing ritual, mythology, marriage, language, art, dance, music, cooking, games, jokes, sports, birth and death because they involve some sort of ritual ceremonies accompanying them, etc. Many anthropologist and socialists with an extreme perspective of cultural relativism deny the existence or reduce the importance of cultural universals believing that these traits were only inherited biologically through the known controversy of "nurture vs. nature". They are mainly known as "empty universals" since just mentioning their existence in a culture doesn't make them any more special or unique. The existence of these universals has been said to date to the Upper Paleolithic with the first evidence of behavioral modernity.

Figure **2.6.2** - A woman dancing folklórico in the traditional dress of Jalisco

Among the cultural universals listed by Brown are:

• Language and cognition – All cultures employ some type of communication, symbolism is also a universal idea in language.

• Society – Being in a family, having peers, or being a member of any organized group or community is what makes society.

• Myth, Ritual, and aesthetics – Different cultures all have a number of things in common, for example: a belief system, celebration of life and death, and other ceremonial events.

• Technology – There are worldwide variations in clothing, housing, tools and techniques for getting food through different types of technology.

Figure **2.6.3** - Residents of Vanuatu making fire. The use of fire for cooking is a human cultural universal

Dance is a great example of a cultural universal because it exists in every culture as form of expression, social interaction, or presented in a spiritual or performance setting. Traditional dances found in Mexico are quite different from those found in the United States. American style dancing includes Flat Foot Dancing, Hoofing, Buck Dancing, Soft Shoe, Clogging, Irish Sean-Nós Dance, and Irish Jig. Because these forms of dance are not commonly found on stage, in the media, or taught in the dance schools, it has received minimal attention and its practice has significantly decreasing compared to its past popularity. Mexico on the other hand had a traditional style of dance called Ballet Folklorico which reflects different regions and folk music genres. These dances are widely known and are constantly being taught in schools and performed during festivities such as Cinco de Mayo.

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2.7: Culture Change

Figure **2.7.1** - Elwood Hayes in his first automobile.

Cultures change in a number of ways. The only way new cultural traits emerge is through the process of **discovery** and **invention**. Someone perceives a need and invents something to meet that need. Seems a simple enough concept; however, it often takes a long time for a new invention to be fully integrated into a culture. Why? Because often other elements of the culture have to change to meet or maintain the needs of the new invention. This is referred to as **culture lag**. The automobile is a good example of discovery and invention and culture lag. The auto was invented as a mode of more efficient transportation. Many things had to change in order for the automobile to become a fixture in a culture. People had to be persuaded that the automobile was a better form of transportation. Roads had to be constructed; a way to procure fuel needed to be developed; mechanics were needed to fix cars; efficient production of cars had to be developed to meet supply demands; safety concerns, rules of the road, insurance, and numerous other elements of culture had to catch up with the invention of the automobile.

Another way cultures change is through **diffusion**. Diffusion is simply the borrowing of traits. There is a long laundry list of things in US culture that were borrowed from other cultures. Pajamas made their way to the US from India. Spaghetti was borrowed from China by way of Italy, and corn came from Mesoamerica. Ralph Linton, a noted anthropologist, wrote a short article entitled “One Hundred Percent American” in which he outlines numerous things that U.S. culture borrowed from other cultures. You can read Linton’s article here: staffwww.fullcoll.edu/jmcdermott/Cultural%20Anthropology_files/One%20Hundred%20Percent%20American.pdf.

Yet another way cultures change is through the process of **acculturation**. Acculturation is also the borrowing of traits; however, there is a **superordinate**, or dominant, and **subordinate**, or minority, relationship between cultures. The dominant culture picks and chooses those traits from the subordinate culture that it deems useful, i.e., diffusion. The subordinate culture is pressured to adopt the traits of the dominant culture. It is the element of pressure that differentiates acculturation from diffusion.

Acculturation manifests itself in multiple ways. One way is called the **Melting Pot**. The melting pot refers to a blending of cultures. This primarily occurs through intermarriage of people from the two cultures. What frequently happens is that one of the two cultures is dominant and the other subordinate within the relationship so that only some of its traits are practiced.

Another form of acculturation is called the Salad Bowl, or **cultural pluralism**. This occurs when people immigrate and keep as many original cultural traits as possible. Chinatown in San Francisco is a good example of the salad bowl. The different types of acculturation are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Even in the case of cultural pluralism people must adopt certain traits of the host country; i.e., the laws, in order to thrive, but they do keep as many traditions as possible.

Host conformity occurs when an individual has fully assimilated into the host culture.

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2.8: Culture Shock

Culture shock is an experience a person may have when one moves to a cultural environment which is different from one's own; it is also the personal disorientation a person may feel when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life due to immigration or a visit to a new country, a move between social environments, or simply transition to another type of life.[1] One of the most common causes of culture shock involves individuals in a foreign environment. Culture shock can be described as consisting of at least one of four distinct phases: honeymoon, frustration, adjustment, and mastery.

Common problems include: information overload, language barrier, generation gap, technology gap, skill interdependence, formulation dependency, homesickness (cultural), infinite regress (homesickness), boredom (job dependency), response ability (cultural skill set).[2] There is no true way to entirely prevent culture shock, as individuals in any society are personally affected by cultural contrasts differently.[3]

Four Phases

Honeymoon

During this period, the differences between the old and new culture are seen in a romantic light. For example, in moving to a new country, an individual might love the new food, the pace of life, and the locals' habits. During the first few weeks, most people are fascinated by the new culture. They associate with nationals who speak their language, and who are polite to the foreigners. Like most honeymoon periods, this stage eventually ends.[4]

Negotiation

After some time (usually around three months, depending on the individual), differences between the old and new culture become apparent and may create anxiety. Excitement may eventually give way to unpleasant feelings of frustration and anger as one continues to experience unfavorable events that may be perceived as strange and offensive to one's cultural attitude. Language barriers, stark differences in public hygiene, traffic safety, food accessibility and quality may heighten the sense of disconnection from the surroundings.[5]

While being transferred into a different environment puts special pressure on communication skills, there are practical difficulties to overcome, such as circadian rhythm disruption that often leads to insomnia and daylight drowsiness; adaptation of gut flora to different bacteria levels and concentrations in food and water; difficulty in seeking treatment for illness, as medicines may have different names from the native country's and the same active ingredients might be hard to recognize.

Still, the most important change in the period is communication: People adjusting to a new culture often feel lonely and homesick because they are not yet used to the new environment and meet people with whom they are not familiar every day. The language barrier may become a major obstacle in creating new relationships: special attention must be paid to one's and others' culture-specific body language signs, linguistic faux pas, conversation tone, linguistic nuances and customs, and false friends.

In the case of students studying abroad, some develop additional symptoms of loneliness that ultimately affect their lifestyles as a whole. Due to the strain of living in a different country without parental support, international students often feel anxious and feel more pressure while adjusting to new cultures—even more so when the cultural distances are wide, as patterns of logic and speech are different and a special emphasis is put on rhetoric.

Adjustment

Again, after some time (usually 6 to 12 months), one grows accustomed to the new culture and develops routines. One knows what to expect in most situations and the host country no longer feels all that new. One becomes concerned with basic living again, and things become more "normal". One starts to develop problem-solving skills for dealing with the culture and begins to accept the culture's ways with a positive attitude. The culture begins to make sense, and negative reactions and responses to the culture are reduced.

Adaptation

In the mastery stage individuals are able to participate fully and comfortably in the host culture. Mastery does not mean total conversion; people often keep many traits from their earlier culture, such as accents and languages. It is often referred to as the

bicultural stage.

Reverse Culture Shock

Reverse culture shock (a.k.a. “re-entry shock” or “own culture shock”[6]) may take place — returning to one’s home culture after growing accustomed to a new one can produce the same effects as described above. These are results from the psychosomatic and psychological consequences of the readjustment process to the primary culture.[7] The affected person often finds this more surprising and difficult to deal with than the original culture shock. This phenomenon, the reactions that members of the re-entered culture exhibit toward the re-entrant, and the inevitability of the two are encapsulated in the following saying, which is also the title of a book by Thomas Wolfe, *You Can’t Go Home Again*.

Reverse culture shock is generally made up of two parts: idealization and expectations. When an extended period of time is spent abroad we focus on the good from our past, cut out the bad, and create an idealized version of the past. Secondly, once removed from our familiar setting and placed in a foreign one we incorrectly assume that our previous world has not changed. We expect things to remain exactly the same as when we left them. The realization that life back home is now different, that the world has continued without us, and the process of readjusting to these new conditions as well as actualizing our new perceptions about the world with our old way of living causes discomfort and psychological anguish. [8]

Outcomes

There are three basic outcomes of the Adjustment Phase:[9]

- Some people find it impossible to accept the foreign culture and to integrate. They isolate themselves from the host country’s environment, which they come to perceive as hostile, withdraw into a “ghetto” and see return to their own culture as the only way out. These “Rejectors” also have the greatest problems re-integrating back home after return. [10]
- Some people integrate fully and take on all parts of the host culture while losing their original identity. This is called cultural assimilation. They normally remain in the host country forever. This group is sometimes known as “Adopters” and describes approximately 10% of expatriates.
- Some people manage to adapt to the aspects of the host culture they see as positive, while keeping some of their own and creating their unique blend. They have no major problems returning home or relocating elsewhere. This group can be thought to be somewhat cosmopolitan. Approximately 30% of expats belong to this group.

Culture shock has many different effects, time spans, and degrees of severity.[11] Many people are handicapped by its presence and do not recognize what is bothering them.

Transition Shock

Culture shock is a subcategory of a more universal construct called transition shock. Transition shock is a state of loss and disorientation predicated by a change in one’s familiar environment that requires adjustment. There are many symptoms of transition shock, including:

- Excessive concern over cleanliness
- Feelings of helplessness and withdrawal
- Irritability
- Anger
- Mood swings
- Glazed stare
- Desire for home and old friends
- Physiological stress reactions
- Homesickness
- Boredom
- Withdrawal
- Getting “stuck” on one thing
- Suicidal or fatalistic thoughts
- Excessive sleep

- Compulsive eating/drinking/weight gain
- Stereotyping host nationals
- Hostility towards host nationals[12]

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2.9: Values and Norms

Values are abstract concepts that certain kinds of behaviors are good, right, ethical, moral and therefore desirable. In the United States, one value is freedom; another is equality.

These values can come from a variety of sub-cultures or social institutions. A society can have all of the values it wants, but if it doesn't have a way to enforce those values, then having values means nothing.

So societies have developed forms of social control, which is the process people use to maintain order in group life.

There are two main categories of social control: **norms** and **laws**. A norm is a standard of behavior. At some point people in the society agree that these are standards. Some people learn by being taught, but mostly we pick them up just by being exposed to them.

There are a couple of types of norms: **folkways** and **mores**. Folkways are norms related to everyday life—eating with silverware, getting up in the morning and going to work or school for example. There are also mores, which are behaviors that are right or wrong…don't kill people, don't steal…

Some norms are explicitly taught, others are tacit—we pick them up through observation. We pick up forms of greeting, roles, which side of the sidewalk to walk on…the list could go on and on.

Sometimes, particularly in state-level societies, the mores are codified into laws or binding rules. So, stealing as a bad behavior becomes a crime. Murder—crime.

So, how do societies encourage compliance with norms and laws? There are rewards and punishment. For instance, if you kill someone in our society, if you're caught, you go to trial and if found guilty, you go to prison, or you can be put to death. We have developed specific jobs and organizations that carry out enforcement of laws…police, court system, prison, military. These are official forms of **social control** enforcement. Now these forms don't have to be negative. Some are positive…a good example would be something like a Citizen Hero award.

There is also informal enforcement of norms and laws. As with the official forms of social control enforcement, the unofficial can be both positive and negative—giving your child an allowance for completing chores is an example of positive enforcement; spanking or time outs are examples of negative enforcement. Peer pressure and religious doctrine are other informal methods of enforcement of both norms and laws. Ostracism, or shunning, is yet another.

However, there are times when norm or even law violations don't result in punishment, but these types of violations are very specifically defined. For instance, it is generally accepted that if you kill someone in self-defense or in a time of war, the punishments do not apply.

Figure **2.9.1** - Buddhist temple at Royal Palace in Luong, Prabang

Now, all of these norms and laws can be organized into a set of **social institutions**. A social institution is a patterned set of behaviors developed to meet perceived needs. This way people aren't doing whatever they want whenever they want to meet their needs. In US culture, we treasure independence, but that independence must be exercised within the constructed social institutions. That's not to say that there aren't people who go outside of these social constraints, they do. That is actually important behavior in an evolutionary sense as it provides variation of behaviors. It is those behaviors where social change is instigated.

Anthropologists put these patterns of behavior into some general categories, for instance, economic systems, religion, expressive culture and political organization. The exact pattern varies from group to group, but the needs that are met is pretty much the same. We'll be looking at some of these categories later in the quarter.

As we move through the course and read about other cultures, I'd like you to think about the values and norms of your own culture. When you have a reaction, particularly a strong reaction, stop and think about what values, norms and laws are being violated. This will help you have a deeper understanding of the material we cover in the course.

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2.10: Two Views of Culture: ETIC and EMIC

Figure **2.10.1** - 125th Street in East Harlem

In the article, “Workaday World, Crack Economy”, anthropologist Philippe Bourgois uses participant observation to get involved with the people living in East Harlem. He actually lived there trying to uncover this system, and getting to know the people that he was observing. His approach displays both emic detail, the stories and explanations given by Primo and Cesar, as well as etic analysis attributing workplace discrimination to the FIRE (Finance, Insurance, and Real Estate) economy. Both points of view are rather crucial.

ETIC

An **etic view** of a culture is the perspective of an outsider looking in. For example, if an American anthropologist went to Africa to study a nomadic tribe, his/her resulting case study would be from an etic standpoint if he/she did not integrate themselves into the culture they were observing. Some anthropologists may take this approach to avoid altering the culture that they are studying by direct interaction. The etic perspective is data gathering by *outsiders* that yield questions posed by outsiders. One problem that anthropologists may run in to is that people tend to act differently when they are being observed. It is especially hard for an outsider to gain access to certain private rituals, which may be important for understanding a culture.

The **World Health Organization** (WHO) is an example of an “etic” view. The WHO created a group that specializes in Health and Human Rights. Although the idea that all cultures should have their rights protected in terms of health seems logical, it can also be dangerous as it is an “etic” view on culture. The WHO posits that “violations or lack of attention to human rights (e.g. harmful traditional practices, slavery, torture and inhuman and degrading treatment, violence against women) can have serious health consequences.”[4] Although some cultures may see this as a big step in health care, others could see it as an attack on their way of life. This problem of right and wrong in terms of crossing cultural lines is a big one. It can be hard for some cultures to watch other cultures do things that are seen as damaging when to the culture itself it has a purpose and a meaning.

EMIC

An **emic view** of culture is ultimately a perspective focus on the intrinsic cultural distinctions that are meaningful to the members of a given society, often considered to be an ‘insider’s’ perspective. While this perspective stems from the concept of immersion in a specific culture, the emic participant isn’t always a member of that culture or society. Studies done from an emic perspective often include more detailed and culturally rich information than studies done from an etic point of view. Because the observer places themselves within the culture of intended study,they are able to go further in-depth on the details of practices and beliefs of a society that may otherwise have been ignored. However, the emic perspective has its downfalls. Studies done from an emic perspective can create bias on the part of the participant,especially if said individual is a member of the culture they are studying, thereby failing to keep in mind how their practices are perceived by others and possibly causing valuable information to be left out. The emic perspective serves the purpose of providing descriptive in-depth reports about how *insiders* of a culture understand their rituals.

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This page also draws upon the following Wikipedia resources:

- anthropology
- cultural anthropology
- sociology
- social science
- cultural relativism
- female genital cutting

EXTERNAL LINKS

- What is Anthropology? – Information from the American Anthropological Association
- SLA– Society for Linguistic Anthropology

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2.11: Symbols and Culture

Figure **2.11.1** - The Rosetta stone has several different languages carved into it

Symbols are the basis of culture. A symbol is an object, word, or action that stands for something else with no natural relationship that is culturally defined. Everything one does throughout their life is based and organized through cultural symbolism. Symbolism is when something represents abstract ideas or concepts. Some good examples of symbols/symbolism would be objects, figures, sounds, and colors. For example in the Hawaiian culture, the performance of a Lua is a symbol of their land and heritage which is performed through song and dance [8] . Also, they could be facial expressions or word interpretations. Symbols mean different things to different people, which is why it is impossible to hypothesize how a specific culture will symbolize something. Some symbols are gained from experience, while others are gained from culture. One of the most common cultural symbols is language. For example, the letters of an alphabet symbolize the sounds of a specific spoken language.

Symbolism leads to the “Layers of Meaning” concept. Culture is the meaning that is shared to provide guiding principles for individual meaning.

Language is the most often used form of symbolism. There are 6,912 known living languages, and the diversity is caused by isolation. Most languages have a different “symbol” for each letter, word, or phrase. The use of symbols is adaptive, that means that humans can learn to associate new symbols to a concept or new concepts with a symbol. An example may be drawn from two populations who speak different languages that come into contact with one another and need to communicate. They form a language that has a large degree of flexibility in using either language’s symbols (in this case patterns of sound) or a hybrid set of symbols to communicate messages back and forth. This contact language, or pidgin gradually gives way to a creole with a more formal set of symbols (words), grammatical rules for their organization, and its own native speakers who transmit the language from generation to generation.

It is important for anthropologists to consider their own cultural background when looking at symbolism in a different culture. This is because many symbols, though similar in appearance, can mean drastically different things. These symbols can best be understood or interpreted though the eyes of the culture that they pertain to, otherwise they may lose their unique significance. One example of a misinterpreted cultural symbol is the “whirl log” symbol commonly used in Southwestern Native American blanket weaving. This symbol is almost identical to the Nazi Swastika, and therefore brings a negative response from many Americans. Although the Native American symbol has nothing to do with Nazi or Germanic symbolism, this design is rarely used on blankets today because of the symbolic misinterpretation. [9

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2.12: Explore: Learn More about the Anthropologists

Franz Boas: http://www.biography.com/people/franz-boas-9216786

Clyde Kluckhohn: http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/...e-KM-Kluckhohn

Alfred Kroeber: http://www.americanethnography.com/article.php?id=10

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

3: Anthropological Theory

Why learn theory? “Theories are analytical tools for understanding, explaining, and making predictions about a given subject matter”. Theories help to direct our thinking and provide a common framework from which people can work. Oftentimes through the process of using a theoretical framework, we discover that it lacks explanatory abilities. When that happens, it is modified or even abandoned.

3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
3.2: Historical Particularism
3.3: Functionalism
3.4: Culture and Personality
3.5: Cultural Ecology
3.6: Structural Anthropology
3.7: Cultural Materialism
3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology
3.9: Postmodernism
3.10: Feminist Anthropology
3.S: Anthropological Theory (Summary)
Index

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Front Matter

TitlePage
InfoPage

Lumen Learning (Candela)

3: Anthropological Theory

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3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory

Why learn theory? “Theories are analytical tools for understanding, explaining, and making predictions about a given subject matter” (1). Theories help to direct our thinking and provide a common framework from which people can work. Oftentimes through the process of using a theoretical framework, we discover that it lacks explanatory abilities. When that happens, it is modified or even abandoned.

There are a number of theoretical approaches used in cultural anthropology. This page highlights some of the major theoretical approaches used in cultural anthropology. Not all of the theories reviewed are in use any more. Social evolutionism was abandoned early on in cultural anthropology. Culture and Personality, Cultural Ecology, and Cultural Materialism have all been jumping off points for more modern theoretical perspectives.

Social Evolution

Proposed in the 19th century, **social evolution**, which is sometimes referred to as **Unilineal Evolution**, was the first theory developed for anthropology. This theory claims that societies develop according to one universal order of cultural evolution, albeit at different rates, which explained why there were different types of society existing in the world. **E. B. Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Herbert Spencer** (a sociologist) were the most notable of the Nineteenth-century social evolutionists. They collected data from missionaries and traders; they themselves rarely went to the societies that they were analyzing. They organized these second-hand data and applied the general theory they developed to all societies.

Social evolutionists identified universal evolutionary stages to classify different societies as in a state of savagery, barbarism, or civilization. Morgan further subdivided savagery and barbarism into sub-categories: low, middle, and high. The stages were based primarily on technological characteristics, but included other things such as political organization, marriage, family, and religion. Since Western societies had the most advanced technology, they put those societies at the highest rank of civilization. Societies at a stage of savagery or barbarism were viewed as inherently inferior to civilized society. Spencer’s theory of social evolution, which is often referred to as Social Darwinism but which he called synthetic philosophy, proposed that war promoted evolution, stating that those societies that conducted more warfare were the most evolved. He also coined the phrase “survival of the fittest” and advocated for allowing societies to compete, thereby allowing the most fit in society to survive. With these ideas, Spencer opposed social policy that would help the poor. Eugenicists used Spencer’s ideas to promote intellectual and ethnic cleansing as a ‘natural’ occurrence.

There are two main assumptions embedded in social evolutionism: psychic unity and the superiority of Western cultures. Psychic unity is a concept that suggests human minds share similar characteristics all over the world. This means that all people and their societies will go through the same process of development. The assumption of Western superiority was not unusual for the time period. This assumption was deeply rooted in European colonialism and based on the fact that Western societies had more technologically sophisticated technology and a belief that Christianity was the true religion.

Nineteenth-century evolutionists contributed to anthropology by providing the first systematic methods for thinking about and explaining human societies; however, contemporary anthropologists view nineteenth-century evolutionism as too simplistic to explain the development of societies in the world. In general, the nineteenth-century evolutionists relied on racist views of human development that were popular at that time. For example, both Lewis Henry Morgan and E. B. Tylor believed that people in various societies have different levels of intelligence, which leads to societal differences, a view of intelligence that is no longer valid in contemporary science. Nineteenth-century evolutionism was strongly attacked by historical particularists for being speculative and ethnocentric in the early twentieth-century. At the same time, its materialist approaches and cross-cultural views influenced Marxist Anthropology and Neo-evolutionists.

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3.2: Historical Particularism

Figure **3.2.1** - Franz Boas, Father of American Anthropology

Franz Boas and his students developed **historical particularism** early in the twentieth century. This approach claims that each society has its own unique historical development and must be understood based on its own specific cultural and environmental context, especially its historical process. Its core premise was that culture was a "set of ideas or symbols held in common by a group of people who see themselves as a social group" (Darnell 2013: 399). Historical particularists criticized the theory of the nineteenth-century social evolution as non-scientific and proclaimed themselves to be free from preconceived ideas. Boas believed that there were universal laws that could be derived from the comparative study of cultures; however, he thought that the ethnographic database was not yet robust enough for us to identify those laws. To that end, he and his students collected a vast amount of first-hand cultural data by conducting ethnographic fieldwork. Based on these raw data, they described particular cultures instead of trying to establish general theories that apply to all societies.

The Historical particularists valued fieldwork and history as critical methods of cultural analysis. At the same time, the anthropologists in this theoretical school had different views on the importance of individuals in a society. For example, Frantz Boas saw each individual as the basic component of a society. He gathered information from individual informants and considered such data valuable enough for cultural analysis. On the other hand, **Alfred Kroeber** did not see individuals as the fundamental elements of a society. He believed a society evolves according to its own internal laws that do not directly originate from its individuals. He named this cultural aspect superorganic and claimed that a society cannot be explained without considering this impersonal force.

Historical particularism was a dominant trend in anthropology during the first half of the twentieth century. One of the achievements of the historical particularists was that they succeeded in excluding racism from anthropology. The nineteenth-century evolutionists explained cultural similarities and differences by classifying societies into superior and inferior categories. Historical particularists showed that this labeling is based on insufficient evidence and claimed that societies cannot be ranked by the value judgment of researchers. Historical particularists were also responsible for showing the need for long-term, intensive fieldwork in order to produce accurate descriptions of cultures. One important part of doing that was to learn the language of the study group.

LEARN MORE ABOUT THE ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Lewis Henry Morgan: https://rochester.edu/College/ANT/morgan/bio.html

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3.3: Functionalism

The roots of **functionalism** are found in the work of sociologists **Herbert Spencer** and **Émile Durkheim**. Functionalism considers a culture as an interrelated whole, not a collection of isolated traits. Like a human being has various organs that are interconnected and necessary for the body to function correctly, so society is a system of interconnected parts that make the whole function efficiently. The Functionalists examined how a particular cultural phase is interrelated with other aspects of the culture and how it affects the whole system of the society; in other words, cause and effect. The theory of Functionalism emerged in the 1920s and then declined after World War II because of cultural changes caused by the war. Since the theory did not emphasize social transformations, it was replaced by other theories related to cultural changes. Even so, the basic idea of Functionalism has become part of a common sense for cultural analysis in anthropology. Anthropologists generally consider interconnections of different cultural domains when they analyze cultures, e.g., the connections between subsistence strategies and family organization or religion.

Figure **3.3.1** - Émile Durkheim

The method of functionalism was based on fieldwork and direct observations of societies. Anthropologists were to describe various cultural institutions that make up a society, explain their social function, and show their contribution to the overall stability of a society. At the same time, this functionalist approach was criticized for not considering cultural changes of traditional societies.

Structural functionalism was a form of functionalism that arose in Great Britain. British anthropologist, **A.R Radcliffe-Brown**, was its most prominent advocate. In the structural functionalism approach, society, its institutions and roles, was the appropriate thing to study. Cultural traits supported or helped to preserve social structures. This approach had little interest in the individual, which contrasts with the approach advocated for by **Bronislaw Malinowski**.

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3.4: Culture and Personality

Attributed to anthropologists **Ruth Benedict** and **Margaret Mead**, the **Culture and Personality** school of thought drew on the work of **Edward Sapir** to explain relationships between childrearing customs and human behaviors in different societies. They suggested anthropologists could gain an understanding of a national culture through examination of individual personalities. There were two main themes in this theoretical school. One was about the relationship between culture and human nature. The other was about the correlation between culture and individual personality.

Figure **3.4.1** - Ruth Benedict

The theory of Culture and Personality also drew on Boas' cultural relativism and Freud's psychoanalysis about early childhood. If we premise that all humans are hereditarily equal, why are people so unique from society to society? The theoretical school answered this question by using Freud's psychoanalysis: the differences between people in various societies usually stem from cultural differences instilled in childhood. In other words, the foundations of personality development are set in early childhood according to each society's unique cultural traits. Based on this basis, the theoretical school of Culture and Personality researched childrearing in different societies and compared the results cross-culturally. They described distinctive characteristics of people in certain cultures and attributed these unique traits to the different methods of childrearing. The aim of this comparison was to show the correlation between childrearing practices and adult personality types.

The Culture and Personality proponents were on the cutting edge when it emerged in the early 20th century. Using clinical interviews, dream analysis, life histories, participant observation, and projective tests (e.g., Rorschach), the culture and personality analysis of the correlation between childrearing customs and human behaviors was, at that time, a practical alternative to using racism explanations for analyzing different human behaviors. In fact, the culture and personality school was responsible for greatly limiting the number of racist, hierarchical descriptions of culture types common during the early to mid-20th century. This approach to understanding culture was instrumental in moving the focus to the individual in order to understand behaviors within a culture instead of looking for universal laws of human behavior.

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3.5: Cultural Ecology

Ecology is a biological term for the interaction of organisms and their environment, which includes other organisms. **Cultural ecology** is a theoretical approach that attempts to explain similarities and differences in culture in relation to the environment. Highly focused on how the material culture, or technology, related to basic survival, i.e., subsistence, cultural ecology was the first theoretical approach to provide a causal explanation for those similarities and differences. Developed by **Julian Steward** in the 1930s and 1940s, cultural ecology became an influential approach within anthropology, particularly archaeology. Elements of the approach are still seen today in ethnoecology, political ecology, human behavioral ecology, and the ecosystems approach (Tucker 2013).

Using Steward's approach, anthropologists compare cultures in order to determine what factors influence similar cultural development; in other words, similar adaptations. In cultural ecology, cultures, not individuals, adapt. This approach assumes that culture is superorganic, a concept Steward learned from Alfred Kroeber (see historical particularism).

Figure **3.5.1** - Julian Steward

Steward proposed that we could begin to understand these adaptations by first examining the cultural core, as this was the critical cultural component that dealt with the ability of the culture to survive. The cultural core was comprised of the technology, knowledge, labor, and family organization used to collect resources from the environment (Tucker 2013). He then thought that examination of behaviors associated with the cultural core was necessary, which included the organization of labor. Thirdly, Steward advocated for examining how social institutions and belief systems were impacted by subsistence-related behaviors. According to the cultural ecology school of thought, cultural similarities were explained by adaptations to similar environmental conditions, causing the approach to be labeled environmental determinism. Cultural changes were due to changing environmental conditions. Since environmental changes were not predictable, cultures changed in multiple directions. Cultures that may have been similar at one point might become dissimilar if environmental conditions changed. Conversely, cultures that were dissimilar could become similar. This idea of multi-directional change is called multilinear evolution and is one of the major departures from earlier evolutionary explanations of culture. **Leslie White** was another proponent of cultural ecology, although he was focused primarily on how cultures harvested energy from the environment and how much energy they used.

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3.6: Structural Anthropology

Structural anthropology is a school of anthropology based on Claude Lévi-Strauss' idea that immutable deep structures exist in all cultures, and consequently, that all cultural practices have homologous counterparts in other cultures, essentially that all cultures are equitable.

Lévi-Strauss' approach arose in large part from dialectics expounded on by Marx and Hegel, though dialectics (as a concept) dates back to Ancient Greek philosophy. Hegel explains that every situation presents two opposing things and their resolution; Fichte had termed these "thesis, antithesis, and synthesis." Lévi-Strauss argued that cultures also have this structure. He showed, for example, how opposing ideas would fight and were resolved to establish the rules of marriage, mythology and ritual. This approach, he felt, made for fresh new ideas. He stated:

> *people think about the world in terms of binary opposites—such as high and low, inside and outside, person and animal, life and death—and that every culture can be understood in terms of these opposites. "From the very start," he wrote, "the process of visual perception makes use of binary oppositions.*[1]

Only those who practice structural analysis are aware of what they are actually trying to do: that is, to reunite perspectives that the "narrow" scientific outlook of recent centuries believed to be mutually exclusive: sensibility and intellect, quality and quantity, the concrete and the geometrical, or as we say today, the "etic" and the "emic."[1]

In South America he showed that there are "dual organizations" throughout Amazon rainforest cultures, and that these "dual organizations" represent opposites and their synthesis. For instance, Gê tribes of the Amazon were found to divide their villages into two rival halves; however, the members of opposite halves married each other. This illustrated two opposites in conflict and then resolved.

Culture, he claimed, has to take into account both life and death and needs to have a way of mediating between the two. Mythology (see his several-volume *Mythologies*) unites opposites in diverse ways.

Three of the most prominent structural anthropologists are Lévi-Strauss himself and the British neo-structuralists Rodney Needham and Edmund Leach. The latter was the author of such essays as "Time and False Noses" [in *Rethinking Anthropology*].[2]

Influences

Lévi-Strauss took many ideas from structural linguistics, including those of Ferdinand de Saussure, Roman Jakobson, Émile Durkheim and Marcel Mauss. Saussure argued that linguists needed to move beyond the recording of *parole* (individual speech acts) and come to an understanding of *langue*, the grammar of each language.

Lévi-Strauss applied this distinction in his search for mental structures that underlie all acts of human behavior: Just as speakers can talk without awareness of grammar, he argued, humans are unaware of the workings of social structures in daily life. The structures that form the "deep grammar" of society originate in the mind and operate unconsciously (albeit not in a Freudian sense).

Another concept was borrowed from the Prague school of linguistics, which employed so-called binary oppositions in their research. Roman Jakobson and others analysed sounds based on the presence or absence of certain features, such as "voiceless" vs. "voiced". Lévi-Strauss included this in his conceptualization of the mind's universal structures. For him, opposites formed the basis of social structure and culture.

Notes

1. [a] [b] Lévi-Strauss 1972
2. Leach 1966

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3.7: Cultural Materialism

Cultural materialism is one of the major anthropological perspectives for analyzing human societies. It incorporates ideas from Marxism, cultural evolution, and cultural ecology. Materialism contends that the physical world impacts and sets constraints on human behavior. The materialists believe that human behavior is part of nature and therefore, it can be understood by using the methods of natural science. Materialists do not necessarily assume that material reality is more important than mental reality. However, they give priority to the material world over the world of the mind when they explain human societies. This doctrine of materialism started and developed from the work of **Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels**. Marx and Engels presented an evolutionary model of societies based on the materialist perspective. They argued that societies go through the several stages, from tribalism to feudalism to capitalism to communism. Their work drew little attention from anthropology in the early twentieth-century. However, since the late 1920s, anthropologists have increasingly come to depend on materialist explanations for analyzing societal development and some inherent problems of capitalist societies. Anthropologists who heavily rely on the insights of Marx and Engels include neo-evolutionists, neo-materialists, feminists, and postmodernists.

Cultural materialists identify three levels of social systems that constitute a universal pattern: 1) infrastructure, 2) structure, and 3) superstructure. Infrastructure is the basis for all other levels and includes how basic needs are met and how it interacts with the local environment. Structure refers to a society's economic, social, and political organization, while superstructure is related to ideology and symbolism. Cultural materialists like **Marvin Harris** contend that the infrastructure is the most critical aspect as it is here where the interaction between culture and environment occurs. All three of the levels are interrelated so that changes in the infrastructure results in changes in the structure and superstructure, although the changes might not be immediate. While this appears to be environmental determinism, cultural materialists do not disclaim that change in the structure and superstructure cannot occur without first change in the infrastructure. They do however claim that if change in those structures is not compatible with the existing infrastructure the change is not likely to become set within the culture.

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3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology

The theoretical school of **Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology** assumes that culture does not exist beyond individuals. Rather, culture lies in individuals' interpretations of events and things around them. With a reference to socially established signs and symbols, people shape the patterns of their behaviors and give meanings to their experiences. Therefore, the goal of Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology is to analyze how people give meanings to their reality and how this reality is expressed by their cultural symbols. The major accomplishment of symbolic anthropology has been to turn anthropology towards issues of culture and interpretation rather than grand theories.

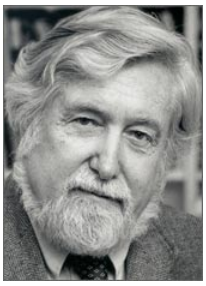

Figure **3.8.1** - Clifford Geertz

Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology emerged in the 1960s when **Victor Turner, Clifford Geertz, and David Schneider** were at the University of Chicago and is still influential today. Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology does not follow the model of physical sciences, which focus on empirical material phenomena, but is literary-based. This does not mean that Symbolic and Interpretive anthropologists do not conduct fieldwork, but instead refers to the practice of drawing on non-anthropological literature as a primary source of data. The Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropologists view culture as a mental phenomenon and reject the idea that culture can be modeled like mathematics or logic. When they study symbolic action in cultures, they use a variety of analytical tools from psychology, history, and literature. This method has been criticized for a lack of objective method. In other words, this method seems to allow analysts to see meaning wherever and however they wish. In spite of this criticism, Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology has forced anthropologists to become aware of cultural texts they interpret and of ethnographic texts they create. In order to work as intercultural translators, anthropologists need to be aware of their own cultural biases as well as other cultures they research.

There are two schools of thought within Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology. **The British school** was interested in how societies maintained cohesion and is illustrated by the work of **Victor Turner and Mary Douglas**. **The American school** is exemplified by **Clifford Geertz and Sherry Ortner** and was focused on "how ideas shaped individuals subjectivities and actions" (Johnson 2013: 842). An important contribution of Symbolic and Interpretive anthropologists, specifically Clifford Geertz, is "thick description," which encourages rich descriptions and explanations of behaviors with an end goal of understanding their cultural significance. Geertz borrowed this concept from Gilbert Ryle, an Oxford philosopher. The classic example of thick description is the difference between a wink and a blink. A blink is an involuntary twitch (thin description) while a wink is a conspiratorial signal to another person (thick description). The physical movements are identical, but the meaning is different.

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3.9: Postmodernism

Postmodernism is a theoretical approach that arose in the 1980s to explain an historical period, post-modernity, which is generally accepted to have begun in the late 1960s and early 1970s. This is a period related to the Cold War and social upheaval in many parts of the world. The postmodernism theoretical approach is difficult to define and delineate. It is generally scoffed at in the Natural Sciences, debated in the Social Sciences, and more favorably accepted within the Humanities. In the past, debates on the merits of the postmodern approach have created divisions among faculty and derision between disciplines. The postmodern approach challenges the "dominating and bullying nature of science and reason" and focuses on "…splitting the truth, the standards, and the ideal into what has been deconstructed and into what is about to be deconstructed, and denying in advance the right of any new doctrine, theory, or revelation to take the place of the discarded rules of the past" (Cooke 2006: 2014). It is the academic equivalent of the social clamor against the establishment that arose in the 1960s and 1970s.

Postmodernists claim that it is impossible for anyone to have objective and neutral knowledge of another culture. This view comes from the notion that we all interpret the world around us in our own way according to our language, cultural background, and personal experiences. In other words, everybody has their own views based on his or her social and personal contexts. Because of this aspect of human nature, anthropologists can never be unbiased observers of other cultures. When postmodern anthropologists analyze different societies, they are sensitive to this limitation. They do not assume that their way of conceptualizing culture is the only way. The postmodernists believe that anthropological texts are influenced by the political and social contexts within which they are written. Therefore, it is unreasonable when authors try to justify their interpretations and underlying biases by using the concept of objectivity. The postmodernists claim that the acceptance of an interpretation is ultimately an issue of power and wealth. In other words, we tend to legitimize particular statements represented by those with political and economic advantage. In order to heighten sensitivity towards those who are not part of mainstream culture, the postmodernists often promote underrepresented viewpoints, such as those of ethnic minorities, women, and others. Postmodernists also re-introduced a focus on individual behavior, which has become known as agency theory. Agency approaches examine how individual agents shape culture.

Postmodern anthropologists gave other anthropologists an opportunity to reconsider their approaches of cultural analysis by ushering in an era of reflexive anthropology. The anthropologist tries to become sensitive to his or her unconscious assumptions. For example, anthropologists now consider whether they should include in ethnographies different interpretations of culture other than their own. Furthermore, anthropologists need to determine their own standards for choosing what kind of information can be counted as knowledge. This reflection leads anthropologists to enrich their work. At the same time, the challenges by postmodernists often result in backlash from those who feel their understandings are threatened. Some anthropologists claim that the postmodernists rely on a particular moral model rather than empirical data or scientific methods. This moral model is structured by sympathy to those who do not possess the same privilege that the mainstream has in Western societies. Therefore, postmodernism will undermine the legitimacy of anthropology by introducing this political bias.

Another typical criticism on postmodernism comes from the fear of extremely relativistic view. Such critics argue that postmodernism will lead to nihilism because it does not assume a common ground of understanding. Some opponents claim that postmodernism will undermine universal human rights and will even justify dictatorship. Postmodernism is an ongoing debate, especially regarding whether anthropology should rely on scientific or humanistic approaches.

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3.10: Feminist Anthropology

Feminist anthropology is a four-field approach to anthropology (archaeological, biological, cultural, linguistic) that seeks to reduce male bias in research findings, anthropological hiring practices, and the scholarly production of knowledge.[1] Simultaneously, feminist anthropology challenges essentialist feminist theories developed in Europe and America. While feminists practiced cultural anthropology since its inception as an [American discipline]? (see Margaret Meadand Hortense Powdermaker), it was not until the 1970s that feminist anthropology was formally recognized as a subdiscipline of anthropology. Since then, it has developed its own subsection of the American Anthropological Association – the Association for Feminist Anthropology – and its own publication, *Voices*.

History

Feminist anthropology has unfolded through three historical phases beginning in the 1970s: the anthropology of women, the anthropology of gender, and finally feminist anthropology.[2]

Prior to these historical phases, feminist anthropologists trace their genealogy to the late 19th century.[3] Erminnie Platt Smith, Alice Cunningham Fletcher, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Frances Densmore—many of these women were self-taught anthropologists and their accomplishments faded and heritage erased by the professionalization of the discipline at the turn of the 20th century.[4] Prominent among early women anthropologists were the wives of 'professional' men anthropologists, some of whom facilitated their husbands research as translators and transcriptionists. Margery Wolf, for example, wrote her classic ethnography "The House of Lim" from experiences she encountered following her husband to northern Taiwan during his own fieldwork.[5]

While anthropologists like Margaret Mead and Ruth Benedict are canonical representatives of the next stage in the history of feminist anthropology, the true theoretical pioneers of the field were women of color and ethnic women anthropologists. Hortense Powdermaker, for example, a contemporary of Mead's who studied with British anthropological pioneer Bronislaw Malinowski conducted political research projects in a number of then atypical settings: reproduction and women in Melanesia (Powdermaker 1933), race in the American South (Powdermaker 1939), gender and production in Hollywood (1950), and class-gender-race intersectionality in the African Copper Belt (Powdermaker 1962). Similarly, Zora Neale Hurston, a student of Franz Boas, the father of American anthropology, experimented with narrative forms beyond the objective ethnography that characterized the proto/pseudo- scientific writings of the time. Other African American women made similar moves at the junctions of ethnography and creativity, namely Katherine Dunham and Pearl Primus, both of whom studied dance in the 1940s. Also important to the later spread of Feminist anthropology within other subfields beyond cultural anthropology was physical anthropologist Caroline Bond Day and archaeologist Mary Leakey.

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3.S: Anthropological Theory (Summary)

Learn More about the Anthropologists

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- Mary Douglas: http://www.theguardian.com/news/2007...ies.obituaries
- Clifford Geertz: www.nytimes.com/2006/11/01/ob...pagewanted=all
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- Margaret Mead: http://www.interculturalstudies.org/Mead/biography.html
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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

Back Matter

Index

Index

A

Allen's rule
6.2: Human Adaptations
Animatism
12.4: Aspects of Religion
animism
12.4: Aspects of Religion

B

berdache
10.7: Two-Spirit
Bergmann's rule
6.2: Human Adaptations
bilateral descent
8.2: Descent Rules
Breast Ironing
10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)

C

call system
5.2: Language
caste system
11.7: Indian Caste System
cognatic descent
8.2: Descent Rules
colonialism
14.3: Modernization
communication system
5.2: Language
corporate descent
8.2: Descent Rules
cultural ecology
3.5: Cultural Ecology
Cultural materialism
3.7: Cultural Materialism
culture
1.4: What is Culture?

D

Double Burden
10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)

E

ethics
4.4: Ethics
ethnocentrism
1.5: Ethnocentrism
export monoculture
14.3: Modernization

F

Female genital mutilation
10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)
Feminist anthropology
3.10: Feminist Anthropology
fieldwork
4.3: Fieldwork
foraging
7.2: Foraging
Friedrich Engels
3.7: Cultural Materialism
functionalism
3.3: Functionalism

G

gender
10: Sex and Gender
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
Gender ideology
10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)
gender inequality
10.10: Gender Inequality
gender role
10.6: Gender Role
genocide
11.9: Genocide
Glass Ceiling
10.13: Gender and Employment
Global Gender Gap Report
10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report
globalization
14: Globalization
14.2: Globalization

H

Henotheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief
Herbert Spencer
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
hijra
10.8: Hijra
Historical Particularism
3.2: Historical Particularism
Human trafficking
10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2)

I

Inis Beag
10.3: Inis Beag
Interpretive Anthropology
3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology

K

Karl Marx
3.7: Cultural Materialism
Kennewick Man
13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

L

language
5.2: Language
Lascaux Cave
13.4: Paleolithic Art
linguistic anthropology
5.1: Linguistic Anthropology

M

Margaret Mead
10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies
Mediums
12.6: Religious Practitioners
missing women of Asia
10.18: Missing Women of Asia
modernization
14.3: Modernization
Monotheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief

N

Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)
13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

P

Paleolithic Art
13.4: Paleolithic Art
pastoralism
7.3: Pastoralists
Polytheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief
postmodernism
3.9: Postmodernism
Priest
12.6: Religious Practitioners

Q

qualitative data
4.3: Fieldwork
quantitative data
4.3: Fieldwork

R

race
6: Deconstructing Race
religion
12: Supernatural Belief Systems
12.1: Introduction to Religion
Rite of Passage
12.9: Rite of Passage

S

Sambia
10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia
sexual dimorphism
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
sexual orientation
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
10.2: Sexual Orientation
sexuality
10: Sex and Gender
Shaman
12.6: Religious Practitioners

skin color
6.3: Skin Color and UV Index
social evolution
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
Structural Anthropology
3.6: Structural Anthropology
structural functionalism
3.3: Functionalism
survival of the fittest
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory

Symbolic Anthropology
3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology

U

untouchables
11.7: Indian Caste System

V

Venus of Willendorf
13.4: Paleolithic Art
violence against women
10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1)
vision quest
12.10: Vision Quest

W

Wiccan
12.6: Religious Practitioners

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

4: Methods

4.1: Methodology
4.2: Ethnography and Ethnology
4.3: Fieldwork
4.4: Ethics
4.5: Structured Interview
4.6: Unstructured Interview

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4.1: Methodology

Ethnography is a research strategy where the approach is to get as much information as possible about a particular culture. The ethnographer, or cultural anthropologist, tries to get information from many angles to see whole picture–again, striving for that holistic view.

There are multiple methodologies that can be employed:

Figure **4.1.1** - Gillian Harper Ice conducting fieldwork for the Kenyan Grandparents study: "www.oucom.ohiou.edu/internati...enya/index.htm"

1. **Participant Observation** – this the hallmark of anthropology. This method was pioneered by Branislaw Malinowski. Using this method, the ethnographer not only observes but participates in the activities of the culture. In this manner, anthropologists attempt to record the **emic**, or insider's view of the behavior, as opposed to the **etic**, or outsider's view. This does not mean that the emic and etic are mutually exclusive; they can compliment one another by giving both subjective and objective interpretation.
2. **Interviews**, **Conversation** – this works best when the ethnographer has learned the language. Interpreters can and are used; however, it is always best to be able to learn the language oneself. Not only does it lessen the chance of misinterpretation via a third person, but it helps build confidence with the culture group being studied.
3. **Informant** – an informant is a key individual—usually someone with a lot of knowledge about the group being studied. This individual is interviewed and used as a contact point with the group. The problem with this is that the researcher only gets a small picture of what's going on.
4. **Genealogical Method** – this method is strictly about learning the kinship, family, and marriage patterns of a group. It is a basic method used to help anthropologists understand social relationships and history.
5. **Life Histories** – this method relies on getting the personal history of an individual. This can help anthropologists arrive at some insights into perceptions about a culture. It can help the researcher understand the emic. Ideally, several life histories would be collected in order to get more balanced information.
6. **Interpretive Anthropology** – ethnographers produce ethnographies, which are reports on their ethnographic work. Over the years the approach to writing ethographies has changed. Early ethnographies used the etic approach to portray a scientific, objective view of the society. This approach is referred to as **ethnographic realism**. In the 1970s there was a movement to use an emic approach. This was an endeavor to try to get past the researcher's ethnocentrism to understand the natives' viewpoint. From this, interpretive anthropology arose. **Interpretive anthropology**requires the ethnographer to reflect on what their presence is doing to the study group as well as what it is in their personal culture that is impacting the interpretation of what they observe. It also allows for the ethnographer to relate their own feelings and reactions, all in the attempt to understand their interpretation.

7. **Problem-oriented ethnography** – cultural anthropologists using a problem-oriented ethnographic approach research a specific question; they collect data just on that question, e.g., the effects of modernization on social organization, while they are in the field.
8. **Ethnohistory** – this approach requires library and archival research; ethnohistorians attempt to reconstruct the history of a people using both their own accounts and those of outside observers. In this manner, ethnohistorians try to understand the modern condition of a people by understanding the historical events and processes that got the group to where they are now.
9. **Ethnology** (cross-cultural comparison) – cross-cultural comparison is employed by cultural anthropologists in order to understand the similarities and differences among cultures; this can help us to better understand the processes of change and adaptation in human culture.

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4.2: Ethnography and Ethnology

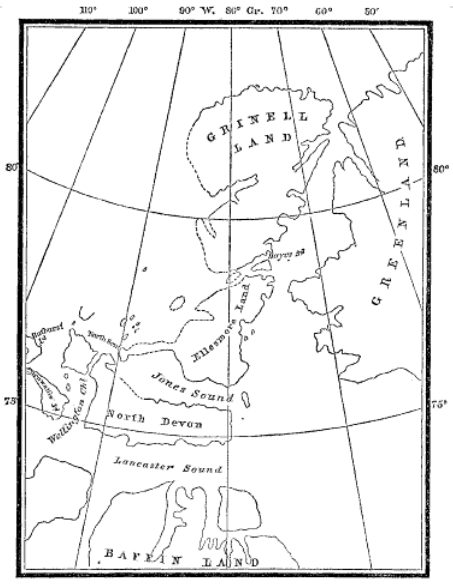

Figure **4.2.1** - By Franz Boas (Science, Vol. 5, No. 108,, p. 171) [Public domain], via Wikimedia Commons

The word Ethnography comes from these two Greek words:"Ethnos", meaning people & "Graphein", meaning writing. Wolcott (1999) defines ethnography is a description of "the customary social behaviors of an identifiable group of people". **Ethnography** is often referred to as "culture writing," and it refers to a type of documentation often employed by Anthropologists in their field work. This genre of writing uses detailed first-hand written descriptions of a culture based on first-hand research in the field.

Ethnographies often reflect the anthropological desire for **holism**, the idea that the whole is greater than the sum of the individual parts. In the case of ethnography, holism refers to the fact that a culture can be best understood through the understanding of as many aspects of the cultural context as possible.

Cultural anthropologists who write ethnographies are often called *ethnographers*. Ethnographers who write about what they have learned from the people that they have been working with often use a research method known as participant-observation. Participant Observationis a technique of field research used in anthropology by which an anthropologist studies the life of a group by sharing in its activities.

Ethnographic information can take many different forms. Articles, journals, statistical data, and documentaries are just a few of the many forms that ethnographic information can be conveyed. A very common form is a book written by the person participating in the research or observation. A great example of a book would be "Waiting For An Ordinary Day" by Farnaz Fassihi because as a journalist traveling to Iraq during the Iraq war, she participates in Iraqi daily life and documents her description of it, because of her methods and style of writing although Fassihi may not consider herself an anthropologist, her book *Waiting for an Ordinary Day* is ethnographic. Eventually, she turns all of her journalistic notes into a book which describes certain events that help her define the Iraqi culture. She uses the participant-observation method, and also uses the concept of holism to explain the whole of Iraqi culture, rather than just small aspects of it.

Anthropologists, scientists, philosophers, historians and most social scientists have been reexamining assumptions about what science is and how it works. They have challenged the traditional distinction between hard sciences (such as physics, chemistry, and biology) and soft sciences (psychology, sociology, and anthropology). They think they have more in common than previously believed. Anthropologists aid in the effort to study and reconsider what science is all about through gathering information about diverse cultural views on the process of explanation gained during participant-observation-based fieldwork.

Ethnology

Ethnology is the comparative study of two or more cultures. Ethnology utilizes the data taken from ethnographic research and applies it to a single cross cultural topic. The ethnographic approach can be used to identify and attempt to explain cross cultural variation in cultural elements such as marriage, religion, subsistence practices, political organization, and parenting, just to name a

few. Ethnology often compares and contrasts various cultures. Anthropologists who focus on one culture are often called ethnographers while those who focus on several cultures are often called ethnologists. The term ethnology is credited to Adam Franz Kollár who used and defined it in his Historiae ivrisqve pvblici Regni Vngariae amoenitates published in Vienna in 1783.[12]

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4.3: Fieldwork

Nancy Bonvillain (2010: 54-57) outlines the basic approach to cultural anthropology **fieldwork**.

The first step is define a problem and choose a field site. Identifying a problem can happen multiple ways; it might stem from something an anthropologist has read about; it might begin with a long-term interest in a particular region or country, or in the case of graduate students, it might be a class that captures an interest.

The second step is to do background research. Before leaving for the field it is imperative for anthropologists to do a thorough literature search. This involves doing library research to determine what research has already been done by other anthropologists. It also involves learning about the area in which they are going to study–the history, politics, environment, climate, customs, etc. It is particularly important for anthropologists to find out if there are legal restrictions for working outside of their home country. Many anthropologists do mini-trips to their research ares to make preliminary contacts, learn the language, and make plans for a longer stay.

The third step is actually going to the field to conduct research. this can be the most exciting and most nerve-racking part of anthropological work. Until steeped in the local traditions, there is always a chance that the researcher will unwittingly violate local norms, making it more difficult to get to know the study group. Being in the field can lead to culture shock. One of the first things anthropologists will do in the field is find a place to live. Choosing to live in the same place as the study group is the best way to conduct research, but living in close proximity can make it difficult for the anthropologist to remain neutral local conflicts, something that is important for the researcher to do.

Once settled in, data collection can begin. Anthropologists can collect both qualitative and quantitative data while in the field. **Qualitative data** might include information gleaned from interviews or participant observation. **Quantitative data** could be anything that can be measured statistically, e.g., mortality rates, birth rates, etc.

The interpretation of data occurs both in the field and once the anthropologist returns home. Hopefully, the research will be published in some form, whether that be in an academic journal or as an ethnography. If the data is not published then it does not do the academic comunity much good as the information is inaccessible.

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4.4: Ethics

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

Part of the challenge in making ethical decisions is the fact that anthropology has always been an activist discipline. E. B. Tylor claimed that, "the science of culture is essentially a reformer's science" and Ruth Benedict said that the "purpose of anthropology was to make the world safe for human difference." John Bodley has been quoted saying that anthropology is a subversive science. So where do anthropologists draw the line between cultural relativism and intervention? **Cultural relativism** is the idea that traits can only be understood within their cultural context. If we consider cultural relativism on a spectrum, then one extreme holds that all traits good within their cultural context…as stated by Conrad Kottak in Mirror for Humanity…Nazi Germany would be evaluated as nonjudgmentally as Athenian Greece using this extreme. On the other end there is the idea that there is no way to be truly culturally relative because we are all human beings with cultural baggage—have ideas about what are right and wrong. Robert Reed, a former professor at The Ohio State University once said that we can be culturally relative and still disagree with a behavior if, and this is an important if, if you try to understand why that behavior exists in the group. In other words, why do people practice the behavior.

A big question that every cultural anthropologist has to think about is this: What do you do if intervention could change the culture? Is that our role as researchers? Most anthropologists would say that it isn't our job to change things; however that doesn't mean we can't give people information that they can use as they will.

Another question that cultural anthropologists face is what to do when a cultural trait interferes with an individual's human rights? Where is the ethical line in that situation? Recently in anthropology there was a heated debate about anthropologists working for the US government in Iraq (click here to read the New York Times article). Since WWII there has been mistrust in the anthropological community regarding governments and especially the military. In WWII, the military wanted to use anthropological studies to help develop military strategy against the Axis powers. Many anthropologists had trouble with that as the information would be used in a manner that did not advance the welfare of the people studied. It's the same situation today with the Iraq war.

Perhaps one of the most critical ethical debates in anthropology in general is that of informed consent. Informed consent includes the "…full disclosure of research goals, research methods, types of analyses, and reporting procedures" (Bonvillain 2010: 62). In April 2010, the New York Times ran an article about alleged misuse of DNA samples collected from the Havasupi tribe in 1990. This article highlights the issue of informed consent.

The American Anthropological Association has a number of real ethical dilemmas posted on their web site. These posts also include comments by other anthropologists— sometimes agreeing with the researchers decision and sometimes not. It's interesting information and I urge you to take a look at a couple of the cases.

AAA Code of Ethics

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4.5: Structured Interview

A **structured interview** (also known as a **standardized interview** or a **researcher-administered survey**) is a quantitative research method commonly employed in survey research. The aim of this approach is to ensure that each interview is presented with exactly the same questions in the same order. This ensures that answers can be reliably aggregated and that comparisons can be made with confidence between sample subgroups or between different survey periods.

Structure

Structured interviews are a means of collecting data for a statistical survey. In this case, the data is collected by an interviewer rather than through a self-administered questionnaire. Interviewers read the questions exactly as they appear on the survey questionnaire. The choice of answers to the questions is often fixed (close-ended) in advance, though open-ended questions can also be included within a structured interview.

A structured interview also standardizes the order in which questions are asked of survey respondents, so the questions are always answered within the same context. This is important for minimizing the impact of context effects, where the answers given to a survey question can depend on the nature of preceding questions. Though context effects can never be avoided, it is often desirable to hold them constant across all respondents.

Other Uses

Qualitative Research

Structured interviews can also be used as a qualitative research methodology.[1] These types of interviews are best suited for engaging in respondent or focus group studies in which it would be beneficial to compare/contrast participant responses in order to answer a research question.[2] For structured qualitative interviews, it is usually necessary for researchers to develop an interview schedule which lists the wording and sequencing of questions.[3] Interview schedules are sometimes considered a means by which researchers can increase the reliability and credibility of research data.[4]

Hiring

Structured interviews have been advocated for use in the hiring process as well,[5] though the practice has not been widely adopted. The United States Postal Service uses structured interviews for at least some of its hiring, and has printed a guide to structured interviews that is publicly available online.

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4.6: Unstructured Interview

Figure 4.6.1 - Television journalists interviewing a cosplayer. Field interviews by journalists are most often than not unstructured, without many prearranged questions

An **unstructured interview** or non-directive interview is an interview in which questions are not prearranged.[1] These non-directive interviews are considered to be the opposite of a structured interview which offers a set amount of standardized questions.[2] The form of the unstructured interview varies widely, with some questions being prepared in advance in relation to a topic that the researcher or interviewer wishes to cover. They tend to be more informal and free flowing than a structured interview, much like an everyday conversation. Probing is seen to be the part of the research process that differentiates the in-depth, unstructured interview from an everyday conversation.[3] This nature of conversation allows for spontaneity and for questions to develop during the course of the interview, which are based on the interviewees' responses. The chief feature of the unstructured interview is the idea of probe questions that are designed to be as open as possible.[4] It is a qualitative research method and accordingly prioritizes validity and the depth of the interviewees' answers.[5] One of the potential drawbacks is the loss of reliability, thereby making it more difficult to draw patterns among interviewees' responses in comparison to structured interviews.[6] Unstructured interviews are used in a variety of fields and circumstances, ranging from research in social sciences, such as sociology, to college and job interviews.[6] Fontana and Frey have identified three types of in depth, ethnographic, unstructured interviews – oral history, creative interviews (an unconventional interview in that it does not follow the rules of traditional interviewing), and post-modern interviews.[7]

Possible Characteristics of a Less Structured Interview

While the method of the unstructured interview varies widely, the chief feature of the unstructured interview is to reveal information from the respondent in a more neutral environment with less attached bias from the interviewer.[8] This gives the unstructured interview an advantage over the structured interview in that it produces more reliable information and may enable the interview subject to bring forward experiences and knowledge that the interviewer had not previously considered. Each unstructured depends on the interviewer and interviewee together to create knowledge, and therefore the characteristics of the interview can vary from one conversation to another [6]

Light Structure and Preparation

To achieve the level of depth and detail sought after using the method of the unstructured interview, the researcher or interviewer may choose main questions to focus on, probing questions and follow-up questions.[3] A central idea or topic is typically chosen before beginning an unstructured interview. Because the interview is occurring as a way of collecting data, it is also typical for the interviewer to gather knowledge of his or her respondent, whether that is about their career, studies, or work, as a place to start and continue the conversation. While the unstructured interview does not always have all these features, these main topics or questions serve to provide the conversation's "skeleton" [9] Sometimes too much preparation is made when attempting to conduct an unstructured interview, and while not a negative method, such planning may lead to a semi-structured interview rather than an unstructured interview.

Open Eneded Questions

Open ended questions have no prepared response choices which enables and empower the interviewee to shift the direction of the interview and to bring in unanticipated information. Whereas closed ended questions require only that the interviewer read the question and marks the appropriate answer, "open ended questions can require the interview to transcribe a lengthy statement".[4] It can require a skillful interviewer to bring a talkative respondent back on topic. However, these open ended questions give the ability for the respondent to reply about a topic which neither the interviewee nor the interviewer may have thought about before. Some evidence shows that using open ended questions in interviews "result in greater reporting of sensitive or socially disapproved behavior than when closed-ended questions on a self-reporting questionnaire are used".[10]Although open-ended questions can be

used in both quantitative and qualitative studies, they are much more prominent and favored in qualitative work as they produce information from the respondents with greater detail and depth [10][11]

Neutral Probes/Non-biased Encouragement

Although the method of the unstructured interview allows for social interaction and different modes of communication between the interviewer and interviewee, some maintain that it is important that interviewers resist the urge to agree, disagree, or give biased probes and encouragement to interviewees so that they do not potentially introduce biased topics.[3] Interviewers must remember to minimize any form of bias within the conversation. This way, the interviewee is able to freely discuss the topic given or their work from their own point of view, typically something the researcher hopes for in their search for information. Others maintain that the interviewer may introduce encouraging nods, expressions and non-directive, neutral probes. From the participant, "They are generally very short, such as 'Why?' or 'Uh, huh' or 'That's interesting.' The non-directive interview originated in psychotherapy, intending to neutrally probe the respondent's deepest and most subjective feelings".[4] These acknowledgments such as "yeah," "right," "great," "okay," and "mhm" show response or influence from the interviewee's answers can have on interviewer, not through contributions to the development of the topic but through minimal feedback.[12] If these acknowledgements are not used then the conversation can be seen as problematic.[12] However, at its extremes, these neutral probes may activate repressed feelings that the respondent may or may not know he or she had or was not willing to admit to him or herself originally before the conversation.[4] Typically these probes uncover important issues and topics that can eventually guide future inquiries.

Silence

Silence, being the apparent opposite of speech, is sometimes used in the method of the unstructured or non-directive interview. It is often suggested that silences may often be seen as awkward and are an enduring feature of human interaction.[13] During more organized and highly structured interviews, questions are given and answered one after another, typically transcribed with little or no silences evident in between the responses. Oftentimes, it is up to the interviewer to present their interviewing skills by making sure the conversation does not hold any silences. However, with the fact that the unstructured interview is more like an everyday conversation, silence or the use of silence can be observed as a very important aspect of a natural conversation and in fact current research suggests that being attentive to silences will tell us a lot about how knowledge is constructed.[14] Typically silence is overlooked in qualitative research, keeping in mind that there are multiple meanings involved in the conversation involving the interplay between speech and silence, it can be seen as one of the best types of probes used in interviews.[3][13] Silences are profoundly meaningful as they can signify a withholding or resistance, can reflect a cultural mode of self-representation, or may represent a topic or idea as unthinkable.[13] Many see the possible utility of silence as a strategic device to enhance data collection, while others argue that silence can be seen to represent failure on the part of the interviewer to 'draw out' information from the respondent.[15][16]

Advantages

More Complex Issues can be Probed

An unstructured interview allows for the interviewer to build better rapport with the interviewee due to its parallels with a normal conversation. Unstructured interviews can be particularly useful when asking about personal experiences. In an unstructured interview the interviewer is able to discover important information which did not seem relevant before the interview and the interviewer can ask the participant to go further into the new topic. For this reason they are often considered to be a better methodology for researching sensitive subjects, such as domestic violence, whereas structured interviews are often considered intimidating due to their formality and can often make the interviewee subject to social desirability bias, a tendency for participants to answer questions inaccurately to suit response that can be viewed favorably by others.[17][18]

Readability and Validity of the Unstructured Interview

It is argued that the unstructured interview can sometimes be more valid than the highly structured interview.[19] According to Gorden, more valid responses may be created by letting the respondent follow what he calls "the natural paths of free association".[19] "The universe of discourse" varies from respondent to respondent so that the interviewer must change the question wording to meet the understanding of each individual participant.[4] Another situation where the unstructured interview is said to be more valid than the structured interview is where the respondent is experiencing memory failure. The unstructured interview enables the interviewer to return to the same topic numerous times, allowing the interviewee is able to produce information with stimulated

memory.[4]With the interview being more like an everyday conversation, a safe and relaxed environment can be created within the space of the interview; unlike the highly structured interview where the respondent may feel stressed in its more hurried and formal environment and may not respond accurately if they feel the need to move on to the next question.[20]

Balance in Power Relationships

The in-depth non-directive interviewing method implies an egalitarian relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee.[3] Rather than focusing on the interview as a method of data retrieval, it is the interviewee's unique account which is being sought and highly valued. Instead of entering into the conversation formally with structure where the interviewer holds power over the conversation and determines how it evolves, "the interviewer attempts to retrieve interviewee's world by understanding their perspective in a language that is natural to them".[3]Ethnographic interviewing methods are a large example of how unstructured interviews can balance power relationships between the interviewer and interviewee. Ethnographic interviewing originated in studies of cultural anthropology, emphasizing on the quality of the relationship with respondents.[21]Ethnographic interviews are normally conducted in the form of the unstructured interview with participants from a particular culture in which the interviewer or researcher wishes to obtain knowledge from. The key feature to this approach is that the "researcher is there to learn from the respondent rather than impose an external frame of reference, epitomized in Spradely's (1979: 34) representation of the researcher's posture as being that 'I want to know what you know in the way that you know it…Will you become my teacher and help me understand?'".[21][22] Life history interviews can be seen as a form of the ethnographic interview using the unstructured interview approach as they often share emphases documenting the respondent's life, or an aspect of it that has developed over the life course.[21][23]

Disadvantages

Time Consuming

Unstructured interviews are a lot more time consuming in comparison to other research methods. This is due because there are typically no prearranged questions asked during an unstructured interview and if there are questions prepared, they are open ended questions which prioritize elaborated answers. These "open ended questions can require the interview to transcribe a lengthy statement", making it difficult to determine and enforce a set time for the unstructured interview to be conducted within.[4][6] As a result, the unstructured interview is sometimes expensive and only feasible with small samples. With the fact that it is difficult to interview a large sample, this affects the data's generalizability and representativeness. However, current research shows there is a need to take up the unstructured interview regardless of how this research method takes to address unbalanced minority powers in research methods.[6]

Opportunity for Bias

It is important to understand that bias or the use of bias during an interview from the researcher is an important aspect that greatly affects validity of the interview's gathered knowledge. Since the interview is more like an everyday conversation, some claim that there are opportunities for the interviewer's bias to be brought into discussion and to intervene than with the structured interview.[24] Others maintain that "Although there is invariable potential for the interviewer bias in qualitative interviews, it is offset, at least to some extent, by the greater participation and involvement of the interviewer in the interaction aimed at reaching greater depth".[3] While the unstructured interview can be seen to be unreliable due to the interviewer, bias can be easily be built into a highly structured interview.[19] However, it is important to find where one stands with their bias, acknowledging their biases rather than trying to do away with it. The notion of bias is evident in that anything quantitative already holds bias and biases are already built into everyday form. "Although typical of the selection process, the research on interviews suggests that unstructured procedures are vulnerable to a variety of biases that can lower the quality of decisions," such as gathering information on an applicant's traits during a job interview and selecting applicants determined by their qualifications.[25] Any interview can also be subject to stereotypes and discrimination. Newell and Rice suggest that many of the problems involved with predictive validity during interviews are due to interpersonal perception, the interpretation of the interviewee's personality or social identity.[26] Race, gender, class, religion, [and forms of disabilities] are all aspects of society that feed into the development of our social identity, however these can also be factors which bias people's interpretations in an interview.[27]

Perceived Difficulties in Comparing Data

The outcome of unstructured interviews results in diverse types of information collected from interviewees who are asked different questions. While the data from an unstructured interview has more quality than that obtained from a structured interview, in the sense that the participant has more of an opportunity to say what they like freely, the data collected in unstructured interviews is also prone to digression and much of the data collected could be worthless. Some suggest that this limits the comparability of responses and the outcome is thereby a less systematic and comprehensive set of data which may make organization and analysis of the data difficult.[28] The data gathered though unstructured interviews are difficulty to analyze because the kind of data obtained during the interview are unpredictable and open in nature, thereby making it hard to make comparisons across data.[29][30]

Types of Use in Feminist Research Methods

Feminist researchers often use unstructured interviews as opposed to more structured interview in terms of research techniques because it attempts to eliminate power imbalances in the relationship between the interviewer and the interviewee.[31] Some feminist researchers are influenced by the works of writer and researcher, Ann Oakley, who pioneered an interview methodology based on an anti-oppression framework.[32] Oakley argues that the form of structured interviews positions the interviewee as a subordinate, which supports the masculine "paradigm of inquiry" and produces a "perfect interview" that is "morally indefensible".[33] As an alternative, Oakley writes that "the best way to find out about someone else's lives is through non-hierarchical relationships where the interviewer is prepared to invest their own personal identity in the research relationship, answering questions and sharing knowledge".[33] Oakley argues that interviews need to be conducted as equal relationships so that the research can lead to a retrieval of more fruitful and significant data.[33] Together, Howard Becker and Oakley have argued that interviews should be more natural and more like an everyday conversation.[33][34] Oakley argues that traditional guidelines contradict the aims of feminist research and that for a feminist interviewing women, the "use of prescribed interviewing practice is morally indefensible [and] general and irreconcilable contradictions at the heart of the textbook are exposed".[35] This approach is viewed by many contemporary researchers as ethically responsible and it is very relevant in terms of developing research approaches that are grounded by the experience of in minorities.[36] "Feminists have argued that the production of atomistic 'facts' and figures fracture people's lives" and letting others speak for themselves allows work to be produced which challenges stereotypes, oppression, and exploitation.[37][38][39][40] Only one small part of experience is abstracted typically from structured interviews and questionnaires as the focus for attention as it is only "a simple matrix of standardized variables which is unable to convey an in-depth understanding of, feeling of, the people under the study".[40] To break down imbalances of power within the relationships of the interviewer and the interviewee, the unstructured interview approach to research maximizes the ability to explore a full account of life experience. It can be seen that the principle belief of feminist research "must begin with an open-ended exploration of women's experiences, since only from that vantage point is it possible to see how their world is organized and the extent to which it differs from that of men".[40] It is also important to note that this approach to research is used to explore life experience from those belonging to all other minority groups.[6]

Notable Examples

Ann Oakley

Distinguished British sociologist, feminist, and writer, Ann Oakley has written numerous academic works focusing on the lives and roles of women in society. Oakley is a well-known pioneer in the unstructured interview research approach directed towards qualitative research that challenges existing power imbalances within the relationships of the interviewer and the interviewee. Oakley sees both issues as interlinked or, as she puts it "no intimacy without reciprocity".[41] In 1974, Oakley interviewed women twice before the birth of their children and then twice afterwards.[42] Each woman was interviewed for around nine hours on average. Interestingly, the women also asked her questions during the interviews and Oakley responded as openly and honestly as she wished for them to respond.[42] Oakley wanted the respondents to be collaborators in her research rather than just interviewees causing the women to become increasingly interested in the research and contacting her with any information they thought important after the interviews. Oakley as well used the unstructured interview approach to study women's experiences of both house work and maternity care. Oakley interviewed 40 women about how much housework they did and how they and their partners organised domestic work.[43] Both unstructured interview studies "were aimed at raising awareness of women's experiences and of promoting policy changes – for example, Oakley called for domestic work to be recognized as 'work' and to be

given an appropriate status in relation to paid employment".[43] These are prime examples of the advantages of rapport and the depth of information even beyond the interview using the unstructured interview research approach.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

5: Language

5.1: Linguistic Anthropology
5.2: Language
5.3: Focal Vocabularies
5.4: Non-verbal Communication
5.5: Models of Language and Culture
5.6: Human Language Families Map

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5.1: Linguistic Anthropology

"It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an incidental means of solving specific problems of communication or reflection" – Edward Sapir

Figure **5.1.1** - Edward Sapir (1184-1939)

As implied from the quote above language and communication are key components of the human experience. Language can be one of the easiest ways to make connections with other people. It helps us quickly identify the groups to which we belong. It is how we convey information from one generation to the next. But language is only one way that humans communicate with one another. Non-verbal forms of communication are as important if not more so. **Linguistic anthropology** is the sub-discipline that studies communication systems, particularly language. Using comparative analysis, linguistic anthropologists examine the interaction of language and culture. They look at the connection between language and thought and how it informs about social values and norms. Linguistic data has been used to examine worldview, migration patterns, origins of peoples, etc.

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5.2: Language

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

Even non-human primates have a **communication system**; the difference, as far as we can determine, is that non-human primates use a **call system**, which is a system of oral communication that uses a set of sounds in response to environmental factors, e.g., a predator approaching. They can only signal one thing at a time. For instance, 'here is food,' or 'a leopard is attacking.' They cannot signal something like 'I've found food but there's a leopard here so run away.'

Figure **5.2.1** - Chimpanzee vocalizing

However, primatologists conducting communication studies with great apes raise questions about the great apes' ability to communicate. Primatologists like Susan Savage-Rumbaugh, Sally Boysen, and Francine "Penny" Patterson report that they have been able to have human-like communication with bonobos, chimpanzees, and gorillas through sign language, even conveying feelings like sympathy. Washoe was the first chimpanzee to learn American Sign Language. Washoe, who was rescued in the wild after her mother was killed by poachers, learned over three hundred signs, some of which she taught to her adopted son, Loulis, without any help from human agents. She also told jokes, lied, and swore. Other great apes like Koko, a western lowland gorilla born at the San Francisco Zoo, have demonstrated **linguistic displacement**, which is the ability to talk about things that are not present or even real, by signing for her kitten when it was not present. She also displayed mourning behavior after being told that actor and comedian Robin Williams died (read more about Koko's reaction in this *Huffington* Post *article*, *http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/0...n_5675300.html*).

Figure **5.2.2** - China

Linguistic displacement has long been identified as a hallmark of human communication, something that set it apart from non-human primate communication. Coupled with **productivity**, human language systems do appear to be more complex then our non-human primate cousins. Productivity refers to "the ability to create an infinite range of understandable expressions from a finite set of rules" (Miller 2011: 206). Using combinations of symbols, facial expressions, sounds, written word, signs, and body language, humans can communicate things in a myriad of ways (for a humorous look at facial expressions, check out "What a Girl's Facial Expressions Mean" on YouTube [youtu.be/KAJvUXkIBeo]).

All cultures have language. Most individuals within that culture are fully competent users of the language without being formally taught it. One can learn a language simply by being exposed to it, which is why foreign language teachers espouse immersion as the best way to learn.

No one language has more efficient **grammar** than another, and there is no correlation between grammatical complexity and social complexity; some small, homogenous cultures have the most complex language. In December 2009, *The Economist* named the Tuyuca language the "hardest" language. The Tuyuca live in the eastern Amazon. It is not as hard to speak as some other languages as there are simple consonants and a few nasal vowels; however, it is an **agglutinative language,** so the word *hóabãsiriga* means "I do not know how to write." *Hóabãsiriga* has multiple morphemes each of which contribute to the word's meaning. A **morpheme** is the smallest sound that has meaning. Consider the word 'cow.' It is a single morpheme—if we try to break the word down into smaller sound units it has no meaning. Same with the word 'boy.' Put them together and we have a word with two morphemes (O'Neil 2013). Morphemes are a part of **morphology**, which is the grammatical category of analysis concerned with how sounds, or **phonemes**, are combined. Morphemes are combined into strings of sounds to create speech, which is grouped into sentences and phrases. The rules that govern how words should be combined are called **syntax**, which is the second of two grammar categories of analysis. In Tuyuca, all statements require a verb-ending to indicate how the speaker knows something. For instance, *diga ape-wi* means that the speaker knows the boy played soccer because of direct observation, but *diga ape-hiyi* means that the speaker assumed the boy played soccer. Tuyuca has somewhere between fifty and one hundred forty noun classes based on gender, compared to Spanish which has two noun classes that are based on gender.

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5.3: Focal Vocabularies

Figure **5.3.1** - A Saami family,Norway, 1897

Every language has a **lexicon**, or vocabulary. **Semantics** is the study of a language meaning system. Anthropologists are particularly interested in **ethnosemantics**, which is the study of semantics within a specific cultural context. Ethnosemantics helps anthropologists understand how people perceive, define, and classify their world. **Focal vocabularies** are sets of words that pertain to important aspects of the culture. For example, the Saami, the indigenous reindeer hunters in Scandinavia, have numerous words for reindeer, snow, and ice. Snow and ice terminology is based on the physical condition of the layers as well as changes due to weather and temperature. Reindeer terminology is based primarily on sex, age, color, and appearance of various body parts, but may be based on others things such as personality and habits.

Table 5 - Saami Reindeer terminology based on personality and habits (Magga 2006)

Biltu	Shy and wild, usually refers to females
Doalli	Apt to resist
Goaisu	Male reindeer who keeps apart all summer and is very fat when autumn comes
Já?as	Obstinate, difficult to lead
Láiddas	Easy to lead by a rope or rein
Lojat	Very tractable driving-reindeer
Lojáš	Very tame female reindeer
Láiddot	Reindeer which is very *láiddas*
Moggaraš	Female reindeer who slips the lasso over head in order to avoid being caught
Njirru	Female reindeer which is very unmanageable and difficult to hold when tied
Ravdaboazu	Reindeer which keeps itself to the edge of the herd
Sarat	Smallish male reindeer which chases a female out of the herd in order to mate with it
Šlohtur	Reindeer which hardly lifts its feet
Stoalut	Reindeer which is no longer afraid of the dog

Table 6 - Saami Terminology for Condition and Layers of Snow (Magga 2006)

Čahki	Hard lump of snow; hard snowball
Geardni	Thin crust of snow
Gska-geardi	Layer of crust
Gaska-skárta	Hard layer of crust
Goahpálat	The kind of snowstorm in which the snow falls thickly and sticks to things
Guoldu	A cloud of snow which blows up from the ground when there is a hard frost without very much wind
Luotkku	Loose snow
Moarri	Brittle crust of snow; thin crust of ice
Njáhcu	Thaw
Ruokna	Thin hard crust of ice on snow
Seanaš	Granular snow at the bottom of the layer of snow
Skárta	Thin layer of snow frozen on to the ground
Skáva	Very thin layer of frozen snow
Skávvi	Crust of ice on snow, formed in the evening after the sun has thawed the top of the snow during the day
Soavli	Very wet, slushy snow, snow-slush
Skoavdi	Empty space between snow and the ground
Vahca	Loose snow, especially new snow on the top of a layer of older snow or on a road with snow on it

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5.4: Non-verbal Communication

Cultures also have non-verbal forms of communication, but there are still rules and symbols involved. **Kinesics** is the study of communication through body language, including gestures, facial expressions, body movement, and stances. Hand gestures add emphasis; a facial expression may contradict verbal communication. Voice level and tone add to our communication. Even silence can be an effective form of communication.

Figure **5.4.1** - Brazil vs. Chile in Mineirão 17

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

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

Figure **5.4.2** - Woman bowing to an orca.

Other forms of non-verbal communication include clothing, hairstyles, eye contact, even how close we stand to one another. **Proxemics** is the study of cultural aspects of the use of space. This can be both in an individual's personal and physical territory. The use of color in one's physical space is an example of proxemics of physical territory. A health spa is more likely to use soothing, cool greens and blues rather than reds and oranges to create a relaxing atmosphere. Personal territory refers to the "bubble" of space we keep between others and ourselves. This varies depending on the other person and the situation, for instance,

in the United States public space is defined as somewhere between twelve to twenty-five feet, and is generally adhered to in public speaking situations. Social space, used between business associates and social space such as bus stops, varies between four and ten feet. Personal space is reserved for friends and family, and queues, and ranges between two and four feet. Intimate space is less than a foot and usually involves a high probability of touching. We generally feel uncomfortable or violated if any of these spaces are “invaded” without an invitation.

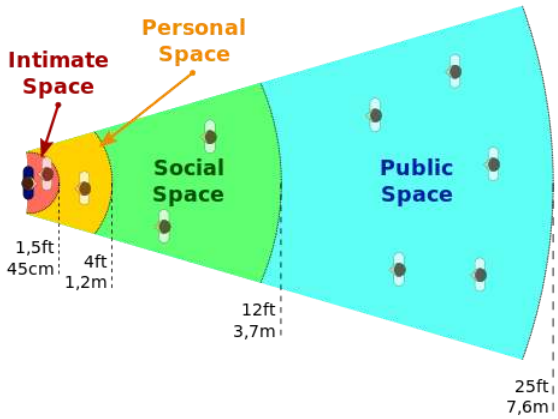

Figure **5.4.3** - Personal Spaces in Proxemics

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5.5: Models of Language and Culture

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

The second model is **sociolinguistics**. This is the study of how language is shaped within its cultural context; it is basically how people use language. This approach has been instrumental in demonstrating how language is used in different social, economic, and political situations. Sociolinguists contend that language reflects social status, gender, ethnicity, and other forms of social diversity. In the United States, ethnicity can be expressed through the use of specific words and patterns of speech, e.g., Black English Vernacular (BEV), African American English (AAE), or African American Vernacular English (AAVE). AAE is used by many African American youth, particularly in urban centers and conveys an immediate sense of belonging to a group. AAE grew out of slavery and thus carries the prejudice and discrimination associated with that practice. People speaking AAE instead of American Mainstream English (AME) are often wrongly seen as less intelligent and less educated. You can learn more about AAE at http://www.pbs.org/speak/seatosea/americanvarieties/AAVE/.

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

Regional dialects frequently emerge within specific areas of countries. Regional dialects may have specific words, phrases, accents, and intonations by which they are identified. In the United States what you call a fizzy, highly sugared beverage (soda, pop, Coke) can indicate if you are from the South, Midwest or other region (check out www4.ncsu.edu/~jakatz2/project-dialect.html for an interactive map of regional words and phrases for the U.S.). Speaking Cockney, Brummy, or Geordie will immediately inform people of where you are from in Great Britain.

Gender status and roles can be highlighted by language. In the United States, white Euro-American females have three prominent patterns (Miller 2011: 269):

1. Politeness
2. Rising intonation at the end of sentences
3. Frequent use of tag questions (questions placed at the end of sentences seeking affirmation, e.g., "It's a nice day, isn't it?"

Figure **5.5.1** - Kogals in Japan

In Japan, female speech patterns also are more polite than males. An honorific "o-" is attached to nouns, making their speech more refined, e.g., a book is *hon* for males and *ohon* for females. Young Japanese females, or *kogals*, use language and other forms of communication to shake up the traditional feminine roles. They use masculine forms of words, talk openly about sex, and are creating new words using compounds. Heavily influenced by globalization, the *kogals* are rethinking their traditional roles in Japanese society.

Language can give us clues as to what is taboo within a society or what makes people uncomfortable without anyone specifically telling us. **Euphemisms** are words or phrases used to indirectly infer to a taboo or uncomfortable topic, such as body parts related to sexual intercourse, pregnancy, disability, mental illness, body shape, and socioeconomic status. Even underclothes have euphemisms…unmentionables, pants, and underpants. Political correctness is a form of euphemism. Disabled is "differently abled," "sex worker" instead of prostitute, and "Caucasian" instead of white people. Minced oaths are another form of euphemism. These euphemisms reword rude words like "pissed off" into such things as teed off and kissed off.

Euphemisms occur in all languages. Through repeated use they often lose their effectiveness and become a direct part of speech. Euphemisms for sexual intercourse like consummation, copulation, and intercourse itself become commonplace and must be replaced with new euphemisms. This is a good example of how language changes as cultures change. Changes can reflect new conflict and concerns within a culture.

Languages can also go extinct. Recent research suggests that of the approximate 6,700 languages spoken in the word today, about 3,500 of them will be extinct by the year 2100 (Solash 2010). In fact, it is estimated that one indigenous language goes extinct every two weeks (Gezen and Kottak 2014). While this may make communication easier between people, a vast amount of knowledge will be lost. More information on endangered indigenous languages can be found at Living Tongues, Institute for Endangered Languages (livingtongues.org/).

Explore: Learn About the Anthropologists

Edward Sapir: http://www.ruf.rice.edu/~kemmer/Found/sapirbio.html

Benjamin Whorf: http://www.notablebiographies.com/su...jamin-Lee.html

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5.6: Human Language Families Map

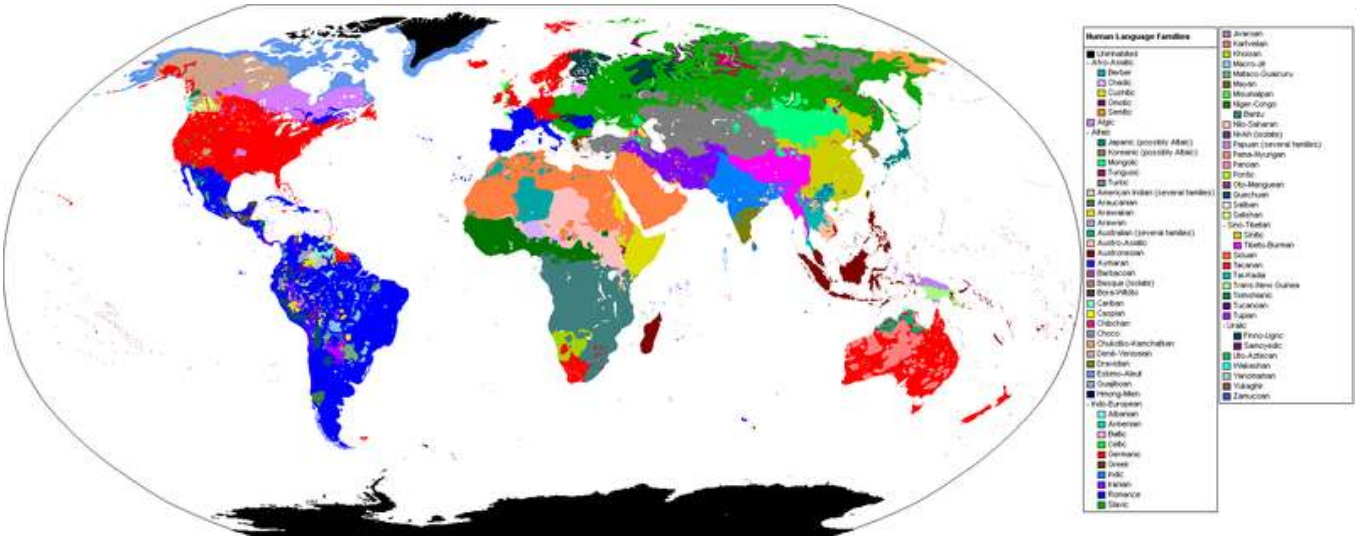

Figure **5.6.1**

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

6: Deconstructing Race

The concept of race is important in many different areas of the discipline including cross-cultural studies, the way we look at ourselves vs. people we feel are different from us and many other areas. Race is not biological but it's supposed to be a way to classify biological differences by grouping people according to different characteristics that they have. However it's important to remember that race is not based on genetic features. There is no biological part of race. It is strictly a concept created by humans to try to better understand differences between us.

6.1: Deconstructing Race and Racism
6.2: Human Adaptations
6.3: Skin Color and UV Index
6.4: Ethnicity and Race
6.5: Social Constructions of Race
6.6: Eugenics in the United States

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6.1: Deconstructing Race and Racism

Race was created long ago as a tool to separate humans from different areas on the globe in order to justify enslaving and belittling certain peoples of the world. Since its creation there has been a slow but steady attempt to deconstruct it. Of course there have been many speed bumps along the way.

Deconstructing the social concept of race has been a major interest of Cultural Anthropology at least since Franz Boas's work on race and immigration in the early 1900's. The concept of race is important in many different areas of the discipline including cross-cultural studies, the way we look at ourselves vs. people we feel are different from us and many other areas. Race is not biological but it's supposed to be a way to classify biological differences by grouping people according to different characteristics that they have[1]. However it's important to remember that race is not based on genetic features. There is no biological part of race. It is strictly a concept created by humans to try to better understand differences between us. The history of the relationship between anthropology and the concept of race is long and interesting. For more information see the American Anthropological Association Statement on "Race," http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm

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1. American Anthropological Association Statement on "Race" (May 17, 1998) http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm

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6.2: Human Adaptations

Adaptations and Adaptatbility

Humans have **biological plasticity**, or an ability to adapt biologically to our environment. An **adaptation** is any variation that can increase one's biological fitness in a specific environment; more simply it is the successful interaction of a population with its environment. Adaptations may be biological or cultural in nature. Biological adaptations vary in their length of time, anywhere from a few seconds for a reflex to a lifetime for developmental acclimatization or genetics. The biological changes that occur within an individual's lifetime are also referred to as **functional adaptations**. What type of adaptation is activated often depends on the severity and duration of **stressors** in the environment. A stressor is anything that disrupts homeostasis, which is a "condition of balance, or stability, within a biological system…" (Jurmain et al 2013: 322). Stressors can be abiotic, e.g., climate or high altitude, biotic, e.g., disease, or social, e.g., war and psychological stress. Cultural adaptations can occur at any time and may be as simple as putting on a coat when it is cold or as complicated as engineering, building, and installing a heating system in a building.

Types of Biological Adaptation

Acclimatization

This form of adaptation can take moments to weeks to occur and is reversible within an individual's lifetime no matter if it occurs when one is a child or an adult.

Short-term acclimatization can occur within seconds of exposure to a stressor. This type of response quickly reverses when the stressor is no longer present. Imagine stepping out of an air-conditioned building or car into a 90 degree day. Your body will quickly begin to perspire in an attempt to cool your body temperature and return to homeostasis. When the temperature declines, so will your perspiration. Tanning is another short-term response, in this case to increased UV-radiation exposure especially during summer months, which can occur within hours. Tans are generally lost during the winter when UV-radiation decreases.

Developmental Acclimatization

Developmental acclimatization occurs during an individual's growth and development. It's also called ontological acclimatization or developmental adjustment. Note that these cannot take place once the individual is fully grown. There is usually a "magic time window" of when the acclimatization can occur. This adaptation can take months to years to acquire.

A famous example of this is those who have grown up at high altitude vs. those who have moved to high altitude as adults. Those who were born at high altitude tend to develop larger lung capacities than do those who were not born at high altitude, but moved there later in life. However, developmental adjustment occurs in response to cultural stressors as well. Intentional body deformation has been documented throughout human history. The ancient Maya elite used cradle boards to reshape the skull. Foot binding in China, now an illegal practice, was considered an mark of beauty and enabled girls to find a wealthy spouse.

Genetics

Genetic adaptations can occur when a stressor is constant and lasts for many generations (O'Neil 1998-2013). The presence of the sickle cell allele in some human populations is one example. Keep in mind that genetic adaptations are **environmentally specific**. In other words, while a particular gene may be advantageous to have in one environment (AKA a genetic adaptation), it may be detrimental to have in another environment.

Human Genetic Adaptations and Human Variation

Skin Color

Click on this link to watch a fantastic video explaining the interplay of skin color, UV, and vitamin D.

Body Size and Shape

Figure **6.2.1** - Inuit women

There are two ecological rules, known as Bergmann's rule and Allen's rule, that explain the variation in size and shape of bodies and extremities using latitude and temperature.

- **Bergmann's rule**: Warm-blooded animals tend to have increasing body size with increasing latitude (toward the poles) and decreasing average temperatures.
- **Allen's rule**: A corollary of Bergmann's rule that applies to appendages. Warm-blooded animals tend to have shorter limbs with increasing latitude and decreasing average temperatures.

When organisms are more compact, they tend to conserve heat (due to a high mass:surface area ratio). When organisms are more linear, they tend to lose more heat (due to a low mass:surface area ratio).

This has been applied to humans. The idea is that populations toward the pole tend to be shorter and have shorter limbs than do people on the equator. For example, the Inuit people of Canada (pictured above) tend to be shorter than the Maasai people of Kenya (pictured below):

Figure **6.2.2** - Young Maasai men

Race

Technically, a race is a biologically classifiable **subspecies**. So, when we are asking, "Do human races exist?", what we're really asking is, "Are there biologically classifiable subspecies in humans?".

Here's the American Anthropological Association's statement on race and the American Association of Physical Anthropologists statement on race. What are they saying?

Basically:

- race is an arbitrary categorization, races are not biologically distinct groups (in other words, race is a cultural construct, not a biological one)
- while groups of people who have lived together for a long time may have some alleles in common (for example, those that code for skin color or hair color), there is more genetic variation within races than there is between races

- the concept of race has historically been a tool that some people use to subjugate others

Further explore the concept of race, its history, and human variation.

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6.3: Skin Color and UV Index

Figure **6.3.1** - Map of Skin Color Distribution prior to 1940

- Darker skin is found in indigenous populations nearer to the equator. Lighter skin is found in indigenous populations further from the equator (see map above). There is more UV radiation near the equator (see map below).
- The sun's UV rays can destroy folate levels. Folate is needed for DNA synthesis. Low folate levels contribute to birth defects such as spina bifida.
- UV from the sun is needed for the body to create vitamin D.
- Skin has to be dark enough to protect folate levels while light enough to create vitamin D.

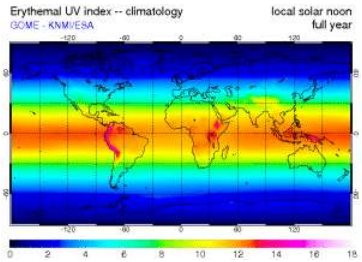

Figure **6.3.2** - Solar noon UV Index average for 1996-2002, based on GOME spectrometer data from ESA's ERS-2 satellite, as published by KNMI (Royal Netherlands Meteorological Institute).

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6.4: Ethnicity and Race

Human beings seem to have an innate need to classify, perhaps due to the sheer volume of information that must be processed on any given day. This need extends beyond the need to classify the natural world around them, but to classify other human beings as well. In doing so, clear lines are drawn between themselves and others. These lines serve to identify to whom we have social obligations and with whom we are competing for resources. Culturally, two ways to do this is through identification of an individual's ethnicity or race.

Ethnicity refers to an ethnic group that a person identifies with or feels a part of to the exclusion of other groups. An **ethnic group** shares similar values and norms defined by such things as language (e.g., Hispanics), geography (e.g., Somalis), religion (e.g., Jews), or race (see discussion of race below). While this seems like a straightforward concept, it can be murky. Children of parents of different ethnicities may perceive themselves one way and others perceive them as something else. This can occur even among the siblings of or between generations in mixed-ethnic families.

Ethnic identity is tied to social status, therefore, a person's ethnic identity may change depending on the context, where one ethnic identity is used in certain contexts and a different identity is used in another context. This is called the **situational negotiation of identity**. Gezen and Kottak (2014: 215) discuss Hispanics as an example of situational negotiation of identity. "Hispanic" as noted above is an ethnic identity based primarily on language. It includes people of varying skin color and geography. When issues impacting all Hispanics arise in the United States, people who identify as Mexican American, Cuban American and Puerto Ricans may act together to address the issue. At other times, they identify as peoples with different interests; e.g., Mexican Americans may be interested in immigration reform, Puerto Ricans on statehood, and Cuban Americans on lifting of trade sanctions on Cuba. Ethnic identity is often tied directly to the sociopolitical hierarchy of a country. Ethnic groups become equated with minority groups who have less power and prestige then the majority group. Ethnic groups are frequently confused with races.

Race is a cultural construct that groups people together based on perceived biological similarities. In the biological sciences, a race is a "geographically related subdivision of a species" (Gezen and Kottak 2014: 216). This definition does not apply to *Homo sapiens*. Genetically, it is clear that human groups have been interbreeding for millennia as we are genetically similar to one another. This is not to say that there is no diversity in human beings; one only has to look around to see some variability, but at a genetic level the diversity we see is, well, superficial.

Figure **6.4.1**

This tendency to group peoples together based on a perceived similarity is not a new phenomenon. The ancient Greek philosopher, Hippocrates (460-370 BC), wrote about the essences of organisms, or humors, that determined its physical traits, temperament, intelligence, and behavior (Brown 2010: 66). Building off of Aristotle's scale of nature, medieval Europeans created an immutable, or unchanging, "great chain of being" to categorize the world, placing themselves near the top of the chain following only angels and God, with the rest of humanity categorized below. This approach is referred to as the essentialist approach.

During the late Renaissance and Enlightenment periods, philosophers and scientists continued to try to categorize human beings. French philosopher Jean Boudin (1530-1596) followed the Greeks in using humors coupled with skin color to classify humans. In Boudin's schema white-skinned Europeans had a predominance of phlegm and were both reflective and rational. Black-skinned

Africans had black bile and were lethargic and less-intelligent than other peoples. Red-skinned Indians were savage, war-like, and associated with blood, while Asians were associated with yellow bile, yellow skin, deviousness, and slyness. Carolus Linneaus (1707-1778) used a similar system when creating his scientific classification system in the 1700s.

Anthropology has contributed to the tenacity of the race concept throughout the years. Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), the father of physical anthropology, rejected external characteristics such as skin color to focus on skull shape to create five types: Caucasian, Mongolian, Malayan, Ethiopian, and American. Shortly after Blumenbach published his schema, skin color was attached to each of the racial types: white, yellow, brown, black, and red. Franz Boas (1858-1942) was the first anthropologist to challenge the essentialist approach. He pointed out essentialist schemes were based on the faulty assumption that there was a connection between skin color and temperament. In fact, no biological connection between skin color and temperament had ever been demonstrated. Boas argued that natural and cultural environment were keys to shaping behavior. Conducting a study of Sicilian immigrants over a ten-year period, Boas demonstrated that both behavior and biological characteristics could change based on the natural and cultural environment. The debate on and research into the usefulness, accuracy, and efficacy of the race concept continues. While all anthropologists acknowledge the inherent flaws in the concept, primarily that there are no biological human races, forensic anthropologists continue to use the concept to help law enforcement identify human remains. Forensic anthropologists use measurements from multiple features of the skeleton to predict biological affiliation. Nonetheless, most American anthropologists support the American Anthropological Association's position on race:

> *In the United States both scholars and the general public have been conditioned to viewing human races as natural and separate divisions within the human species based on visible physical differences. With the vast expansion of scientific knowledge in this century, however, it has become clear that human populations are not unambiguous, clearly demarcated, biologically distinct groups. Evidence from the analysis of genetics (e.g., DNA) indicates that most physical variation, about 94%, lies within so-called racial groups. Conventional geographic "racial" groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes. This means that there is greater variation within "racial" groups than between them. In neighboring populations there is much overlapping of genes and their phenotypic (physical) expressions. Throughout history whenever different groups have come into contact, they have interbred. The continued sharing of genetic materials has maintained all of humankind as a single species (American Anthropological Association 1998).*

The complete statement is available at http://www.aaanet.org/stmts/racepp.htm.

One may wonder that if there are no biological human races, why does the concept persist? It persists because people live the experience of race. What this means is that people discriminate based on appearance, which includes not only skin color, but language, social behavior, etc.

> *We tend to separate people into ethnic categories, but we often use racial terms to identify these categories. Thus, one talks about "black" culture or "white" culture as if the color of one's skin is somehow connected to one's behavior. While the connection is clearly not genetic, it is real nonetheless. An example can be found in the 2008 presidential election when then-candidate Obama was criticized by some leaders in the African American community for not being "black enough." Clearly, they were not talking about his skin color, but rather his lived experiences as a person of color. Obama didn't go through the "typical" black experience of discrimination and the social injustice that goes along with it, because he was raised by a white family in biologically and ethnically diverse Hawaii… Using racial labels like "black" or "white" as shorthand for ethnic experiences*

> *may be useful and even necessary for Americans when talking about race. However, it also keeps alive the centuries-old essentialist notions about race and behavior (Brown 2010: 74).*

As we have learned, there are many things that contribute to our personal identities. Cultural concepts about ethnicity, race, and gender create boxes that we are expected to operate within. Breaking free from those expectations can be a difficult and painful process as we place others into unfamiliar territory where their cultural expectations are negated. This creates conflict for all parties involved because of fear of the unknown; however, the end result can be one of change for the whole society not just the individuals involved.

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6.5: Social Constructions of Race

Social Constructions

As anthropologists and other evolutionary scientists have shifted away from the language of race to the term *population* to talk about genetic differences, historians, cultural anthropologists and other social scientists re-conceptualized the term "race" as a cultural category or social construct—a particular way that some people talk about themselves and others.

Many social scientists have replaced the word race with the word "ethnicity" to refer to self-identifying groups based on beliefs concerning shared culture, ancestry and history. Alongside empirical and conceptual problems with "race", following the Second World War, evolutionary and social scientists were acutely aware of how beliefs about race had been used to justify discrimination, apartheid, slavery, and genocide. This questioning gained momentum in the 1960s during the U.S. civil rights movement and the emergence of numerous anti-colonial movements worldwide. They thus came to believe that race itself is a social construct, a concept that was believed to correspond to an objective reality but which was believed in because of its social functions.[109]

Craig Venter and Francis Collins of the National Institute of Health jointly made the announcement of the mapping of the human genome in 2000. Upon examining the data from the genome mapping, Venter realized that although the genetic variation within the human species is on the order of 1–3% (instead of the previously assumed 1%), the types of variations do not support notion of genetically defined races. Venter said, "Race is a social concept. It's not a scientific one. There are no bright lines (that would stand out), if we could compare all the sequenced genomes of everyone on the planet." "When we try to apply science to try to sort out these social differences, it all falls apart."[110]

Stephan Palmié asserted that race "is not a thing but a social relation";[111]or, in the words of Katya Gibel Mevorach, "a metonym", "a human invention whose criteria for differentiation are neither universal nor fixed but have always been used to manage difference."[112] As such, the use of the term "race" itself must be analyzed. Moreover, they argue that biology will not explain why or how people use the idea of race: History and social relationships will.

Imani Perry, a professor in the Center for African American Studies at Princeton University, has made significant contributions to how we define race in America today. Perry's work focuses on how race is experienced. Perry tells us that race "is produced by social arrangements and political decision making."[113] Perry explains race more in stating, "race is something that happens, rather than something that is. It is dynamic, but it holds no objective truth."[114]

The theory that race is merely a social construct has been challenged by the findings of researchers at the Stanford University School of Medicine, published in the *American Journal of Human Genetics* as "Genetic Structure, Self-Identified Race/Ethnicity, and Confounding in Case-Control Association Studies".[115] One of the researchers, Neil Risch, noted: "we looked at the correlation between genetic structure [based on microsatellite markers] versus self-description, we found 99.9% concordance between the two. We actually had a higher discordance rate between self-reported sex and markers on the X chromosome! So you could argue that sex is also a problematic category. And there are differences between sex and gender; self-identification may not be correlated with biology perfectly. And there is sexism."[116]

Brazil

Figure **6.5.1** - Portrait "Redenção do Can" (1895), showing a Brazilian family each generation becoming "whiter".

Compared to 19th-century United States, 20th-century Brazil was characterized by a perceived relative absence of sharply defined racial groups. According to anthropologist Marvin Harris, this pattern reflects a different history and different social relations.

Basically, race in Brazil was “biologized”, but in a way that recognized the difference between ancestry (which determines genotype) and phenotypic differences. There, racial identity was not governed by rigid descent rule, such as the one-drop rule, as it was in the United States. A Brazilian child was never automatically identified with the racial type of one or both parents, nor were there only a very limited number of categories to choose from,[117] to the extent that full siblings can pertain to different racial groups.[118]

Over a dozen racial categories would be recognized in conformity with all the possible combinations of hair color, hair texture, eye color, and skin color. These types grade into each other like the colors of the spectrum, and not one category stands significantly isolated from the rest. That is, race referred preferentially to appearance, not heredity, and appearance is a poor indication of ancestry, because only a few genes are responsible for someone’s skin color and traits: a person who is considered white may have more African ancestry than a person who is considered black, and the reverse can be also true about European ancestry.[119] The complexity of racial classifications in Brazil reflects the extent of miscegenation in Brazilian society, a society that remains highly, but not strictly, stratified along color lines. These socioeconomic factors are also significant to the limits of racial lines, because a minority of *pardos*, or brown people, are likely to start declaring themselves white or black if socially upward,[120]and being seen as relatively “whiter” as their perceived social status increases (much as in other regions of Latin America).[121]

Table 1 - Self-reported ancestry of people from Rio de Janeiro, by race or skin color (2000 survey)[122]

Ancestry	*brancos*	*pardos*	*pretos*
European only	48%	6%	–
African only	–	12%	25%
Amerindian only	–	2%	–
African and European	23%	34%	31%
Amerindian and European	14%	6%	–
African and Amerindian	–	4%	9%
African, Amerindian and European	15%	36%	35%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Any African	38%	86%	100%

Fluidity of racial categories aside, the “biologification” of race in Brazil referred above would match contemporary concepts of race in the United States quite closely, though, if Brazilians are supposed to choose their race as one among, Asian and Indigenous apart, three IBGE’s census categories. While assimilated Amerindians and people with very high quantities of Amerindian ancestry are usually grouped as *caboclos*, a subgroup of *pardos* which roughly translates as both mestizo and hillbilly, for those of lower quantity of Amerindian descent a higher European genetic contribution is expected to be grouped as a *pardo*. In several genetic tests, people with less than 60-65% of European descent and 5-10% of Amerindian descent usually cluster with Afro-Brazilians (as reported by the individuals), or 6.9% of the population, and those with about 45% or more of Subsaharan contribution most times do so (in average, Afro-Brazilian DNA was reported to be about 50% Subsaharan African, 37% European and 13% Amerindian).[123][124][125][126]

If a more consistent report with the genetic groups in the gradation of miscegenation is to be considered (e.g. that would not cluster people with a balanced degree of African and non-African ancestry in the black group instead of the multiracial one, unlike elsewhere in Latin America where people of high quantity of African descent tend to classify themselves as mixed), more people would report themselves as white and *pardo* in Brazil (47.7% and 42.4% of the population as of 2010, respectively), because by research its population is believed to have between 65 and 80% of autosomal European ancestry, in average (also >35% of European mt-DNA and >95% of European Y-DNA).[123][127][128][129]

Table 2 - Ethnic groups in Brazil (census data)[130]

Ethnic group	white	black	*pardo*
1872	3,787,289	1,954,452	4,188,737
1940	26,171,778	6,035,869	8,744,365
1991	75,704,927	7,335,136	62,316,064

Table 3 - Ethnic groups in Brazil (1872 and 1890)[131]

Years	whites	*pardos*	blacks	Indians	Total	Years
1872	38.1%	38.3%	19.7%	3.9%	100%	1872
1890	44.0%	32.4%	14.6%	9%	100%	1890

This is not surprising, though: While the greatest number of slaves imported from Africa were sent to Brazil, totalizing roughly 3.5 million people, they lived in such miserable conditions that male African Y-DNA there is significantly rare due to the lack of resources and time involved with raising of children, so that most African descent originarily came from relations between white masters and female slaves. From the last decades of the Empire until the 1950s, the proportion of the white population increased significantly while Brazil welcomed 5.5 million immigrants between 1821 and 1932, not much behind its neighbor Argentina with 6.4 million,[132] and it received more European immigrants in its colonial history than the United States. Between 1500 and 1760, 700.000 Europeans settled in Brazil, while 530.000 Europeans settled in the United States for the same given time.[133] Thus, the historical construction of race in Brazilian society dealt primarily with gradations between persons of majoritarily European ancestry and little minority groups with otherwise lower quantity there from in recent times.

European Union

According to European Council:

> *The European Union rejects theories which attempt to determine the existence of separate human races.*
>
> *— Directive 2000/43/EC*[134]

The European Union uses the terms racial origin and ethnic origin synonymously in its documents and according to it "the use of the term 'racial origin' in this directive does not imply an acceptance of such [racial] theories".[134][135] Haney López warns that using "race" as a category within the law tends to legitimize its existence in the popular imagination. In the diverse geographic context of Europe, ethnicity and ethnic origin are arguably more resonant and are less encumbered by the ideological baggage associated with "race". In European context, historical resonance of "race" underscores its problematic nature. In some states, it is strongly associated with laws promulgated by the Nazi and Fascist governments in Europe during the 1930s and 1940s. Indeed, in 1996, the European Parliament adopted a resolution stating that "the term should therefore be avoided in all official texts".[136]

The concept of racial origin relies on the notion that human beings can be separated into biologically distinct "races", an idea generally rejected by the scientific community. Since all human beings belong to the same species, the ECRI (European Commission against Racism and Intolerance) rejects theories based on the existence of different "races". However, in its Recommendation ECRI uses this term in order to ensure that those persons who are generally and erroneously perceived as belonging to "another race" are not excluded from the protection provided for by the legislation. The law claims to reject the existence of "race", yet penalize situations where someone is treated less favourably on this ground.[136]

France

Since the end of the Second World War, France has become an ethnically diverse country. Today, approximately five percent of the French population is non-European and non-white. This does not approach the number of non-white citizens in the United States (roughly 28–37%, depending on how Latinos are classified; see Demographics of the United States). Nevertheless, it amounts to at least three million people, and has forced the issues of ethnic diversity onto the French policy agenda. France has developed an approach to dealing with ethnic problems that stands in contrast to that of many advanced, industrialized countries. Unlike the

United States, Britain, or even the Netherlands, France maintains a "color-blind" model of public policy. This means that it targets virtually no policies directly at racial or ethnic groups. Instead, it uses geographic or class criteria to address issues of social inequalities. It has, however, developed an extensive anti-racist policy repertoire since the early 1970s. Until recently, French policies focused primarily on issues of hate speech—going much further than their American counterparts—and relatively less on issues of discrimination in jobs, housing, and in provision of goods and services.[137]

United States

In the United States, views of race that see racial groups as defined genetically are common in the biological sciences although controversial, whereas the social constructionist view is dominant in the social sciences.[138]

The immigrants to the Americas came from every region of Europe, Africa, and Asia. They mixed among themselves and with the indigenous inhabitants of the continent. In the United States most people who self-identify as African–American have some European ancestors, while many people who identify as European American have some African or Amerindian ancestors.

Since the early history of the United States, Amerindians, African–Americans, and European Americans have been classified as belonging to different races. Efforts to track mixing between groups led to a proliferation of categories, such as mulatto and octoroon. The criteria for membership in these races diverged in the late 19th century. During Reconstruction, increasing numbers of Americans began to consider anyone with "one drop" of known "Black blood" to be Black, regardless of appearance.[3] By the early 20th century, this notion was made statutory in many states.[4] Amerindians continue to be defined by a certain percentage of "Indian blood" (called *blood quantum*). To be White one had to have perceived "pure" White ancestry. The **one-drop rule or hypodescent rule** refers to the convention of defining a person as racially black if he or she has any known African ancestry. This rule meant that those that were mixed race but with some discernible African ancestry were defined as black. The one-drop rule is specific to not only those with African ancestry but to the United States, making it a particularly African-American experience.[139]

The decennial censuses conducted since 1790 in the United States created an incentive to establish racial categories and fit people into these categories.[140]

The term "Hispanic" as an ethnonym emerged in the 20th century with the rise of migration of laborers from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America to the United States. Today, the word "Latino" is often used as a synonym for "Hispanic". The definitions of both terms are non-race specific, and include people who consider themselves to be of distinct races (Black, White, Amerindian, Asian, and mixed groups).[141]However, there is a common misconception in the US that Hispanic/Latino is a race[142] or sometimes even that national origins such as Mexican, Cuban, Colombian, Salvadoran, etc. are races. In contrast to "Latino" or "Hispanic", "Anglo" refers to non-Hispanic White Americans or non-Hispanic European Americans, most of whom speak the English language but are not necessarily of English descent.

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10. See:
    - Montagu 1962
    - Bamshad & Olson 2003
11. Sober 2000
12. ***a b*** Lee et al. 2008: "We caution against making the naive leap to a genetic explanation for group differences in complex traits, especially for human behavioral traits such as IQ scores"
13. AAA 1998: "For example, 'Evidence from the analysis of genetics (e.g., DNA) indicates that most physical variation, about 94%, lies within so-called racial groups. Conventional geographic 'racial' groupings differ from one another only in about 6% of their genes. This means that there is greater variation within 'racial' groups than between them.'"
14. *Keita, S O Y; Kittles, Royal, Bonney, Furbert-Harris, Dunston, Rotimi; Royal, C D M; Bonney, G E; Furbert-Harris, P; Dunston, G M; Rotimi, C N (2004). "Conceptualizing human variation". Nature Genetics* ***36*** *(11s): S17–S20. doi:10.1038/ng1455. PMID 15507998. "Modern human biological variation is not structured into phylogenetic subspecies ('races'), nor are the taxa of the standard anthropological 'racial' classifications breeding populations. The 'racial taxa' do not meet the phylogenetic criteria. 'Race' denotes socially constructed units as a function of the incorrect usage of the term."*
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17. ***a b*** *Lieberman, L.; Kaszycka, K. A.; Martinez Fuentes, A. J.; Yablonsky, L.; Kirk, R. C.; Strkalj, G.; Wang, Q.; Sun, L. (December 2004). "The race concept in six regions: variation without consensus". Coll Antropol* ***28*** *(2): 907–21. PMID 15666627.*
18. ***a b*** Graves 2001[*page needed*]
19. ***a b c d*** Keita et al. 2004
20. AAPA 1996 "Pure races, in the sense of genetically homogeneous populations, do not exist in the human species today, nor is there any evidence that they have ever existed in the past."-p.714
21. *Keita, S O Y; Kittles, Royal, Bonney, Furbert-Harris, Dunston, Rotimi; Royal, C D M; Bonney, G E; Furbert-Harris, P; Dunston, G M; Rotimi, C N (2004). "Conceptualizing human variation". Nature Genetics* ***36*** *(11s): S17–S20.*

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29. Lee 1997
30. See:
    - Blank, Dabady & Citro 2004
    - Smaje 1997
31. See:
    - Lee 1997
    - Nobles 2000
    - Morgan 1975 as cited in Lee 1997, p. 407
32. See:
    - Morgan 1975 as cited in Lee 1997, p. 407
    - Smedley 2007
    - Sivanandan 2000
    - Crenshaw 1988
    - Conley 2007
    - Winfield 2007: "It was Aristotle who first arranged all animals into a single, graded scale that placed humans at the top as the most perfect iteration. By the late 19th century, the idea that inequality was the basis of natural order, known as the *great chain of being*, was part of the common lexicon."
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34. See:
    - Sivanandan 2000
    - Muffoletto 2003
    - McNeilly et al. 1996: Psychiatric instrument called the "Perceived Racism Scale" "provides a measure of the frequency of exposure to many manifestations of racism … including individual and institutional"; also assesses motional and behavioral coping responses to racism.
    - Miles 2000
35. Owens & King 1999
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- Gill 2000
- Lee 1997: “The very naturalness of ‘reality’ is itself the effect of a particular set of discursive constructions. In this way, discourse does not simply reflect reality, but actually participates in its construction”

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40. [a] [b] Smedley 1999
41. Meltzer 1993
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63. See:
    - Keita et al. 2004
    - Templeton 1998
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64. Haig et al. 2006
65. [a] [b] Waples & Gaggiotti 2006

66. ***a b c d e*** Templeton 1998
67. See:
    - Amadon 1949
    - Mayr 1969
    - Patten & Unitt 2002
68. ***a b*** Wright 1978
69. See:
    - Keita et al. 2004
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small the racial partition of total variation may be, if such racial characteristics as there are highly correlated with other racial characteristics, they are by definition informative, and therefore of taxonomic significance."

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    - Bamshad et al. 2004, p. 599
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6.6: Eugenics in the United States

Figure **6.6.1** - Winning family of a Fitter Family contest stand outside of the Eugenics Building [1] (where contestants register) at the Kansas Free Fair, in Topeka, KS.

Eugenics, the set of beliefs and practices which aims at improving the genetic quality of the human population[2][3] played a significant role in the history and culture of the United States prior to its involvement in World War II.[4]

Eugenics was practiced in the United States many years before eugenics programs in Nazi Germany[5] and U.S. programs provided much of the inspiration for the latter.[6][7][8] Stefan Kühl has documented the consensus between Nazi race policies and those of eugenicists in other countries, including the United States, and points out that eugenicists understood Nazi policies and measures as the realization of their goals and demands.[9]

During the Progressive Era of the late 19th and early 20th century, eugenics was considered a method of preserving and improving the dominant groups in the population; it is now generally associated with racist and nativist elements (as the movement was to some extent a reaction to a change in emigration from Europe) rather than scientific genetics.

History

Early Proponents

Figure **6.6.1** - Eugenics supporters hold signs criticizing various “genetically inferior” groups. Wall Street, New York, c. 1915.

The American eugenics movement was rooted in the biological determinist ideas of Sir Francis Galton, which originated in the 1880s. Galton studied the upper classes of Britain, and arrived at the conclusion that their social positions were due to a superior genetic makeup.[10] Early proponents of eugenics believed that, through selective breeding, the human species should direct its own evolution. They tended to believe in the genetic superiority of Nordic, Germanic and Anglo-Saxon peoples; supported strict immigration and anti-miscegenation laws; and supported the forcible sterilization of the poor, disabled and “immoral”.[11] Eugenics was also supported by African Americans intellectuals such as W. E. B. Du Bois, Thomas Wyatt Turner, and many academics at Tuskegee University, Howard University, and Hampton University; however they believed the best blacks were as good as the best whites and “The Talented Tenth” of all races should mix.[12] W. E. B. Du Bois believed “only fit blacks should procreate to eradicate the race’s heritage of moral iniquity.”[12][13]

The American eugenics movement received extensive funding from various corporate foundations including the Carnegie Institution, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Harriman railroad fortune.[7] In 1906 J.H. Kellogg provided funding to help found the Race Betterment Foundation in Battle Creek, Michigan.[10] The Eugenics Record Office (ERO) was founded in Cold Spring Harbor, New York in 1911 by the renowned biologist Charles B. Davenport, using money from both the Harriman railroad fortune and the Carnegie Institution. As late as the 1920s, the ERO was one of the leading organizations in the American eugenics movement.[10][14] In years to come, the ERO collected a mass of family pedigrees and concluded that those who were unfit came from economically and socially poor backgrounds. Eugenicists such as Davenport, the psychologist Henry H. Goddard, Harry H.

Laughlin, and the conservationist Madison Grant (all well respected in their time) began to lobby for various solutions to the problem of the "unfit". Davenport favored immigration restriction and sterilization as primary methods; Goddard favored segregation in his *The Kallikak Family*; Grant favored all of the above and more, even entertaining the idea of extermination.[15]The Eugenics Record Office later became the Cold Spring Harbor Laboratory.

Figure **6.6.2** - U.S. eugenics poster advocating for the removal of genetic "defectives" such as the insane, "feeble-minded" and criminals, and supporting the selective breeding of "high-grade" individuals, c. 1926

Eugenics was widely accepted in the U.S. academic community.[7] By 1928 there were 376 separate university courses in some of the United States' leading schools, enrolling more than 20,000 students, which included eugenics in the curriculum.[16] It did, however, have scientific detractors (notably, Thomas Hunt Morgan, one of the few Mendelians to explicitly criticize eugenics), though most of these focused more on what they considered the crude methodology of eugenicists, and the characterization of almost every human characteristic as being hereditary, rather than the idea of eugenics itself.[17]

By 1910, there was a large and dynamic network of scientists, reformers and professionals engaged in national eugenics projects and actively promoting eugenic legislation. The American Breeder's Association was the first eugenic body in the U.S., established in 1906 under the direction of biologist Charles B. Davenport. The ABA was formed specifically to "investigate and report on heredity in the human race, and emphasize the value of superior blood and the menace to society of inferior blood." Membership included Alexander Graham Bell, Stanford president David Starr Jordan and Luther Burbank.[18][19] The American Association for the Study and Prevention of Infant Mortality was one of the first organizations to begin investigating infant mortality rates in terms of eugenics.[20] They promoted government intervention in attempts to promote the health of future citizens.[21]

Several feminist reformers advocated an agenda of eugenic legal reform. The National Federation of Women's Clubs, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, and the National League of Women Voters were among the variety of state and local feminist organization that at some point lobbied for eugenic reforms.[22]

One of the most prominent feminists to champion the eugenic agenda was Margaret Sanger, the leader of the American birth control movement. Margaret Sanger saw birth control as a means to prevent unwanted children from being born into a disadvantaged life, and incorporated the language of eugenics to advance the movement.[23][24] Sanger also sought to discourage the reproduction of persons who, it was believed, would pass on mental disease or serious physical defect. She advocated sterilization in cases where the subject was unable to use birth control.[23]Unlike other eugenicists, she rejected euthanasia.[25] For Sanger, it was individual women and not the state who should determine whether or not to have a child.[26][27]

In the Deep South, women's associations played an important role in rallying support for eugenic legal reform. Eugenicists recognized the political and social influence of southern club women in their communities, and used them to help implement eugenics across the region.[28] Between 1915 and 1920, federated women's clubs in every state of the Deep South had a critical role in establishing public eugenic institutions that were segregated by sex.[29] For example, the Legislative Committee of the Florida State Federation of Women's Clubs successfully lobbied to institute a eugenic institution for the mentally retarded that was segregated by sex.[30] Their aim was to separate mentally retarded men and women to prevent them from breeding more "feebleminded" individuals.

Public acceptance in the U.S. was the reason eugenic legislation was passed. Almost 19 million people attended the Panama–Pacific International Exposition in San Francisco, open for 10 months from February 20 to December 4, 1915.[31][32] The PPIE was a fair devoted to extolling the virtues of a rapidly progressing nation, featuring new developments in science, agriculture, manufacturing and technology. A subject that received a large amount of time and space was that of the developments concerning health and disease, particularly the areas of tropical medicine and race betterment (tropical medicine being the combined study of bacteriology, parasitology and entomology while racial betterment being the promotion of eugenic studies). Having these areas so

closely intertwined, it seemed that they were both categorized in the main theme of the fair, the advancement of civilization. Thus in the public eye, the seemingly contradictory areas of study were both represented under progressive banners of improvement and were made to seem like plausible courses of action to better American society.[33]

Beginning with Connecticut in 1896, many states enacted marriage laws with eugenic criteria, prohibiting anyone who was "epileptic, imbecile or feeble-minded"[34] from marrying.

The first state to introduce a compulsory sterilization bill was Michigan, in 1897 but the proposed law failed to garner enough votes by legislators to be adopted. Eight years later Pennsylvania's state legislators passed a sterilization bill that was vetoed by the governor. Indiana became the first state to enact sterilization legislation in 1907,[35] followed closely by Washington and California in 1909. Sterilization rates across the country were relatively low (California being the sole exception) until the 1927 Supreme Court case *Buck v. Bell* which legitimized the forced sterilization of patients at a Virginia home for the mentally retarded. The number of sterilizations performed per year increased until another Supreme Court case, *Skinner v. Oklahoma*, 1942, complicated the legal situation by ruling against sterilization of criminals if the equal protection clause of the constitution was violated. That is, if sterilization was to be performed, then it could not exempt white-collar criminals.[36] The state of California was at the vanguard of the American eugenics movement, performing about 20,000 sterilizations or one third of the 60,000 nationwide from 1909 up until the 1960s.[37]

While California had the highest number of sterilizations, North Carolina's eugenics program which operated from 1933 to 1977, was the most aggressive of the 32 states that had eugenics programs.[38] An IQ of 70 or lower meant sterilization was appropriate in North Carolina.[39] The North Carolina Eugenics Board almost always approved proposals brought before them by local welfare boards.[39] Of all states, only North Carolina gave social workers the power to designate people for sterilization.[38] "Here, at last, was a method of preventing unwanted pregnancies by an acceptable, practical, and inexpensive method," wrote Wallace Kuralt in the March 1967 journal of the N.C. Board of Public Welfare. "The poor readily adopted the new techniques for birth control."[39]

IMMIGRATION RESTRICTIONS

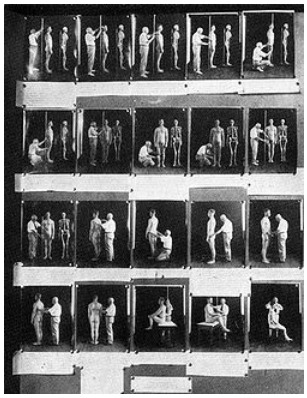

Figure **6.6.3** - Anthropometry demonstrated in an exhibit from a 1921 eugenics conference.

The Immigration Restriction League was the first American entity associated officially with eugenics. Founded in 1894 by three recent Harvard University graduates, the League sought to bar what it considered inferior races from entering America and diluting what it saw as the superior American racial stock (upper class Northerners of Anglo-Saxon heritage). They felt that social and sexual involvement with these less-evolved and less-civilized races would pose a biological threat to the American population. The League lobbied for a literacy test for immigrants, based on the belief that literacy rates were low among "inferior races". Literacy test bills were vetoed by Presidents in 1897, 1913 and 1915; eventually, President Wilson's second veto was overruled by Congress in 1917. Membership in the League included: A. Lawrence Lowell, president of Harvard, William DeWitt Hyde, president of Bowdoin College, James T. Young, director of Wharton School and David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University.[40]

The League allied themselves with the American Breeder's Association to gain influence and further its goals and in 1909 established a Committee on Eugenics chaired by David Starr Jordan with members Charles Davenport, Alexander Graham Bell, Vernon Kellogg, Luther Burbank, William Ernest Castle, Adolf Meyer, H. J. Webber and Friedrich Woods. The ABA's immigration legislation committee, formed in 1911 and headed by League's founder Prescott F. Hall, formalized the committee's already strong relationship with the Immigration Restriction League. They also founded the Eugenics Record Office, which was headed by Harry H. Laughlin.[41] In their mission statement, they wrote:

> *Society must protect itself; as it claims the right to deprive the murderer of his life so it may also annihilate the hideous serpent of hopelessly vicious protoplasm. Here is where appropriate legislation will aid in eugenics and creating a healthier, saner society in the future."*[41]

Money from the Harriman railroad fortune was also given to local charities, in order to find immigrants from specific ethnic groups and deport, confine, or forcibly sterilize them.[7]

With the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924, eugenicists for the first time played an important role in the Congressional debate as expert advisers on the threat of "inferior stock" from eastern and southern Europe.[42] The new act, inspired by the eugenic belief in the racial superiority of "old stock" white Americans as members of the "Nordic race" (a form of white supremacy), strengthened the position of existing laws prohibiting race-mixing.[43] Eugenic considerations also lay behind the adoption of incest laws in much of the U.S. and were used to justify many anti-miscegenation laws.[44]

Stephen Jay Gould asserted that restrictions on immigration passed in the United States during the 1920s (and overhauled in 1965 with the Immigration and Nationality Act) were motivated by the goals of eugenics. During the early 20th century, the United States and Canada began to receive far higher numbers of Southern and Eastern European immigrants. Influential eugenicists like Lothrop Stoddard and Harry Laughlin (who was appointed as an expert witness for the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in 1920) presented arguments they would pollute the national gene pool if their numbers went unrestricted.[45][46] It has been argued that this stirred both Canada and the United States into passing laws creating a hierarchy of nationalities, rating them from the most desirable Anglo-Saxon and Nordic peoples to the Chinese and Japanese immigrants, who were almost completely banned from entering the country.[43][47]

Unfit VS. Fit Individuals

Both class and race factored into eugenic definitions of "fit" and "unfit." By using intelligence testing, American eugenicists asserted that social mobility was indicative of one's genetic fitness.[48] This reaffirmed the existing class and racial hierarchies and explained why the upper-to-middle class was predominantly white. Middle-to-upper class status was a marker of "superior strains."[30] In contrast, eugenicists believed poverty to be a characteristic of genetic inferiority, which meant that that those deemed "unfit" were predominantly of the lower classes.[30]

Because class status designated some more fit than others, eugenicists treated upper and lower class women differently. Positive eugenicists, who promoted procreation among the fittest in society, encouraged middle class women to bear more children. Between 1900 and 1960, Eugenicists appealed to middle class white women to become more "family minded," and to help better the race.[49] To this end, eugenicists often denied middle and upper class women sterilization and birth control.[50]

Since poverty was associated with prostitution and "mental idiocy," women of the lower classes were the first to be deemed "unfit" and "promiscuous."[30] These women, who were predominantly immigrants or women of color, were discouraged from bearing children, and were encouraged to use birth control.

Compulsory Sterilization

In 1907, Indiana passed the first eugenics-based compulsory sterilization law in the world. Thirty U.S. states would soon follow their lead.[51][52]Although the law was overturned by the Indiana Supreme Court in 1921,[53] the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Buck v. Bell*, upheld the constitutionality of the Virginia Sterilization Act of 1924, allowing for the compulsory sterilization of patients of state mental institutions in 1927.[54]

Some states sterilized "imbeciles" for much of the 20th century. Although compulsory sterilization is now considered an abuse of human rights, Buck v. Bell was never overturned, and Virginia did not repeal its sterilization law until 1974.[55] The most significant era of eugenic sterilization was between 1907 and 1963, when over 64,000 individuals were forcibly sterilized under eugenic legislation in the United States.[56]Beginning around 1930, there was a steady increase in the percentage of women sterilized, and in a few states only young women were sterilized. From 1930 to the 1960s, sterilizations were performed on many more institutionalized women than men.[30] By 1961, 61 percent of the 62,162 total eugenic sterilizations in the United States were performed on women.[30] A favorable report on the results of sterilization in California, the state with the most sterilizations by far,

was published in book form by the biologist Paul Popenoe and was widely cited by the Nazi government as evidence that wide-reaching sterilization programs were feasible and humane.[57][58]

Men and women were compulsorily sterilized for different reasons. Men were sterilized to treat their aggression and to eliminate their criminal behavior, while women were sterilized to control the results of their sexuality.[30] Since women bore children, eugenicists held women more accountable than men for the reproduction of the less "desirable" members of society.[30] Eugenicists therefore predominantly targeted women in their efforts to regulate the birth rate, to "protect" white racial health, and weed out the "defectives" of society.[30]

A 1937 *Fortune* magazine poll found that 2/3 of respondents supported eugenic sterilization of "mental defectives", 63% supported sterilization of criminals, and only 15% opposed both.[59]

In the 1970s, several activists and women's rights groups discovered several physicians to be performing coerced sterilizations of specific ethnic groups of society. All were abuses of poor, nonwhite, or mentally retarded women, while no abuses against white or middle-class women were recorded.[60] Although the sterilizations were not explicitly motivated by eugenics, the sterilizations were similar to the eugenics movement because they were done without the patients' consent.

For example, in 1972, United States Senate committee testimony brought to light that at least 2,000 involuntary sterilizations had been performed on poor black women without their consent or knowledge. An investigation revealed that the surgeries were all performed in the South, and were all performed on black welfare mothers with multiple children. Testimony revealed that many of these women were threatened with an end to their welfare benefits until they consented to sterilization.[61] These surgeries were instances of sterilization abuse, a term applied to any sterilization performed without the consent or knowledge of the recipient, or in which the recipient is pressured into accepting the surgery. Because the funds used to carry out the surgeries came from the U.S. Office of Economic Opportunity, the sterilization abuse raised older suspicions, especially amongst the black community, that "federal programs were underwriting eugenicists who wanted to impose their views about population quality on minorities and poor women."[30]

Native American women were also victims of sterilization abuse up into the 1970s.[62] The organization WARN (Women of All Red Nations) publicized that Native American women were threatened that, if they had more children, they would be denied welfare benefits. The Indian Health Service also repeatedly refused to deliver Native American babies until their mothers, in labor, consented to sterilization. Many Native American women unknowingly gave consent, since directions were not given in their native language. According to the General Accounting Office, an estimate of 3,406 Indian women were sterilized.[62] The General Accounting Office stated that the Indian Health Service had not followed the necessary regulations, and that the "informed consent forms did not adhere to the standards set by the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW)."[63]

Euthanasia Programs

One of the methods that was commonly suggested to get rid of "inferior" populations was euthanasia. A 1911 Carnegie Institute report mentioned euthanasia as one of its recommended "solutions" to the problem of cleansing society of unfit genetic attributes. The most commonly suggested method was to set up local gas chambers. However, many in the eugenics movement did not believe that Americans were ready to implement a large-scale euthanasia program, so many doctors had to find clever ways of subtly implementing eugenic euthanasia in various medical institutions. For example, a mental institution in Lincoln, Illinois fed its incoming patients milk infected with tuberculosis (reasoning that genetically fit individuals would be resistant), resulting in 30-40% annual death rates. Other doctors practiced euthanasia through various forms of lethal neglect.[64]

In the 1930s, there was a wave of portrayals of eugenic "mercy killings" in American film, newspapers, and magazines. In 1931, the Illinois Homeopathic Medicine Association began lobbying for the right to euthanize "imbeciles" and other defectives. The Euthanasia Society of America was founded in 1938.[65]

Overall, however, euthanasia was marginalized in the U.S., motivating people to turn to forced segregation and sterilization programs as a means for keeping the "unfit" from reproducing.[66]

Better Baby Contests

Figure **6.6.4** - Contestants get ready for the Better Baby Contest at the 1931 Indiana State Fair.

Mary deGormo, a former classroom teacher was the first person to combine ideas about health and intelligence standards with competitions at state fairs, in the form of “better baby” contests. She developed the first such contest, the “Scientific Baby Contest” for the Louisiana State Fair in Shreveport, in 1908. She saw these contests as a contribution to the “social efficiency” movement, which was advocating for the standardization of all aspects of American life as a means of increasing efficiency.[20] deGarmo was assisted by the pediatrician Dr. Jacob Bodenheimer, who helped her develop grading sheets for contestants, which combined physical measurements with standardized measurements of intelligence.[67] Scoring was based on a deduction system, in that every child started at 1000 points and then was docked points for having measurements that were below a designated average. The child with the most points (and the least defections) was ideal.[68]

The topic of standardization through scientific judgment was a topic that was very serious in the eyes of the scientific community, but has often been downplayed as just a popular fad or trend. Nevertheless, a lot of time, effort, and money were put into these contests and their scientific backing, which would influence cultural ideas as well as local and state government practices.[69]

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People promoted eugenics by hosting “Better Baby” contests and the proceeds would go to its anti-lynching campaign.[12]

Fitter Family for Future

First appearing in 1920 at the Kansas Free Fair, Fitter Family competitions, continued all the way until WWII. Mary T. Watts and Dr. Florence Brown Sherbon,[70][71] both initiators of the Better Baby Contests in Iowa, took the idea of positive eugenics for babies and combined it with a determinist concept of biology to come up with fitter family competitions.[72]

There were several different categories that families were judged in: Size of the family, overall attractiveness, and health of the family, all of which helped to determine the likelihood of having healthy children. These competitions were simply a continuation of the Better Baby contests that promoted certain physical and mental qualities.[73] At the time, it was believed that certain behavioral qualities were inherited from your parents. This led to the addition of several judging categories including: generosity, self-sacrificing, and quality of familial bonds. Additionally, there were negative features that were judged: selfishness, jealousy, suspiciousness, high temperedness, and cruelty. Feeblemindedness, alcoholism, and paralysis were few among other traits that were included as physical traits to be judged when looking at family lineage.[74]

Doctors and specialists from the community would offer their time to judge these competitions, which were originally sponsored by the Red Cross.[74] The winners of these competitions were given a Bronze Medal as well as champion cups called “Capper Medals.” The cups were named after then Governor and Senator, Arthur Capper and he would present them to “Grade A individuals”.[75]

The perks of entering into the contests were that the competitions provided a way for families to get a free health check up by a doctor as well as some of the pride and prestige that came from winning the competitions.[74]

By 1925 the Eugenics Records Office was distributing standardized forms for judging eugenically fit families, which were used in contests in several U.S. states.[76]

Influence on Nazi Germany

> *Wir stehen nicht allein: “We do not stand alone”. Nazi propaganda poster from 1936, supporting Nazi Germany’s 1933 Law for the Prevention of Hereditarily Diseased*

> *Offspring (their compulsory sterilization law). The couple is in front of a map of Germany, surrounded by the flags of nations, including the United States, which had enacted (to the left) or were considering (bottom and to the right) similar legislation.*

After the eugenics movement was well established in the United States, it spread to Germany. California eugenicists began producing literature promoting eugenics and sterilization and sending it overseas to German scientists and medical professionals.[66] By 1933, California had subjected more people to forceful sterilization than all other U.S. states combined. The forced sterilization program engineered by the Nazis was partly inspired by California's.[8]

The Rockefeller Foundation helped develop and fund various German eugenics programs,[77] including the one that Josef Mengele worked in before he went to Auschwitz.[7][78]

Upon returning from Germany in 1934, where more than 5,000 people per month were being forcibly sterilized, the California eugenics leader C. M. Goethe bragged to a colleague:

> *"You will be interested to know that your work has played a powerful part in shaping the opinions of the group of intellectuals who are behind Hitler in this epoch-making program. Everywhere I sensed that their opinions have been tremendously stimulated by American thought . . . I want you, my dear friend, to carry this thought with you for the rest of your life, that you have really jolted into action a great government of 60 million people."[79]*

Eugenics researcher Harry H. Laughlin often bragged that his Model Eugenic Sterilization laws had been implemented in the 1935 Nuremberg racial hygiene laws.[80] In 1936, Laughlin was invited to an award ceremony at Heidelberg University in Germany (scheduled on the anniversary of Hitler's 1934 purge of Jews from the Heidelberg faculty), to receive an honorary doctorate for his work on the "science of racial cleansing". Due to financial limitations, Laughlin was unable to attend the ceremony and had to pick it up from the Rockefeller Institute. Afterwards, he proudly shared the award with his colleagues, remarking that he felt that it symbolized the "common understanding of German and American scientists of the nature of eugenics."[81]

After 1945, however, historians began to attempt to portray the US eugenics movement as distinct and distant from Nazi eugenics.[82] Jon Entine wrote that eugenics simply means "good genes" and using it as synonym for genocide is an "all-too-common distortion of the social history of genetics policy in the United States." According to Entine, eugenics developed out of the Progressive Era and not "Hitler's twisted Final Solution."[83]

See Also

Portal icon	United States portal

- International Federation of Eugenics Organizations
- Franz Boas
- Human experimentation in the United States
- Racism in the United States
- American Eugenics Society
- North Carolina Eugenics Board
- Racial Integrity Act of 1924
- Kallikak Family
- *Skinner v. Oklahoma* (1942)
- *Stump v. Sparkman* (1978)
- *Poe v. Lynchburg Training School and Hospital* (1981)
- Nazi human experimentation
- Tuskegee syphilis experiment
- Eugenics in California

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

7: Economic Organization

7.1: Subsistence Strategies
7.2: Foraging
7.3: Pastoralists
7.4: Horticulturists
7.5: Intensive Agriculture
7.6: Neolithic Revolution
7.7: Distribution

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7.1: Subsistence Strategies

Economic Organization

All cultures need ways to produce goods and distribute them for consumption. This is the essence of an economic system. The forms these take vary across the globe and make involve interaction with family or non-family. It many involve work from the home or it may be with a corporation. Some economic systems support the independence of families, while others result in a greater, albeit oft unacknowledged, interdependence. In this section we start with the mode of production, including how people get their food.

Mode of Production

The ways in which food and other material items are collected is called a **system of production**. Specifically, the manner in which a group produces its food is referred to as a **subsistence strategy**. In a capitalist system, money is the key to production. From the farmer who must purchase land and seed in order to produce food to non-farmers who must have money in order to buy food and other goods, everybody needs money in order to meet their needs. In kin-based types of economic systems, social obligations fulfill the role of money.

The primary focus of this section will be subsistence strategies as they influence other types of behavior. Anthropologists frequently categorize groups by their subsistence strategy, or how they get their food. Through research, anthropologists discovered that the subsistence strategy oftentimes predicted other forms of behavior, e.g., population size, division of labor, and social structure.

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7.2: Foraging

For roughly 90% of history, humans were **foragers** who used simple technology to gather, fish, and hunt wild food resources. Today only about a quarter million people living in marginal environments, e.g., deserts, the Arctic and topical forests, forage as their primary subsistence strategy. While studying foraging societies allows anthropologists to understand their cultures in their own right, the data from these studies provides us with an avenue to understanding past cultures.

General Characteristics

While the resources foraging groups utilize vary depending on the environment, there are some common characteristics among foragers:

- Foragers generally make their own tools using materials available in the local environment, however, through the process of development and increasing contact with other groups of people, machine made tools are making their way into foraging societies.
- There is a high degree of mobility as the group may follow migrating herds or seasonally available resources.
- Group size and population density is small so as not to surpass the carrying capacity of the environment.
- Resource use is extensive and temporary. In other words, foragers may use a wide-variety of resources over a large territory; however, they leave enough resources so that the area can regenerate. Once the resources reach a certain level, the group moves on.
- Permanent settlements are rare.
- Production is for personal use or to share and trade.
- The division of labor tends to be divided by age and gender.
- Kin relations are usually reckoned on both the mother and father's side.
- There is usually no concept of personal ownership, particularly of land.
- If left to follow traditional patterns, foraging as a subsistence strategy is highly sustainable.

Types of Foraging Groups

Figure **7.2.1** - Haida village, Wrangel, Alaska circa 1902

Aquatic: Aquatic foragers, like the Ou Haadas, or the Haida, who live in the Queen Charlotte Islands, British Columbia, Canada, and Prince of Wales Island in Alaska, United States, rely primarily on resources from water. At the time of contact with Europeans, the Haidu utilized a wide variety of foods from the surrounding waters, including salmon, halibut, crabs, scallops, sea cucumber, sea lion, otters, and seaweed. They also hunted for land mammals like bear and deer and gathered wild plants such as rhubarb, fern, and berries.

Pedestrian: As the name implies, pedestrian foragers get their food by collecting on foot. The !Kung San are more properly known as the Zhu|õasi. They live in the Kalahari desert are one example of a pedestrian foraging group. The Zhu|õasi use about 100 species of animals and over 150 species of plants, although not all are used for food. The primary food source is the mongongo nut that is high in protein. The Zhu|õasi eat their way out of areas, starting with their favorite food and then the less desirable food. Once the resources get low, the group will move to a new area. The Zhu|õasi also move seasonally as resources become available. During the rainy season, the Zhu|õasi live in small groups of 2-3 families. In the dry season, large camps of 20-40 people are established near permanent water sources.

Equestrian: Equestrian foragers are the most rare type of foraging group, being identified only the Great Plains of North America and the pampas and steppes of South America. This type of foraging strategy emerged after contact with European settlers who reintroduced the horse to the Americas. The Aonikenks live on the Patagonian Steppes of South America. The Aonikenks, also called the Tehuelche or people of the south, hunted guanaco, an indigenous camelid, in seasonal rounds. They also ate rhea (sometimes referred to as the South American ostrich), roots, and seeds.

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7.3: Pastoralists

Pastoralism is a subsistence strategy dependent on the herding of animals, particularly sheep, goats and cattle, although there are pastoralists who herd reindeer, horses, yak, camel, and llamas. This does not mean that the people only eat the animals they raise, in fact, some pastoralists only eat their animals for special occasions. They often rely on secondary resources from the animals for food, e.g., blood or milk, or use the by-products like wool to trade for food. Some pastoralists forage for food while others do small-scale farming to supplement their diet. Like foragers, many pastoralists are forced to live in the world's marginal environments all over the world.

General Characteristics

- Production is for more than meat and milk. Some animals are used as beasts of burden, while others are used for their fur. Animal products are for both personal use and trade.
- Pastoralism is characterized by extensive land use. Animals are moved to pasture; fodder is not brought to them.
- Generally speaking, pastoralists live in extended families in order to have enough people to take care of all of the duties associated with animal care and other domestic duties.
- Division of labor is gender based.
- Most pastoralists are monotheistic (but not all of them); usually the belief is tied closely to their animals.
- The concept of ownership is restricted to animals, housing and some domestic goods. Land is communal and many pastoralists contend that they have travel rights over lands because of centuries-old migratory patterns that supersede modern land ownership.
- Wealth is determined by herd size and often the number of wives and offspring a man has.
- Kin relations are patrilineal, which means that the father's side of the family is reckoned as kin.
- While some pastoralists are more sedentary, most are nomadic, moving to temporary pastures as needed or seasonally. Semi-permanent camps are set up with each move. Decisions about when to move are made communally.
- Because of the low to moderate consumption rate, the sustainability of pastoralism is high if the herders have access to enough land.

Figure **7.3.1** - Dogon pastoralists

The Ariaal are one example of pastoralists. They live on the plains and slopes of modern Kenya. The Ariaal are successful because they practice a highly diversified system of animal husbandry with the key being herd diversity (camel, cattle, sheep and goats) and mobility. The Ariaal split the herd and pasture them in different places, a practice that ensures herd survivability against disease and drought. The herds are used to encourage growth of seasonal vegetation, which provides the group with trade items.

Sheep and goats are used primarily for food, as is camel milk. The blood of the animals is also used. This is a good adaptation because blood is a renewable resource and it is highly nutritious. Cattle are used as bride price (more on bride price in the section on Marriage and Family). The exchange of cattle as part of a marriage helps to maintain herd diversity and distribute the wealth among the people.

Ariaal settlements are widely dispersed, making it difficult to maintain social cohesion. One way the Ariaal have devised to help with social cohesion is age-sets. An age set is a group of individuals of roughly the same age that are given specific duties within the society at large. In the case of the Ariaal, there are three age-sets for each sex: for males the age sets are boy, warrior, elder; for females, girl, adolescent, married. Each age set has a specific set of clothes, diet, duties and socializing rules. For instance, adolescent girls are not allowed to associate with any males, including their father while warriors are not allowed to associate with women, including their mother. This practice not only ensures that labor is distributed among members of the group, but serves as a form of population control.

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7.4: Horticulturists

Horticulturalists are small-scale farmers, but this should not be confused with family farming in industrial regions of the world. Horticulturalists grow not only crops, but often raise animals and gather economically useful plants. They generally produce only what they can consume themselves, a practice anthropologists refer to as subsistence farming. Horticulturalists are found in all areas of the world except the Arctic.

General Characteristics

Figure **7.4.1** - Slash and burn agriculture.

- Domestic crops are cultivated using hand tools, which may have been made by hand.
- Farming is done in conjunction with foraging activities and/or trade.
- There is limited surplus production, although as a result of modern development there may be some surplus production.
- Groups have a staple crop around which ritual and social activity takes place. This staple varies from culture to culture, but is generally a plant that can be stored easily such as tubers, maize, rice, or wheat.
- Production is primarily for personal use and trade.
- The division of labor is generally by gender, although all members of the groups may be called upon to help with the crops.
- Kin relations may are predominantly patrilineal, but occasionally may be matrilineal.
- Status is often based on the size of family that can be supported or on how much an individual can give away to gain allies.
- In ancient horticultural societies, the belief system was polytheistic with the primary deities focused on rain and crops. Modern horticulturists follow a variety of different belief systems, but often still have elements of the polytheistic system of old.
- Most horticulturalists do not own the land they use to grow food; however, they claim land-use rights to it.
- Land use is extensive as fields are often used for only a couple of years and then allowed to lie fallow from anywhere to 2-15 years. This is called **shifting field agriculture**.
- Many horticulturalists practice **slash-and burn agriculture**whereby vegetation is cut down and burned. When it rains, nutrients from the ash seeps into the soil thereby regenerating soil fertility.
- Permanent settlements are common.
- Horticulturalists may practice **polycropping** (planting different crops in the same field).
- Like foraging and pastoralism, if given enough land to utilize, horticulture is fairly sustainable.

The Chimbu of the central highlands of Papua New Guinea grow sweet potatoes, which are used to feed both people and domesticated pigs. The Chimbu recognize over 130 different types of sweet potatoes, each grown in its own microclimate and having its specific use. Sugarcane, bananas, taro, beans and various nuts and fruits are also grown in year-round gardens. Pigs and sweet potatoes are both important resources for food exchange. Food exchanges were used to foster reciprocal relationships among people. If an individual did not uphold the reciprocal relationship by repaying the food exchange, they would lose status within the society. Today, not only is food a part of the exchange, but money earned through the sale of coffee, vegetables and jobs.

The Chimbu reckon descent through the father's line. Traditionally, men live in communal houses away from women and children. The men's communal houses are usually placed in areas that were easily defensible. The women and children live in natal groups near their gardens where they can keep a close eye on the crops. Women are also responsible for raising pigs. Currently, the traditional patterns of residence are breaking down and nuclear families are becoming more common.

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7.5: Intensive Agriculture

Figure **7.5.1** - Indian farmer

Intensive agriculture was developed in order to produce greater amounts of food for large populations. It is the most recent form of subsistence strategy emerging about 10,000 years ago. With the emergence of intensive agriculture major changes occurred in other areas of culture. Deities in polytheistic cultures began to represent rain and important plants. Power began to become more centralized as the need arose to organize the growing, harvesting, and distribution of crops. With a changing power structure, social ranking became the norm. People became more dependent on one another as occupational specialization developed. Urbanization occurred as there was now a method to feed a large, non-food producing populace. In other words, a class-based society emerges.

There are two basic forms of intensive agriculture: **non-industrial** and **industrial**. The former is dependent on human labor and draft animals, while the latter is reliant on machinery. However, there are characteristics that unite the two forms. Both forms of intensive agriculture manipulate the landscape. This may entail actual modification of the landscape through clearing tracts of land, terracing hillsides or digging irrigation systems. Fertilizers are usually required because growing takes place on permanent fields. The type of fertilizers varies. Non-industrial agriculturalists may use natural fertilizers such as animal dung. Industrial agriculturalists use chemical fertilizers.

Private ownership is the norm for intensive agriculture. While non-industrial agriculturalists may own the land with extended family, a single family or corporation owns industrial agricultural land. Permanent residences became the norm.

With the advent of industrial agriculture other changes occurred. Women began to be relegated to the private arena; they became the homemakers while men engaged in public work, farming, politics, etc. Mass production of food became the primary focus of agricultural endeavors. Monocropping replaced polycropping. Machinery became common, requiring agriculturalists to have a high capital investment in their farms, eventually leading to many family farms being bought out by large corporations. Unlike the other forms of subsistence, intensive agriculture is not sustainable because it destroys habitats, increases erosion, increases water use, undermines stability of other systems, and encourages high consumption both of fossil fuels and food itself.

All four of the subsistence strategies are in use today. Foragers, pastoralists, and horticulturalists are threatened through government selling and protecting of areas such as game preserves, thereby restricting land use.

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7.6: Neolithic Revolution

Figure **7.6.1** - A Sumerian harvester's sickle dated to 3,000 BC

The **Neolithic Revolution** or **Neolithic Demographic Transition**, sometimes called the **Agricultural Revolution**, was the wide-scale transition of many human cultures from a lifestyle of hunting and gathering to one of agriculture and settlement, allowing the ability to support an increasingly large population.[1] These settled communities permitted humans to observe and experiment with plants to learn how they grow and develop.[2] This new knowledge and ways led to the domestication of plants.[2]

Archaeological data indicates that the domestication of various types of plants and animals evolved in separate locations worldwide, starting in the geological epoch of the Holocene[3] around 12,500 years ago.[4] It was the world's first historically verifiable revolution in agriculture. The Neolithic Revolution greatly narrowed the diversity of foods available, with a switch to agriculture which led to a downturn in human nutrition.[5]

The Neolithic Revolution involved far more than the adoption of a limited set of food-producing techniques. During the next millennia it would transform the small and mobile groups of hunter-gatherers that had hitherto dominated human pre-history into sedentary (non-nomadic) societies based in built-up villages and towns. These societies radically modified their natural environment by means of specialized food-crop cultivation (e.g.,irrigation and deforestation) which allowed extensive surplus food production.

These developments provided the basis for densely populated settlements, specialization and division of labour, trading economies, the development of non-portable art and architecture, centralized administrations and political structures, hierarchical ideologies, depersonalized systems of knowledge (e.g., writing), and property ownership. Personal land and private property ownership led to hierarchical society, class struggle and armies. The first fully developed manifestation of the entire Neolithic complex is seen in the Middle Eastern Sumerian cities (c. 5,500 BP), whose emergence also heralded the beginning of the Bronze Age.

The relationship of the above-mentioned Neolithic characteristics to the onset of agriculture, their sequence of emergence, and empirical relation to each other at various Neolithic sites remains the subject of academic debate, and varies from place to place, rather than being the outcome of universal laws of social evolution.[6][7] The Levant followed by Mesopotamia are the sites of the earliest developments of the Neolithic Revolution from around 10,000 BC. It has been identified as having "inspired some of the most important developments in human history including the invention of the wheel, the planting of the first cereal crops and the development of cursive script, mathematics, astronomy and agriculture."[8][9]

Agricultural Transition

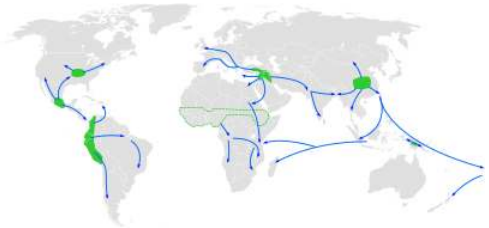

Figure **7.6.2** - Map of the world showing approximate centers of origin of agriculture and its spread in prehistory: the Fertile Crescent (11,000 BP), the Yangtze and Yellow River basins (9,000 BP) and the New Guinea Highlands (9,000–6,000 BP), Central Mexico (5,000–4,000 BP), Northern South America (5,000–4,000 BP), sub-Saharan Africa (5,000–4,000 BP, exact location unknown), eastern North America (4,000–3,000 BP).[10]

Figure **7.6.3** - Knap of Howar farmstead on a site occupied from 3,700 BC to 2,800 BC

The term *Neolithic Revolution* was coined in 1923 by V. Gordon Childe to describe the first in a series of agricultural revolutions in Middle Eastern history. The period is described as a "revolution" to denote its importance, and the great significance and degree of change affecting the communities in which new agricultural practices were gradually adopted and refined.

The beginning of this process in different regions has been dated from 10,000 to 8,000 BC in the Fertile Crescent[4][11] and perhaps 8000 BC in the Kuk Early Agricultural Site of Melanesia[12][13] to 2500 BC in Sub-Saharan Africa, with some considering the developments of 9000–7000 BC in the Fertile Crescent to be the most important. This transition everywhere seems associated with a change from a largely nomadic hunter-gatherer way of life to a more settled, agrarian-based one, with the inception of the domestication of various plant and animal species—depending on the species locally available, and probably also influenced by local culture. Recent archaeological research suggests that in some regions such as the Southeast Asian peninsula, the transition from hunter-gatherer to agriculturalist was not linear, but region-specific.[14]

There are several competing (but not mutually exclusive) theories as to the factors that drove populations to take up agriculture. The most prominent of these are:

- The **Oasis Theory,** originally proposed by Raphael Pumpelly in 1908, popularized by V. Gordon Childe in 1928 and summarised in Childe's book *Man Makes Himself*.[15] This theory maintains that as the climate got drier due to the Atlantic depressions shifting northward, communities contracted to oases where they were forced into close association with animals, which were then domesticated together with planting of seeds. However, today this theory has little support amongst archaeologists because subsequent climate data suggests that the region was getting wetter rather than drier.[16]
- The **Hilly Flanks** hypothesis, proposed by Robert Braidwood in 1948, suggests that agriculture began in the hilly flanks of the Taurus and Zagros mountains, where the climate was not drier as Childe had believed, and fertile land supported a variety of plants and animals amenable to domestication.[17]
- The **Feasting** model by Brian Hayden[18] suggests that agriculture was driven by ostentatious displays of power, such as giving feasts, to exert dominance. This required assembling large quantities of food, which drove agricultural technology.
- The **Demographic theories** proposed by Carl Sauer[19] and adapted by Lewis Binford[20] and Kent Flannery posit an increasingly sedentary population that expanded up to the carrying capacity of the local environment and required more food than could be gathered. Various social and economic factors helped drive the need for food.
- The **evolutionary/intentionality theory**, developed by David Rindos[21] and others, views agriculture as an evolutionary adaptation of plants and humans. Starting with domestication by protection of wild plants, it led to specialization of location and then full-fledged domestication.
- Peter Richerson, Robert Boyd, and Robert Bettinger[22] make a case for the development of agriculture coinciding with an increasingly stable climate at the beginning of the Holocene. Ronald Wright's book and Massey Lecture Series *A Short History of Progress*[23]popularized this hypothesis.
- The postulated Younger Dryas impact event, claimed to be in part responsible for megafauna extinction and ending the last glacial period, could have provided circumstances that required the evolution of agricultural societies for humanity to survive.[24] The agrarian revolution itself is a reflection of typical overpopulation by certain species following initial events during extinction eras; this overpopulation itself ultimately propagates the extinction event.
- Leonid Grinin argues that whatever plants were cultivated, the independent invention of agriculture always took place in special natural environments (e.g., South-East Asia). It is supposed that the cultivation of cereals started somewhere in the Near East: in the hills of Palestine or Egypt. So Grinin dates the beginning of the agricultural revolution within the interval 12,000 to 9,000 BP, though in some cases the first cultivated plants or domesticated animals' bones are even of a more ancient age of 14–15 thousand years ago.[25]
- Andrew Moore suggested that the Neolithic Revolution originated over long periods of development in the Levant, possibly beginning during the Epipaleolithic. In *"A Reassessment of the Neolithic Revolution"*, Frank Hole further expanded the

relationship between plant and animal domestication. He suggested the events could have occurred independently over different periods of time, in as yet unexplored locations. He noted that no transition site had been found documenting the shift from what he termed immediate and delayed return social systems. He noted that the full range of domesticated animals (goats, sheep, cattle and pigs) were not found until the sixth millennium at Tell Ramad. Hole concluded that *"close attention should be paid in future investigations to the western margins of the Euphrates basin, perhaps as far south as the Arabian Peninsula, especially where wadis carrying Pleistocene rainfall runoff flowed."*[26]

Domestication of Plants

Figure **7.6.4** - Neolithic grindstone for processing grain

Once agriculture started gaining momentum, human activity resulted in the selective breeding of cereal grasses (beginning with emmer, einkorn and barley), and not simply of those that would favour greater caloric returns through larger seeds. Plants that possessed traits such as small seeds or bitter taste would have been seen as undesirable. Plants that rapidly shed their seeds on maturity tended not to be gathered at harvest, therefore not stored and not seeded the following season; years of harvesting selected for strains that retained their edible seeds longer.

Several plant species, the "pioneer crops" or Neolithic founder crops were named by Daniel Zohary, who highlighted importance of the three cereals, and suggesting domestication of flax, pea, chickpea, bitter vetch and lentilcame a little later. Based on analysis of the genes of domesticated plants, he preferred theories of a single, or at most a very small number of domestication events for each taxa that spread in an arc from the Levantine corridoraround the fertile crescent and later into Europe.[27][28]Gordon Hillman and Stuart Davies carried out experiments with wild wheat varieties to show that the process of domestication would have happened over a relatively short period of between twenty and two hundred years.[29] Some of these pioneering attempts failed at first and crops were abandoned, sometimes to be taken up again and successfully domesticated thousands of years later: rye, tried and abandoned in Neolithic Anatolia, made its way to Europe as weed seeds and was successfully domesticated in Europe, thousands of years after the earliest agriculture.[30] Wild lentils present a different challenge that needed to be overcome: most of the wild seeds do not germinate in the first year; the first evidence of lentil domestication, breaking dormancy in their first year, was found in the early Neolithic at Jerf el Ahmar (in modern Syria), and quickly spread south to the Netiv HaGdud site in the Jordan Valley.[30]This process of domestication allowed the founder crops to adapt and eventually become larger, more easily harvested, more dependable in storage and more useful to the human population

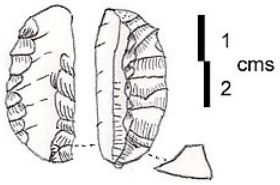

Figure **7.6.5** - An "Orange slice" sickle blade element with inverse, discontinuous retouch on each side, not denticulated. Found in large quantities at Qaraoun II and often with Heavy Neolithic tools in the flint workshops of the Beqaa Valley in Lebanon. Suggested by James Mellaart to be older than the Pottery Neolithic of Byblos (around 8,400 cal. BP).

Selectively propagated figs, wild barley and wild oats were cultivated at the early Neolithic site of Gilgal I, where in 2006[31] archaeologists found caches of seeds of each in quantities too large to be accounted for even by intensive gathering, at strata datable c. 11,000 years ago. Some of the plants tried and then abandoned during the Neolithic period in the Ancient Near East, at sites like Gilgal, were later successfully domesticated in other parts of the world.

Once early farmers perfected their agricultural techniques like irrigation, their crops would yield surpluses that needed storage. Most hunter gatherers could not easily store food for long due to their migratory lifestyle, whereas those with a sedentary dwelling could store their surplus grain. Eventually granaries were developed that allowed villages to store their seeds longer. So with more food, the population expanded and communities developed specialized workers and more advanced tools.

The process was not as linear as was once thought, but a more complicated effort, which was undertaken by different human populations in different regions in many different ways.

Agriculture in the Fertile Crescent

Early agriculture is believed to have originated and become widespread in Southwest Asia around 10,000–9,000 BP, though earlier individual sites have been identified. The Fertile Crescent region of Southwest Asia is the centre of domestication for three cereals (einkorn wheat, emmer wheat and barley) four legumes (lentil, pea, bitter vetch and chickpea) and flax.[32] The Mediterranean climate consists of a long dry season with a short period of rain, which may have favored small plants with large seeds, like wheat and barley. The Fertile Crescent also had a large area of varied geographical settings and altitudes and this variety may have made agriculture more profitable for former hunter-gatherers in this region in comparison with other areas with a similar climate .

Finds of large quantities of seeds and a grinding stone at the paleolithic site of Ohalo II in the vicinity of the Sea of Galilee, dated to around 19,400 BP has shown some of the earliest evidence for advanced planning of plant food consumption and suggests that humans at Ohalo II processed the grain before consumption.[33][34] Tell Aswad is oldest site of agriculture with domesticated emmer wheat dated by Willem van Zeist and his assistant Johanna Bakker-Heeres to 8800 BC.[35][36] Soon after came hulled, two-row barley found domesticated earliest at Jericho in the Jordan valley and Iraq ed-Dubb in Jordan.[37] Other sites in the Levantine corridor that show the first evidence of agriculture include Wadi Faynan 16 and Netiv Hagdud.[4] Jacques Cauvin noted that the settlers of Aswad did not domesticate on site, but *"arrived, perhaps from the neighbouring Anti-Lebanon, already equipped with the seed for planting"*.[38] The Heavy Neolithic Qaraoun culture has been identified at around fifty sites in Lebanon around the source springs of the River Jordan, however the dating of the culture has never been reliably determined.[39][40]

Agriculture in China

Northern China appears to have been the domestication center for foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) and broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*) with evidence of domestication of these species approximately 8,000 years ago.[41] These species were subsequently widely cultivated in the Yellow River basin (7,500 years ago).[41] Rice was domesticated in southern China later on.[41] Soybean was domesticated in northern China 4500 years ago.[42] Orange and peach also originated in China. They were cultivated around 2500 BC.[43][44]

Agriculture in Europe

Figure **7.6.6** - Tilling with Hungarian Grey cattles

The fertile Carpathian Basin was the place where Europeans survived the Ice Age. The territory between the Danube and the Tisza rivers was the powerhouse of the agricultural knowledge.

Agriculture in Africa

On the African continent, three areas have been identified as independently developing agriculture: the Ethiopian highlands, the Sahel and West Africa.[45] By contrast, Agriculture in the Nile River Valley is thought to have developed from the original Neolithic Revolution in the Fertile Crescent. Many grinding stones are found with the early Egyptian Sebilian and Mechian cultures and evidence has been found of a neolithic domesticated crop-based economy dating around 7,000 BP.[46][47] Unlike the Middle East, this evidence appears as a "false dawn" to agriculture, as the sites were later abandoned, and permanent farming then was delayed until 6,500 BP with the Tasian and Badarian cultures and the arrival of crops and animals from the Near East.

Bananas and plantains, which were first domesticated in Southeast Asia, most likely Papua New Guinea, were re-domesticated in Africa possibly as early as 5,000 years ago. Asian yams and taro were also cultivated in Africa.[45]

The most famous crop domesticated in the Ethiopian highlands is coffee. In addition, khat, ensete, noog, teff and finger millet were also domesticated in the Ethiopian highlands. Crops domesticated in the Sahel region includesorghum and pearl millet. The kola nut was first domesticated in West Africa. Other crops domesticated in West Africa include African rice, yams and the oil palm.[45]

Agriculture spread to Central and Southern Africa in the Bantu expansion during the 1st millennium BC to 1st millennium AD.

Agriculture in the Americas

Maize (corn), beans and squash were among the earliest crops domesticated in Mesoamerica, with maize beginning about 7500 BC, squash, as early as 8000 to 6000 BC and beans by no later than 4000 BC. Potatoes and manioc were domesticated in South America. In what is now the eastern United States, Native Americans domesticated sunflower, sumpweed and goosefoot around 2500 BC. At Guilá Naquitz cave in the Mexican highlands, fragments of maize pollen, bottle gourd and pepo squash were recovered and variously dated between 8000 and 7000 BC. In this area of the world people relied on hunting and gathering for several millennia to come. Sedentary village life based on farming did not develop until the second millennium BC, referred to as the formative period.[48]

Agriculture on the New Guinea

Evidence of drainage ditches at Kuk Swamp on the borders of the Western and Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea shows evidence of the cultivation of taro and a variety of other crops, dating back to 11,000 BP. Two potentially significant economic species, taro (*Colocasia esculenta*) and yam (*Dioscorea* sp.), have been identified dating at least to 10,200 calibrated years before present (cal BP). Further evidence of bananas and sugarcane dates to 6,950 to 6,440 BP. This was at the altitudinal limits of these crops, and it has been suggested that cultivation in more favourable ranges in the lowlands may have been even earlier. CSIRO has found evidence that taro was introduced into the Solomons for human use, from 28,000 years ago, making taro cultivation the earliest crop in the world.[49][50] It seems to have resulted in the spread of the Trans–New Guinea languages from New Guinea east into the Solomon Islands and west into Timor and adjacent areas of Indonesia. This seems to confirm the theories of Carl Sauer who, in “Agricultural Origins and Dispersals”, suggested as early as 1952 that this region was a centre of early agriculture.

Domestication of Animals

When hunter-gathering began to be replaced by sedentary food production it became more profitable to keep animals close at hand. Therefore, it became necessary to bring animals permanently to their settlements, although in many cases there was a distinction between relatively sedentary farmers and nomadic herders. The animals’ size, temperament, diet, mating patterns, and life span were factors in the desire and success in domesticating animals. Animals that provided milk, such as cows and goats, offered a source of protein that was renewable and therefore quite valuable. The animal’s ability as a worker (for example ploughing or towing), as well as a food source, also had to be taken into account. Besides being a direct source of food, certain animals could provide leather, wool, hides, and fertilizer. Some of the earliest domesticated animals included dogs (East Asia, about 15,000 years ago),[51] sheep, goats, cows, and pigs.

Domestication of Animals in the Middle East

Figure **7.6.7** - Dromedary camel caravan in Algeria

The Middle East served as the source for many animals that could be domesticated, such as sheep, goats and pigs. This area was also the first region to domesticate the dromedary camel. Henri Fleisch discovered and termed the Shepherd Neolithic flint industry from the Bekaa Valley in Lebanon and suggested that it could have been used by the earliest nomadic shepherds. He dated this industry to the Epipaleolithic or Pre-Pottery Neolithic as it is evidently not Paleolithic, Mesolithic or even Pottery Neolithic.[40][52] The presence of these animals gave the region a large advantage in cultural and economic development. As the climate in the Middle East changed and became drier, many of the farmers were forced to leave, taking their domesticated animals with them. It was this massive emigration from the Middle East that would later help distribute these animals to the rest of Afroeurasia. This emigration was mainly on an east-west axis of similar climates, as crops usually have a narrow optimal climatic range outside of which they cannot grow for reasons of light or rain changes. For instance, wheat does not normally grow in tropical climates, just like tropical crops such as bananas do not grow in colder climates. Some authors, like Jared Diamond, have postulated that this East-West axis is the main reason why plant and animal domestication spread so quickly from the Fertile Crescent to the rest of

Eurasia and North Africa, while it did not reach through the North-South axis of Africa to reach the Mediterranean climates of South Africa, where temperate crops were successfully imported by ships in the last 500 years.[53] Similarly, the African Zebu of central Africa and the domesticated bovines of the fertile-crescent — separated by the dry Sahara desert — were not introduced into each other's region.

Consequence

Social Change

It has long been taken for granted that the introduction of agriculture had been an unequivocal progress. This is now questioned in view of findings by archaeologists and paleopathologists showing that nutritional standards of Neolithic populations were generally inferior to that of hunter-gatherers, and that their life expectancy may well have been shorter too, in part due to diseases and harder work – hunter-gatherers must have covered their food needs with about 20 hours' work a week, while agriculture required much more and was at least as uncertain. The hunter-gatherers' diet was more varied and balanced than what agriculture later allowed. Average height went down from 5'10" (178 cm) for men and 5'6″ (168 cm) for women to 5'5″ (165 cm) and 5'1″ (155 cm), respectively, and it took until the twentieth century for average human height to come back to the pre-Neolithic Revolution levels.[54]Agriculturalists had more anaemias and vitamin deficiencies, more spinal deformations and more dental pathologies.[55]

However, the decrease in individual nutrition was accompanied by an increase in population.

The traditional view is that agricultural food production supported a denser population, which in turn supported larger sedentary communities, the accumulation of goods and tools, and specialization in diverse forms of new labor. The development of larger societies led to the development of different means of decision making and to governmental organization. Food surpluses made possible the development of a social elite who were not otherwise engaged in agriculture, industry or commerce, but dominated their communities by other means and monopolized decision-making.[56] Jared Diamond (in The World Until Yesterday) identifies the availability of milk and/or cereal grains as permitting mothers to raise both an older (e.g. 3 or 4 year old) child and a younger child concurrently, whereas this was not possible previously. The result is that a population can significantly more-rapidly increase its size than would otherwise be the case, resources permitting.

Recent analyses point out that agriculture also brought about deep social divisions and in particular encouraged inequality between the sexes.[57]

Subsequent Revolutions

Figure **7.6.8** - Domesticated cow being milked in Ancient Egypt.

Andrew Sherratt has argued that following upon the Neolithic Revolution was a second phase of discovery that he refers to as the secondary products revolution. Animals, it appears, were first domesticated purely as a source of meat.[58] The Secondary Products Revolution occurred when it was recognised that animals also provided a number of other useful products. These included:

- hides and skins (from undomesticated animals)
- manure for soil conditioning (from all domesticated animals)
- wool (from sheep, llamas, alpacas, and Angora goats)
- milk (from goats, cattle, yaks, sheep, horses and camels)
- traction (from oxen, onagers, donkeys, horses, camels and dogs)
- guarding and herding assistance (dogs)

Sherratt argues that this phase in agricultural development enabled humans to make use of the energy possibilities of their animals in new ways, and permitted permanent intensive subsistence farming and crop production, and the opening up of heavier soils for farming. It also made possible nomadic pastoralism in semi arid areas, along the margins of deserts, and eventually led to the domestication of both the dromedary and Bactrian camel. Overgrazing of these areas, particularly by herds of goats, greatly extended the areal extent of deserts. Living in one spot would have more easily permitted the accrual of personal possessions and

an attachment to certain areas of land. From such a position, it is argued, prehistoric people were able to stockpile food to survive lean times and trade unwanted surpluses with others. Once trade and a secure food supply were established, populations could grow, and society would have diversified into food producers and artisans, who could afford to develop their trade by virtue of the free time they enjoyed because of a surplus of food. The artisans, in turn, were able to develop technology such as metal weapons. Such relative complexity would have required some form of social organisation to work efficiently, so it is likely that populations that had such organisation, perhaps such as that provided by religion, were better prepared and more successful. In addition, the denser populations could form and support legions of professional soldiers. Also, during this time property ownership became increasingly important to all people. Ultimately, Childe argued that this growing social complexity, all rooted in the original decision to settle, led to a second Urban Revolution in which the first cities were built.

Disease

Figure **7.6.9** - Llama overlooking the ruins of the Inca city of Machu Picchu.

Throughout the development of sedentary societies, disease spread more rapidly than it had during the time in which hunter-gatherer societies existed. Inadequate sanitary practices and the domestication of animals may explain the rise in deaths and sickness following the Neolithic Revolution, as diseases jumped from the animal to the human population. Some examples of diseases spread from animals to humans are influenza, smallpox, and measles.[59] In concordance with a process of natural selection, the humans who first domesticated the big mammals quickly built up immunities to the diseases as within each generation the individuals with better immunities had better chances of survival. In their approximately 10,000 years of shared proximity with animals, such as cows, Eurasians and Africans became more resistant to those diseases compared with the indigenous populations encountered outside Eurasiaand Africa.[60] For instance, the population of most Caribbean and several Pacific Islands have been completely wiped out by diseases. 90% or more of many populations of the Americas were wiped out by European and African diseases before recorded contact with European explorers or colonists. Some cultures like the Inca Empire did have a large domestic mammal, the llama, but llama milk was not drunk, nor did llamas live in a closed space with humans, so the risk of contagion was limited. According to bioarchaeological research, the effects of agriculture on physical and dental health in Southeast Asian rice farming societies from 4000 to 1500 B.P. was not detrimental to the same extent as in other world regions.[61]

Technology

During and after the Age of Discovery, European explorers, such as the Spanish conquistadors, encountered other groups of people who had never or only recently adopted agriculture.In his book *Guns, Germs, and Steel*, Jared Diamond argues that Europeans and East Asians benefited from an advantageous geographical location that afforded them a head start in the Neolithic Revolution. Both shared the temperate climate ideal for the first agricultural settings, both were near a number of easily domesticable plant and animal species, and both were safer from attacks of other people than civilizations in the middle part of the Eurasian continent. Being among the first to adopt agriculture and sedentary lifestyles, and neighboring other early agricultural societies with whom they could compete and trade, both Europeans and East Asians were also among the first to benefit from technologies such as firearms and steel swords. In addition, they developed resistances to infectious disease, such as smallpox, due to their close relationship with domesticated animals. Groups of people who had not lived in proximity with other large mammals, such as the Australian Aborigines and American indigenous peoples, were more vulnerable to infection and largely wiped out by diseases.

Archaeogenetics

The dispersal of Neolithic culture from the Middle East has recently been associated with the distribution of human genetic markers. In Europe, the spread of the Neolithic culture has been associated with distribution of the E1b1b lineages and Haplogroup

J that are thought to have arrived in Europe from North Africa and the Near East respectively.[62][63] In Africa, the spread of farming, and notably the Bantu expansion, is associated with the dispersal of Y-chromosome haplogroup E1b1a from West Africa.[62]

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7.7: Distribution

Figure **7.7.1** - Men selling various fruit and vegetables at an outdoor market in Zanzibar

Once people have produced goods those goods need to be distributed for consumption. This guided through several principles: redistribution, reciprocity, and market. These principles are not mutually exclusive and all may be found within the same society. The **market principle** is based on the practice of goods bought and sold using money. Profit is a key motivating principle. Value is theoretically based on demand and supply, but supply can be artificially manipulated to value and, therefore, increase profit margin. Market economies are the hallmark of large-scale, industrial groups. Other characteristics of market economies include the accumulation of capital (wealth used to fund more production) and complex economic interactions, including international components. Market economies are synonymous with intensive agricultural societies. In the modern world, non-market economies exist under the umbrella of a national market economy; however, there are some cultural groups, e.g., foragers, who have little interaction with the national economy. Groups such as this are generally left out of economic development plans. In fact, they are often seen as impediments to modern economic development, leading to marginalization and deprivation as their ability to meet their needs is impeded.

Non-market economies are based on reciprocity or redistribution. **Reciprocity** is a direct exchange of goods or services while **redistribution** refers to the movement of goods or services from a central authority to the members of the society.

There are three types of reciprocity: generalized, balanced, and negative. **Generalized reciprocity** refers to an exchange that incurs no calculation of value or immediate repayment of the goods or services. This usually happens among close kin and friends; e.g., !Kung hunters sharing meat with other members of the family or buying a cup of coffee for a friend. It acts as a form of social security among kin—sharing with family ensures that they in turn will share with you. Generalized reciprocity has an element of altruism to it. Think about a person who makes a bunch of sandwiches and then hands them out to the homeless. That person is distributing food without expectation of repayment.

Balanced reciprocity involves calculation of value and repayment of the goods or services within a specified time frame. Some foragers will exchange wild game for modern hunting implements such as metal knives. Horticulturalists may exchange some of their product for machetes. Storeowners may exchange goods for services of skilled tradesmen. Gift giving in modern society is another example of balanced reciprocity. As adults, when gifts are given there is an expectation that we will receive a gift of equal value in return at a fixed point in the future. For instance, if we receive a birthday gift from a friend, it is expected that we will give that friend a gift of similar value on their birthday.

Negative reciprocity occurs when one party attempts to get more out of the exchange than the other party. This can happen through hard-bargaining, deception, stealing, or even selling food at an inflated price because there is no other option; e.g., vendors at special events.

Redistribution refers to the movement of goods or services to and from a central authority. The authority may be a single individual, e.g., a chief, or a group of people, e.g., temple priests. The central authority may not be interested in accumulating wealth for themselves, but use the distribution of goods and services to create interdependence among the parties involved. The **Big Men** of Highland Papua New Guinea redistribute goods they have accumulated to create and maintain alliances in an area where conflict with other groups occur relatively frequently. In industrial societies, progressive income **taxes** are an example of

redistribution—taxes are collected from individuals dependent on their personal income and then that money is distributed to other members of society through various government programs. Charitable donations function similarly.

Figure **7.7.2** - Dancers in ceremonial dress at a Tlingit potlatch, Klukwan, Alaska, October 15, 1898

The **potlatch** is a specialized form of redistribution that was common among native cultures of the Pacific Northwest. Native tribes living in the coastal areas of what is now known as Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and southern Alaska created a competitive system involving elaborate feasting and gift giving that was used to increase status of the giver. The giver often took years to accumulate all of the goods necessary for the potlatch. Statuses were easily determined by who received the most goods. An element of negative reciprocity was involved in the potlatch as it created an expectation that in the future, receivers would give back to the giver more than they received. While that suggests that the potlatch impoverished families, the relative continual redistribution of goods throughout the society ensured that people were taken care of; the potlatch created interdependence among members of the society.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

8: Kinship

8.1: Kinship Diagrams

8.2: Descent Rules

8.3: Descent Groups

8.4: Kinship Terminology

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8.1: Kinship Diagrams

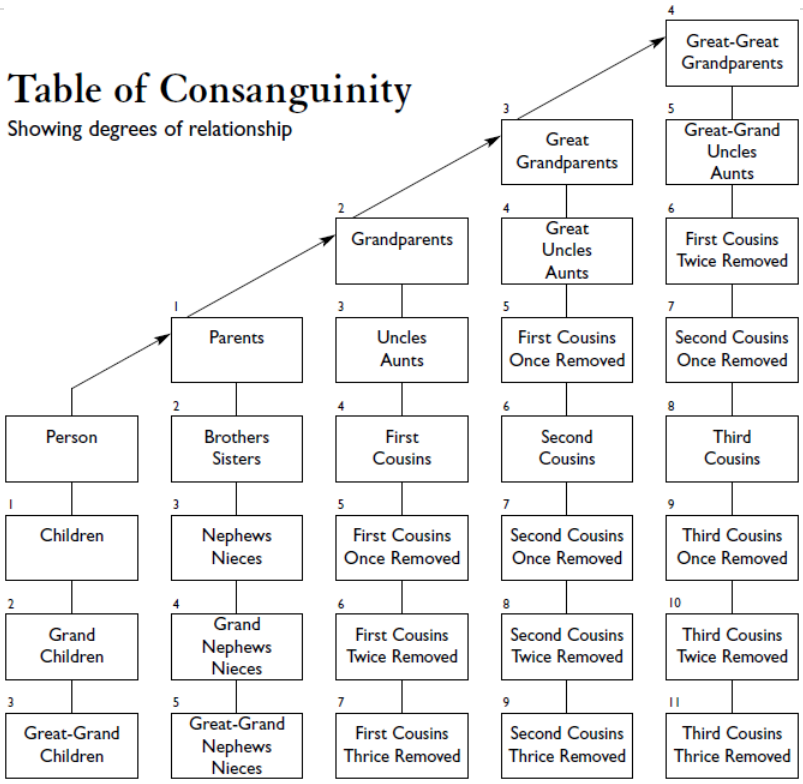

Figure 8.1.1 - By Sg647112c (Own work) [CC BY-SA 3.0 (http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/3.0)], via Wikimedia Commons

In this section, we will look at **kinship patterns**. These patterns determine how we connect with others through descent and marriage. It is a basic system of social organization. Kin that are related to us through descent (parent to child) are called **consanguine** or blood relatives. Anthropologists oftentimes discuss how many links there are between individuals. For instance, between a father and a daughter there is one link in the chain of familial connections. Between that daughter and her sibling there are two links, one to the parent and one to the sibling. If that sibling had a child then there would be three links between the daughter mentioned in the first example: one to the parent, one to the sibling and one to the niece or nephew. Kin that are related through marriage are called **affine**. In the United States, we refer to affine as in-laws.

Kinship Diagrams

Anthropologists draw kinship diagrams to illustrate relationships. Kinship diagrams allow cultural anthropologists to quickly sketch out relationships between people during the interview process. It also provides a means to visually present a culture's kinship pattern without resorting to names, which can be confusing, and allows for anonymity for the people.

There are some basic symbols that are used in kinship diagrams. One set of symbols is used to represent people. The other set is used to represent relationships or connections between people.

In the diagram below, a circle represents a female, a triangle a male, and a square represents a person self-identified as neither sex or both sexes.

(click on any diagram to enlarge)

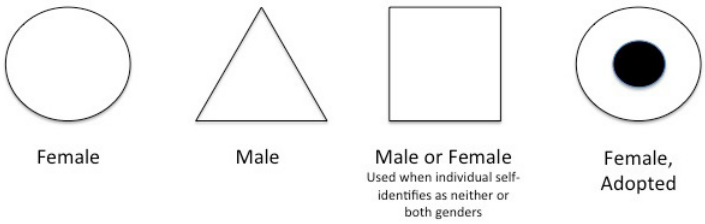

Figure 8.1.2

To indicate that a person is deceased, a line is placed through the symbol.

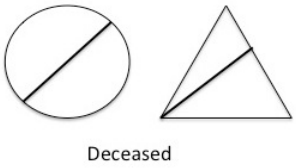

Figure 8.1.3

Other kinship symbols indicate relationships.

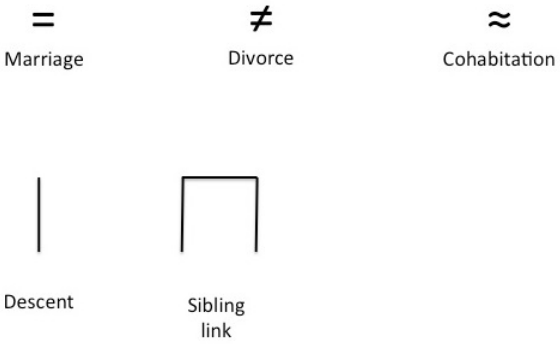

Figure 8.1.4

Some anthropologists develop their own kinship symbols. This is an accepted practice as long as a key or description of the symbol is provided.

One individual, usually the informant, is designated as the starting point for the kinship diagram. This person is identified as EGO on the diagram.

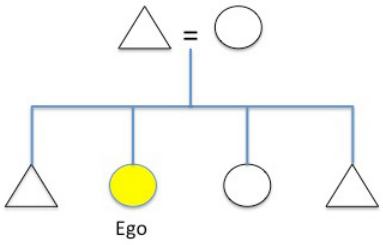

Figure 8.1.5

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8.2: Descent Rules

Cultural recognition of children as kin of one or both parents is basis for the descent concept. Some societies trace through both parents (e.g., Canada and the United States). Other societies trace descent through only one of the parent's family line.

There are two basic descent systems: corporate and cognatic. **Cognatic descent** is also referred to as non-unilineal descent and there are two types of cognatic descent: bilateral and ambilineal. Anthropological data suggests that cognatic descent arose in cultures where warfare is uncommon and there is a political organization that can organize and fight on behalf of the members. In **bilateral** systems, children are equally descended through both parents. People from both sides of the family are considered relatives. This is the form of descent practiced in the United States.

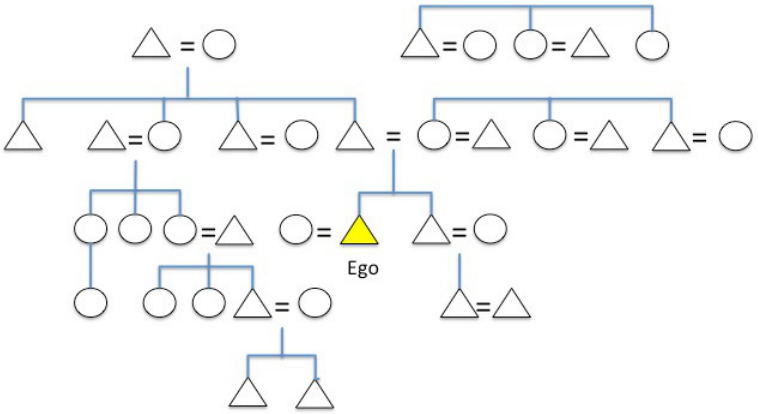

Figure **8.2.1**

Ambilineal systems require children to choose either the mother or father's side of the family to be reckoned relatives. Some Native American tribes use the ambilineal system. In the illustration below, if EGO chooses the father's side of the family, then everyone marked in blue would be considered kin. If EGO chooses the mother's side, then everyone marked in orange would be considered family

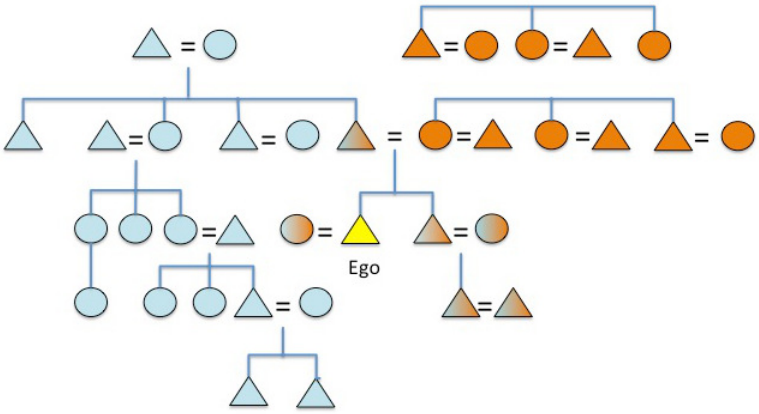

Figure **8.2.2**

In **corporate descent** cultures only one family line is recognized as kin. The group typically owns property together. When family is reckoned along the father's line the group is **patrilineal**. When family is reckoned along the mother's line the group is **matrilineal**. Keep in mind that this is at the cultural level. Individuals in a culture may think of other people as kin even though they are not formally recognized by the culture itself.

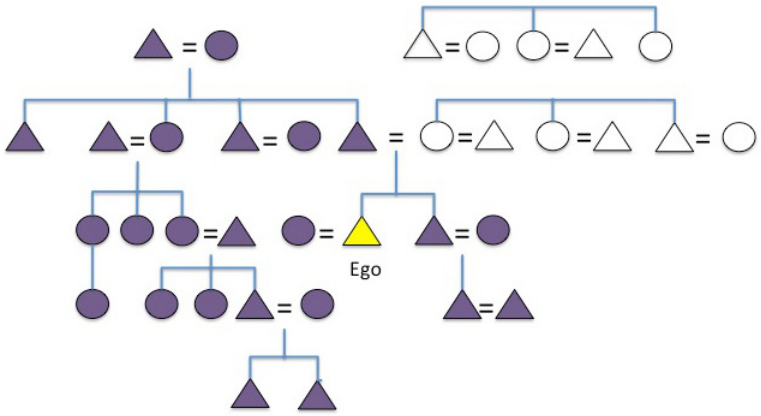

Figure **8.2.3** - *Patrilineal descent*

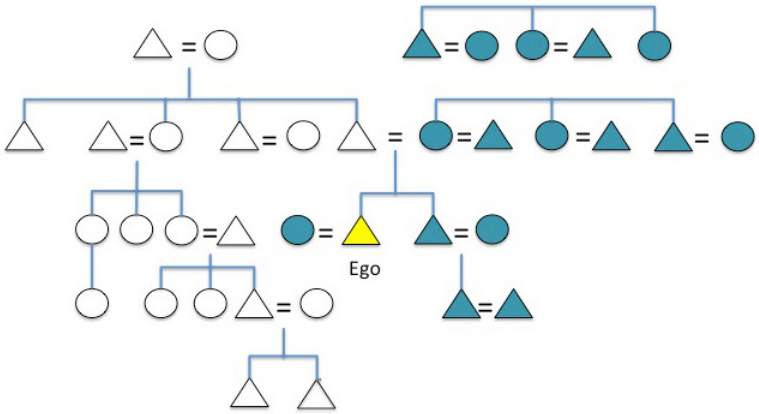

***Figure* 8.2.4** - *Matrilineal descent*

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8.3: Descent Groups

In all societies there are social groups whose membership is based on descent; members share a common ancestor or living relative. Descent groups help to define the pool of potential mates, the group of people who are obligated to help in economic and political issues, and may even dictate which religion is followed, particularly in unilineal descent groups.

Unilineal Descent Groups

Lineages trace lines of descent to the same ancestor. A matriline is traced through the mother's family line and partrilines are traced through the father's. Ambilines are traced through either the mother's or father's line; the choice, which might be made based on friendship or availability of resources, is left open.

Clans are groups who acknowledge a common ancestor but the exact genealogy might not be remembered. Oftentimes, the ancestor may be so far back in time that history becomes distorted so that the ancestor takes on heroic proportions. For instance, Native American groups have clans, an ancient lineage that is often just referred to as an animal (wolf, raven). Clans can be quite big, with a large number of people.

Phratries are groups of clans (at least three clans) who are believed to be related by kinship. There are not usually economic ties between the clans.

Moieties are also linked clans; however, in this case, there are only two clans involved. There may be economic ties between moieties.

Non-Unilineal Descent Groups

There is only one type of non-unilineal descent group, the **kindred**. Kindreds count all individuals from each parent as relatives. This kind of descent group is usually seen where small family groups are more adaptive than large ones and individual mobility is high, e.g., industrial societies. Often, kindreds fall apart when the unifying individual dies.

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8.4: Kinship Terminology

> *"Cross-cultural comparisons of categories of kin terms (words used to identify relatives) can sometimes reveal basic similarities and differences in worldview and experience" (Bonvillain 2010: 201).*

Terminology systems take a myriad of things into account (although they may not take all of these things into account):

- paternal vs. maternal kin
- generation
- differences in relative age
- sex
- consanguine vs. affinal ties
- person's descent line vs. linked
- descent line
- sex of linking relative

Terminology Systems

While the actual form of the words vary from culture to culture, anthropologists have identified only six terminology systems.

The Hawaiian System. This system is the simplest in that it has the fewest terms. The key distinctions are generation and gender. For example, all the males of the biological father's generation are called father, while all the females are called mother. The Hawaiian system is common where nuclear families are dependent on other kin; the system emphasizes cohesion of the extended family. It is common among Pacific Island peoples.

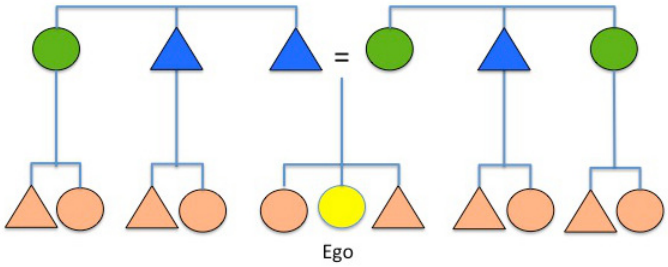

Figure 8.4.1

The Eskimo System. The nuclear family is emphasized in this system. Relatives outside of the nuclear family are distinguished by gender. Terms like mother, father, sister, and brother not used for relatives outside of the nuclear family. On the other hand, terms for aunt, uncle, cousin, grandfather and grandmother are used for both sides of family. The Eskimo system is associated with societies where nuclear family is economically independent.

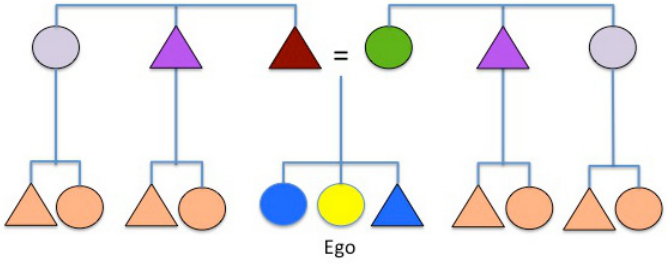

Figure 8.4.2

The Omaha System. In this system, terms create a contrast between paternal and maternal relatives. It is found in patrilineal societies and has a small number of terms to refer to many different kin. On the father's side of the family, members are groups by sex and generation. On the mother's side of the family, members are lumped by sex only; there are no generational distinctions.

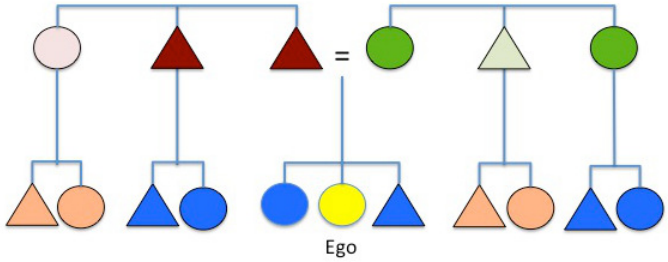

Figure 8.4.3

The Crow System. This system is the flip side of the Omaha system. It is associated with matrilineal societies. In this system, relatives on the mother's side of the family are lumped by sex and generation, while on the father's side, people are categorized by sex only.

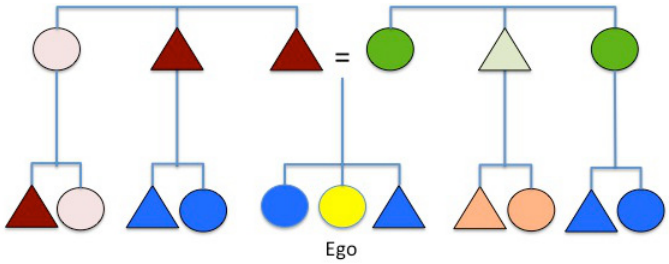

Figure 8.4.4

The Iroquois System. The Iroquois system, found only in matrilineal societies, has different terms for maternal and paternal relatives based on sex and generation. It makes distinctions between parental siblings of opposite sexes. What this means is that any sisters the mother has are also called mother and any brothers of the father are called father. However, brothers of the mother are called uncle and sisters of the father are called aunt. Offspring of the mother's sister or father's brother are consider siblings, while children of the parents' siblings of the opposite sex are called cousin.

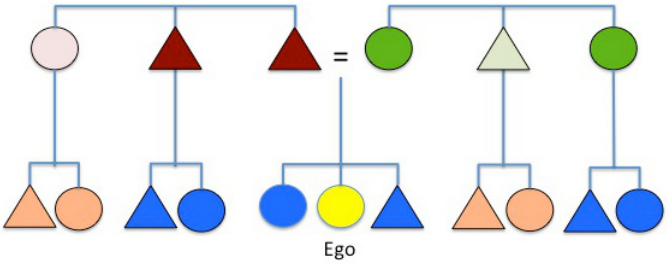

Figure 8.4.5

The Sudanese System. This is the largest terminology system. It has a descriptive term for each relative. There are nuclear family terms as well as terms for both maternal and paternal uncles, aunts, and cousins. This type of system is used in cultures that have both class stratification and occupational specialization along with political complexity (Ember and Ember 2011).

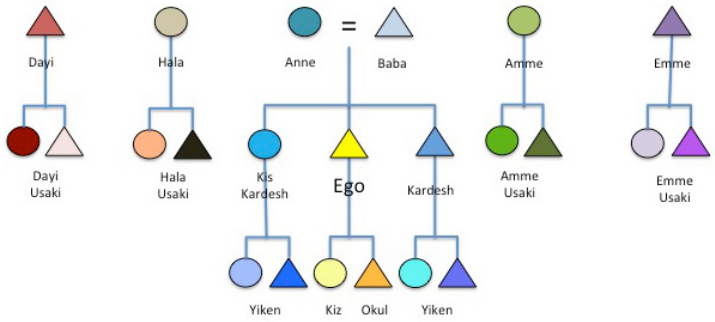

Figure 8.4.6

Some anthropologists recognize **fictive kin** (Bonvillain 2010), or people who are not relatives by descent or marriage. This type of kin may include adopted relatives, ceremonial relatives such as godparents and occupational brotherhoods and sisterhoods.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

9: Marriage and Family

9.1: Functions of Marriage
9.2: Forms of Marriage
9.3: Rules for Marriage
9.4: Economic Aspects of Marriage
9.5: Types of Families
9.6: Postmarital Residence Patterns
9.7: Residence Patterns

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9.1: Functions of Marriage

Marriage

All societies have customs governing how and under what circumstances sex and reproduction can occur–generally marriage plays a central role in these customs.

Marriage is a socially approved union that united two or more individuals as spouses. Implicit in this union is that there will be sexual relations, procreation, and permanence in the relationship.

Functions of Marriage

Figure **9.1.1** - *Marriage ceremony in Thailand*

1. Marriage regulates sexual behavior.

Marriage helps cultural groups to have a measure of control over population growth by providing proscribed rules about when it is appropriate to have children. Regulating sexual behavior helps to reduce sexual competition and negative effects associate with sexual competition. This does not mean that there are no socially approved sexual unions that take place outside of marriage. Early anthropological studies documented that the Toda living in the Nilgiri Mountains of Southern India allowed married women to have intercourse with male priests with the husband's approval. In the Philippines, the Kalinda institutionalized mistresses. If a man's wife was unable to have children, he could take a mistress in order to have children. Usally his wife would help him choose a mistress.

2. Marriage fulfills the economic needs of marriage partners.

Marriage provides the framework within which people's needs are met: shelter, food, clothing, safety, etc. Through the institution of marriage, people know for whom they are economically and socially responsible.

3. Marriage perpetuates kinship groups.

This is related to the previous function, but instead of simply knowing who is with whom economically and socially, marriage in a legitimate sense lets people know about inheritance.

4. Marriage provides institution for the care and enculturation of children.

Within the umbrella of the marriage, children begin to learn their gender roles and other cultural norms. Marriage lets everyone know who is responsible for children. It legitimizes children by socially establishing their birthrights.

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9.2: Forms of Marriage

Figure **9.2.1** - Same-sex union laws around the world.

Monogamy, the union between two individuals, is the most common form of marriage. While monogamy traditionally referred to the union of one man and one woman, there are some countries that recognize same-sex unions. As of early 2015, The Netherlands, Spain, Canada, South Africa, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Iceland, Argentina, Denmark, Brazil, France, Uruguay, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, Luxembourg, and Finland legally allow **same-sex marriage**. In other countries, the debate continues over whether or not to legalize same-sex marriage or guarantee rights to homosexuals. For instance, certain states in Mexico allow same-sex marriage, but not the entire nation. **Serial monogamy**, where an individual has multiple spouses over their lifetime, but only one at a time, is quite common in industrial societies.

Polygamy, the union between three or more individuals is the second most common form of marriage. Generally when polygamy is mentioned by the media, a marriage between a man and multiple women is being referenced; however, the term is being misused. **Polygyny** is the correct term for a marriage between a man and multiple women. **Polyandry**refers to a marriage between a woman and multiple men. Polyandry mostly occurs between a woman and brothers, a system referred to as **fraternal polyandry**. One reason that polyandry might be the preferred marriage pattern for a group is if there is a shortage of women or land is scarce. For instance, the Nyinba of Nepal practice fraternal polyandry because there is not enough land to divide between brothers and the high mortality rate of female child and infant mortality. Male children are preferred, therefore are better cared for then female offspring (Bonvillain 2010: 218-219).

Polygyny is more common than polyandry. It is generally found in societies where rapid population growth is beneficial to the survival of the group, such as frontier and warrior societies, or where the ratio of women to men is high. Men with multiple wives and many children usually have higher status within the group because they have demonstrated that they can afford to support a large family. Men may also marry several women to help increase his wealth as he will then have more hands helping to bring in resources to the family. Many groups across the globe have or do practice polygyny, e.g., G/wi, Australian Aborigines, Turkana, Samburu, and the Tswana.

A question that anthropologists asked was what are the benefits of multiple spouses? What they found were several possible benefits:

- increased social status
- a new set of affines (in-laws) gives individuals more people for help w/trade, political alliances, support
- a larger labor force
- lessens the burden of work because it distributed among several women
- better chance children are provided for

Group marriage is a rare form of marriage where several males are married simultaneously to several females. This form of marriage was once practiced by the Toda; however, it is no longer known in any extant society.

There are a few other types of marriage. A **symbolic marriage** is one that does not establish economic or social ties, e.g., a Catholic nun marrying Jesus Christ. **Fixed-term marriages** are temporary marriages that are entered into for a fixed period of time. Once the time period is ended, the parties go their separate ways. There may be a financial gain for the woman, however there

are no social ties once the marriage has ended. Fixed-term marriages legitimize sexual relationships for individuals whose culture may forbid sexual relationships outside of marriage, e.g., soldiers during times of war or students attending college in a foreign country.

Some cultures have developed special rules for marriage if a married family member dies. The **levirate** obliges a man to marry his deceased brother's wife; e.g., Orthodox Judaism (although rarely practiced today, the widow must perform the chalitzah ceremony before she can remarry). The brother is then responsible for his brother's widow and children. This helps keep the children and other resources the deceased had collected within the family. The **sororate** is the flip side of the levirate. In this system, a woman must marry the husband of her deceased sister. The Nuer practice a form of the levirate called **ghost marriage**. If an elder brother dies without fathering children, one of his younger brothers must marry his widow. Children resulting from the ghost marriage are considered the offspring of the deceased brother (Bonvillain 2010).

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9.3: Rules for Marriage

For the societies that practice marriage there are rules about whom one can marry and cannot marry (note: not all groups marry; traditionally the Na in Southwest China do not marry). All societies have some form of an **incest taboo** that forbids sexual relationships with certain people. This is variable from culture to culture. Several explanations have been preferred to explain the origins of incest taboos. One cites biological reasons. Non-human primates seem to have an instinctual aversion to having sex with near relatives, so perhaps the same happens for humans. Another biological reason is that the incest taboo was established to maintain biological diversity. This suggests that people understood the consequences of breeding with relatives.

Another theory suggests that familiarity breeds contempt, while yet another suggests that incest taboos were developed to ensure that alliances were made outside of the family. Whatever the case may be, there have been culturally approved violations of the incest taboo usually in royal families such as those in pre-contact Hawaii, ancient Peru and Egypt (Bonvillain 2010).

Exogamy stipulates that an individual must marry outside of a kin, residential, or other specified group. For instance, the Yanomami must marry outside of their residential village. **Endogamy**, on the other hand, stipulates that an individual must marry within a specified kinship categories or social group. The classic example of endogamy is the Indian caste system. Arranged marriages are quite common among human societies. With **arranged marriages**, family elders, usually the parents, choose spouses for their children. Arranged marriages promote political, social, and economic ties.

Sometimes within the practices outlined above, other rules that single out certain kin as ideal marriage partners are adhered to. **Cross-cousin marriage** unites cousins linked by parents of opposite sex (brother/sister) while **parallel-cousin marriage** unites the children of siblings of the same sex. The benefits of these types of marriages is that it helps to maintain the family lineage.

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9.4: Economic Aspects of Marriage

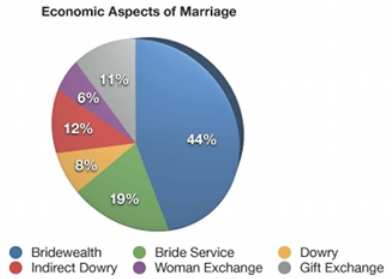

Figure **9.4.1** - Economic Aspects of Marriage (from Ember and Ember 2011: 195)

Most marriages have some type of economic exchange associated with them. Only about 25% of marriages do not have an economic aspect (Ember and Ember 2011: 195).

Anthropologists have identified the following practices:

Bridewealth or **Bride price**: In this practice goods are transferred from the groom's family to bride's family in compensation for losing the productive and reproductive services of one of their daughters.

Bride service: This entails the groom performing a service for the family of the bride. Bride service could take several months or even years to complete.

Dowry: Dowry generally is practiced in cultures where women's roles are less valued then men. This practice requires the transfer of goods from the bride's family to the groom to compensate for acceptance of the responsibility of her support. This is most common in pastoral or agricultural societies where a market exchange is prevalent. **Hypergamy**occurs when a woman uses her dowry to "marry up" and increase her and subsequently her children's social status. **Indirect dowry** is a little like bride price. With this custom, the groom's family gives goods to the bride's father who in turn gifts them to his daughter.

Woman exchange: With woman exchange, no gifts are exchanged by the families but each family gives a bride to the other family; each family loses a daughter but gains a daughter-in-law.

Gift exchange: In this practice, the families of the betrothed exchange gifts of equal value.

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9.5: Types of Families

Figure **9.5.1** - Flathead family (United States)

What constitutes a family varies across the globe depending on a variety of factors including subsistence practices and economic behaviors. **Family** defines obligations that group members have to one another, both economically and socially. Generally, family members live together, but that is not always the case.

Family Types

Nuclear family: This is also known as the conjugal family or family of procreation. Nuclear families are comprised of married partners and their offspring. This is common in industrial societies, but it is not the most common type of family in the world, although the practice is spreading through modern development. Some anthropologists identify a second type of nuclear family, the non-conjugal family. In this type of nuclear family, there is one parent with dependent children. Additionally, there is the polygymous family, which is comprised of multiple spouses and dependent children (Lavenda and Schultz 2010; note that Lavenda and Schultz refer to a polygynous family, not a polygymous family, but that term does not encompass a married woman living with multiple husbands and dependent children).

Extended family: The extended family is the most common type of family in the world. Extended families include at least three generations: grandparents, married offspring, and grandchildren.

Joint family: Joint families are composed of sets of siblings, theirs spouses, and their dependent children.

Blended family: Blended families are becoming more common, especially in industrial societies like the United States. A blended family is formed when divorced or widowed parents who have children marry.

Family by Choice: A relatively newly recognized type of family, again especially in industrial countries like the United States, is the family by choice. The term was popularized by the LGBTQ (Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer) community to describe a family not recognized by the legal system. Family by choice can include adopted children, live-in partners, kin of each member of the household, and close friends. Increasingly family by choice is being practiced by unmarried people and families who move away from the consanguine family.

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9.6: Postmarital Residence Patterns

Family

According to Bonvillain (2010: 211), family is a "basic unit of economic cooperation and stability" that generally includes at least one parent or parent substitute and children. Families provide both economic and social support for its members. It is the primary group responsible for rearing children and is where the enculturation process begins (enculturation refers to the process of learning the culture we are born into). The children in the family are not always the biological offspring. Through the process of adoption, other family members or strangers may adopt children who have lost their biological parents. This practice ensures that children without parents are cared for and not a burden on the rest of society. In some places, children are "adopted out" due to economic hardships facing the family.

Postmarital Residence Patterns

One thing that may help define a family is their place of residence after the parents are married. There are several types of residence patterns:

Patrilocal: In this residence pattern the newlyweds live with or near the husband's family. This is the most common form found in the world. It is common in societies where solidarity of the male group is important; e.g., where there is heavy labor to be done or frequent warfare. Many cultures in the Persian Gulf region and North Africa are patrilocal.

Matrilocal: This, the 2nd most common residence pattern, is found in societies where the newly married couple moves in with or near the bride's family. This is found in gardening societies (horticulturalists) or groups where warfare occurs with distant peoples and not near neighbors. The Hopi of the American Southwest are one example of a matrilocal group.

Bilocal (ambilocal): This type of residence pattern is the bilocal or ambilocal pattern. In this practice the bride and groom pick which family to go live with or near. It is found in societies where extended kin networks important and where land may be limited. The !Kung Bushmen are bilocal.

Neolocal: For this residence pattern, which is common in industrial societies, newlyweds live separate from both the bride and groom's parents. They are economically independent from their parents. With the export of American culture through modern development, the neolocal residence pattern is becoming increasingly widespread.

Avunculocal: This residence pattern is found only in matrilineal societies like the Trobriand Islanders where men of the family must be cohesive. Usually it forms when warfare is not uncommon, but the threat is at some distance. This pattern is characterized by the newlyweds living in or near the house of groom's mother's brother.

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9.7: Residence Patterns

Figure **9.7.1** - A wooden wagon (Doli) in which a bride is taken to her husband's home. Although this is a thing of past now, the administration of Chandigarh depicted this in its annual Chandigarh carnival 2005.

After getting married the couple needs to live somewhere. And where the couple ends up varies, depending on their culture. There are four major residence patterns, Neolocal, Patrilocal, Matrilocal, and Avunculocal.

1. **Neolocal Residence** is most common with North American couples. This is where the couple finds their own house, independent from all family members.
2. **Patrilocal Residence** is most commonly used with herding and farming societies. It's where the married couple lives with the husband's father's family. By living with the husband's family, it lets all the men, (the father, brothers, and sons) continue to work together on the land.
3. **Matrilocal Residence** is most familiar among horticultural groups. It's where the couple moves to live where the wife grew up; usually found with matrilineal kinship systems.
4. **Avunculocal Residence** is also related in matrilineal societies however in this case the couple moves to live with the husband's mother's brother. They live with the most significant man, his uncle, because it's who they will later inherit everything from.

There are two other forms of residence however they aren't as common. There's **Ambilocal residence** where the couple lives with one family for awhile and then moves to live with the other spouse's family. Eventually they have to decide who to live with permanently. And then there's **Duolocal residence** where lineage membership is so important to both the husband and wife that even though the couple is married they still live apart from one another and reside with their families.

Figure **9.7.2** - A Hindu Kush woman in the Northeastern part of India in the Himalayan Region.

The division of labor by sex largely determines where a couple resides after marriage. If the male predominates in the division of labor than the couple's residence tends to be an Avunculocal and Patrilocal residence. However if the females predominates than they tend to live in matrilocal residence. And if neither sex predominates in the division of labor than their residence tends to be more ambilocal or neolocal residence.

In the mountains of the Hindu Kush Himalayan region the domination of society by males is prevalent throughout the region. And because the males are so dominate in this region, the main pattern of living is Patrilocal Residence. Once couples are married the women are forced to live with the husband and the rest of his family, in unfamiliar surroundings. Marriages are generally arranged by the parents, so the women have to learn to live with strangers, without any family support that she once enjoyed at home.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

10: Sex and Gender

10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
10.2: Sexual Orientation
10.3: Inis Beag
10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia
10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies
10.6: Gender Role
10.7: Two-Spirit
10.8: Hijra
10.9: Gender and Language
10.10: Gender Inequality
10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)
10.12: Double Burden (Part 2)
10.13: Gender and Employment
10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report
10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1)
10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2)
10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)
10.18: Missing Women of Asia

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10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction

The distinction between sex and gender differentiates **sex** (the anatomy of an individual's reproductive system, and secondary sex characteristics) from **gender**, which can refer to either social roles based on the sex of the person (gender role) or personal identification of one's own gender based on an internal awareness (gender identity).[1][2] In some circumstances, an individual's assigned sex and gender do not align, and the person may be transgender,[1] non-binary, or gender-nonconforming.

The sex and gender distinction is not universal. In ordinary speech, *sex*and *gender* are often used interchangeably.[3][4] Some dictionaries and academic disciplines give them different definitions while others do not.

Among scientists, the term *sex differences* (as compared to *gender differences*) is typically applied to sexually dimorphic traits that are hypothesized to be evolved consequences of sexual selection.[5][6]

Sexual dimorphism is the condition where the two sexes of the same species exhibit different characteristics beyond the differences in their sexual organs.

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10.2: Sexual Orientation

Sexual orientation is the pattern of sexual and emotional attraction based on the gender of one's partner. **Heterosexuality** refers to the emotional and sexual attraction between men and women. In the contemporary American culture, heterosexuality is the only sexual orientation to receive complete social and legal legitimacy. Though heterosexuality is viewed as the "norm" in the United States, many other cultures maintain a very diverse perspective on sexuality and sexual orientation. Various types of sexual orientation are defined below, and can be found in many different cultures across the globe.

- **Homosexuality**: Being emotionally and sexually attracted to those of the same sex. "Lesbian" is used to refer to a woman being attracted to other women; "Gay" is used to refer to a man being attracted to other men.
- **Bisexuality**: Being both emotionally and sexually attracted to both males and females.
- **Pansexuality**: The potential for attraction to people, regardless of their biological sex or gender. This includes a possibility for attraction to those who fall outside the gender binary of male/female.
- **Asexual**: One without sex-linked features, lacking any apparent sex or sex organs or one that does not experience or represses any sexual attraction.
- **Transgender**: Not a sexual orientation, but the state of one's own gender identity not matching their assigned sex. Transgender people may identify as any sexual orientation listed above.

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10.3: Inis Beag

Coordinates: alt53.399°N 9.897°W **Inis Beag** (Irish: “Little Island”) is a remote island off the coast of Connemara, Ireland, near the Aran Islands. It contains a small, isolated Irish-speaking Catholic community which cultural anthropologist John Cowan Messenger observed in his study “Sex and Repression in an Irish Folk Community”. During the period of his study between 1958 and 1966, Inis Beag supported a population of around 350, mostly living by subsistence farming and fishing. The name “Inis Beag” is a name made up by researchers to protect the privacy of the island’s people. Its true identity is Inisheer.[1][2]

Messenger’s study of this community has often been cited by anthropologists and sexologists as an example of extreme sexual repression. Inis Beag had no formal sex education, and sexual intercourse was treated by both sexes as a necessary evil which must be endured for the sake of reproduction. Phenomena such as menstruation and menopause were regarded with fear and disgust. Breast-feeding was avoided. Not only was premarital sex almost non-existent, but kissing, caressing, and any affection was seen as too sexual and was therefore prohibited. Nudity was extremely private, to the extent that even a married couple conducted intercourse in the dark and fully clothed, except for genitals. Sex was also practiced only in the missionary position. Any variation of sex was seen as deviant and sinful.

Bathing was also “unknown” and the average age at marriage was 36 for men and 25 for women. A man was considered a “boy” until age 40. Dogs were also whipped for licking their genitals.[3] The repressive atmosphere, according to the researchers, led to high levels of masturbation, drinking, and alcohol-fueled fights.[3]

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10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia

The **Sambia** are a tribe of mountain-dwelling, hunting and horticultural people who inhabit the fringes of the Eastern Highlands Province of Papua New Guinea, and are extensively described by the American anthropologist Gilbert Herdt.[1][2] The Sambia — a pseudonym created by Herdt himself — are well known by cultural anthropologists for their acts of "ritualized homosexuality" and semen ingestion practices with pubescent boys. In his studies of the Sambia, Herdt describes the people in light of their sexual culture and how their practices shape the masculinities of adolescent Sambia boys.[1]

According to Monahan and Just, for the Sambia of highland New Guinea, homosexuality and heterosexuality were not opposed, but were understood to be stages in a single sequence of normal male development. As the Sambia saw it, boys lacked a crucial substance necessary to develop muscle, stature, bravery, and the other characteristics of a successful warrior. This substance, jurungdu, was concentrated in semen, which the boys would ingest in the course of homosexual acts during several stages of initiation. As a boy progressed in his initiation he would change from being a receiver of semen to a donor of semen, as younger initiates would perform oral sex on him. At the end of the initiation process the adult man would marry and eventually maintain exclusively heterosexual relations.[3]

Notes

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10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies

Coming of Age in Samoa (1928)

In the foreword to *Coming of Age in Samoa*, Mead's advisor, Franz Boas, wrote of its significance:

> *Courtesy, modesty, good manners, conformity to definite ethical standards are universal, but what constitutes courtesy, modesty, very good manners, and definite ethical standards is not universal. It is instructive to know that standards differ in the most unexpected ways.*[1]

Mead's findings suggested that the community ignores both boys and girls until they are about 15 or 16. Before then, children have no social standing within the community. Mead also found that marriage is regarded as a social and economic arrangement where wealth, rank, and job skills of the husband and wife are taken into consideration.

Figure **10.5.1** - Samoan girl, c. 1896

Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies (1935)

Another influential book by Mead was *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*.[2] This became a major cornerstone of the feminist movement, since it claimed that females are dominant in the Tchambuli (now spelled Chambri) Lake region of the Sepik basin of Papua New Guinea (in the western Pacific) without causing any special problems. The lack of male dominance may have been the result of the Australian administration's outlawing of warfare. According to contemporary research, males are dominant throughout Melanesia (although some believe that female witches have special powers). Others have argued that there is still much cultural variation throughout Melanesia, and especially in the large island of New Guinea. Moreover, anthropologists often overlook the significance of networks of political influence among females. The formal male-dominated institutions typical of some areas of high population density were not, for example, present in the same way in Oksapmin, West Sepik Province, a more sparsely populated area. Cultural patterns there were different from, say, Mt. Hagen. They were closer to those described by Mead.

Mead stated that the Arapesh people, also in the Sepik, were pacifists, although she noted that they do on occasion engage in warfare. Her observations about the sharing of garden plots among the Arapesh, the egalitarian emphasis in child rearing, and her documentation of predominantly peaceful relations among relatives are very different from the "big man" displays of dominance that were documented in more stratified New Guinea cultures – e.g. by Andrew Strathern. They are a different cultural pattern.

In brief, her comparative study revealed a full range of contrasting gender roles:

- "Among the Arapesh, both men and women were peaceful in temperament and neither men nor women made war.
- "Among the Mundugumor, the opposite was true: both men and women were warlike in temperament.
- "And the Tchambuli were different from both. The men 'primped' and spent their time decorating themselves while the women worked and were the practical ones – the opposite of how it seemed in early 20th century America."

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10.6: Gender Role

A **gender role** is a set of societal norms dictating what types of behaviors are generally considered acceptable, appropriate, or desirable for a person based on their actual or perceived sex. These are usually centered around opposing conceptions of **femininity** and **masculinity**, although there are myriad exceptions and variations. The specifics regarding these gendered expectations may vary substantially among cultures, while other characteristics may be common throughout a range of cultures. There is ongoing debate as to what extent gender roles and their variations are biologically determined, and to what extent they are socially constructed.

Various groups have led efforts to change aspects of prevailing gender roles that they believe are oppressive or inaccurate, most notably the feminist movement.

The term 'gender role' was first coined by John Money in 1955 during the course of his study of intersex individuals to describe the manners in which these individuals express their status as a male or female, in a situation where no clear biological assignment exists.

Background

The World Health Organization (WHO) defines gender roles as "socially constructed roles, behaviours, activities and attributes that a given society considers appropriate for men and women".[1] However debate continues as to what extent gender and its roles are socially constructed (i.e. non-biologically influenced), and to what extent "socially constructed" may be considered synonymous with "arbitrary" or "malleable".[2][3][4][5][6]Therefore, a concise authoritative definition of gender roles or gender itself is elusive.

Some systems of classification, unlike the WHO, are non-binary or gender queer, listing multiple possible genders including transgender and intersex as distinct categories.[7][8] Gender roles are culturally specific, and while most cultures distinguish only two (boy and girl or man and woman), others recognize more. Androgyny, for example, has been proposed as a third gender.[9] Other societies have claimed to see more than five genders,[10] and some non-Western societies have three genders – man, woman and third gender.[11] Some individuals (not necessarily being from such a culture) identify with no gender at all.[12]

Gender *role* – defined as referring in some sense to cultural expectations according to an understood gender classification – should not be confused with gender identity, the internal sense of one's own gender, which may or may not align with categories offered by societal norms. The point at which these internalized gender identities become externalized into *a set of expectations is the genesis of a gender role*.[13][14]

Gender roles are usually referenced in a pejorative sense, as an institution that restricts freedom of behavior and expression, or are used as a basis for discrimination.

Because of the prevailing gender role of general subordination, women were not granted the right to vote in many parts of the world until the 19th or 20th centuries, some well into the 21st.[15] Women throughout the world, in myriad respects, do not enjoy full freedom and protection under the law. Contrariwise because of the prevailing perception of men as primarily breadwinners, they are seldom afforded the benefit of paternity leave.[16]

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10.7: Two-Spirit

Two-Spirit (also **two spirit** or **twospirit**) is a modern umbrella term used by some indigenous North Americans to describe gender-variant individuals in their communities.[1] The term was adopted in 1990 at an Indigenous lesbian and gay international gathering to encourage the replacement of the anthropological term *berdache*.[2] It is a spiritual role that is recognized and confirmed by the Two-Spirit's indigenous community. While some have found the term a useful tool for intertribal organizing, not all Native cultures conceptualize gender this way, and most tribes use names in their own languages.[2][3] While pan-Indian terms are not always appropriate or welcome, the term has generally received more acceptance and use than the term it replaced.[2]

Figure **10.7.1** - Two-spirited marchers at San Francisco Pride 2014.

Third and fourth gender roles traditionally embodied by two-spirit people include performing work and wearing clothing associated with both men and women. Not all tribes/nations have rigid gender roles, but, among those that do, some consider there to be at least four genders: feminine woman, masculine woman, feminine man, masculine man.[4]

The presence of male-bodied two-spirits "was a fundamental institution among most tribal peoples"[5] and, according to Will Roscoe, both male- and female-bodied two-spirits have been documented "in over 130 North American tribes, in every region of the continent."[6]

Terminology

Before the late twentieth-century, non-Native (i.e. non-Native American/Canadian) anthropologists used the generic term *berdache*/bərˈdæʃ/ to identify an indigenous individual fulfilling one of many mixed gender roles in their tribe, but that term has now fallen out of favor. Anthropologists primarily used it to identify feminine Native men. Its etymology, however, has meant that it is now considered outdated and potentially offensive: it derives from the French *bardache* (English equivalent: "bardash") meaning "passive homosexual", "catamite"[7] or even "male prostitute". *Bardache*, in turn, derived from the Persian بردهbarda meaning "captive", "prisoner of war", "slave".[8][9][10][11][12] Spanish explorers who encountered two-spirits among the Chumash people called them "*joyas*", the Spanish for "jewels".[13]

Use of *berdache* has generally been replaced by the self-chosen *two-spirit*, which, in 1990, gained widespread popularity during the third annual intertribal Native American/First Nations gay and lesbian conference in Winnipeg.[14] *Two-spirit* is a term chosen to express the Native/First Nations' distinct approach to gender identity and variance in contrast to the imposed non-Native in addition to replacing the otherwise imposed and non-Native terms of *berdache* and *gay*.[15][16][17]

"Two-spirited" or "two-spirit" usually indicates a Native person who feels their body simultaneously manifests both a masculine and a feminine spirit, or a different balance of masculine and feminine characteristics than usually seen in masculine men and feminine women.

Most Indigenous communities have specific terms in their own languages for the gender-variant members of their communities and the social and spiritual roles these individuals fulfill — including Lakota: *wíŋkte and Navajo:* nádleehé.[18]

Definition and Historic Societal Role

Two-spirit individuals are viewed in some tribes as having two identities occupying one body. Their dress is usually a mixture of traditionally male and traditionally female articles, or they may dress as a man one day, and a woman on another. According to Dr. Sabine Lang, a German anthropologist, many tribes have distinct gender and social roles.[19] Some specific roles sometimes held by male assigned at birth two-spirits include:

- conveyors of oral traditions and songs (Yuki);
- foretellers of the future (Winnebago, Oglala Lakota);
- conferrers of lucky names on children or adults (Oglala Lakota, Tohono O'odham);

- potters (Zuni, Navajo, Tohono O'odham);
- matchmakers (Cheyenne, Omaha, Oglala Lakota);
- makers of feather regalia for dances (Maidu);
- special role players in the Sun Dance (Crow, Hidatsa, Oglala Lakota).

Some studies of two spirit identities among biological males explain them as a "form of social failure, women-men are seen as individuals who are not in a position to adapt themselves to the masculine role prescribed by their culture"[20] and that two-spirit people lost masculine power socially, so they took on female social roles to climb back up the social ladder within the tribe. However, Lang argues that the problem with the "failure" approach "probably lies, inter alia, in the fact that the women-men's ambivalence in both role and status is over-looked".[21] Lang disputes a supposed example of women being considered inferior to men in Lakota society from R. B. Hassrick's studies:

> *That Lakota men did not like to be called "heart of a woman" in council meetings (Hassrick 1989:133) is less likely to mean that women were regarded as inferior than that the warrior's role was sharply set off from the woman's role (see DeMallie 1983): a warrior clearly held the status of "man". Because the Lakota winkte (upon whom Hassrick's interpretations are based) were culturally defined as "non-men", the norms valid for the masculine role were therefore not applied to them.[21]*

Lang later says "men made to wear women's clothes for the purposes of humiliation are everywhere … distinguished from women-men".[22]

Figure **10.7.2** - Detail from Dance to the Berdashe by George Catlin.

Cross dressing of two-spirit people was not always an indicator of gender identity. Lang believes "the mere fact that a male wears women's clothing does not say something about his role behavior, his gender status, or even his choice of partner…"[23]

Male-bodied two-spirit people, regardless of gender identification, can go to war and have access to male activities such as male-only sweat lodge ceremonies.[24] However, they may also take on "feminine" activities such as cooking and other domestic responsibilities.[25]

Two-spirits might have relationships with people of either sex.[26]According to Lang, female assigned at birth two-spirits usually have sexual relations or marriages with only females.[27]

Partners of two-spirits do not receive any special recognition, although some believed that after having sexual relations with a two-spirit they would obtain magical abilities, be given obscene nicknames by the two-spirited person which they believed held "good luck," or in the case of male partners, receive a boost to their masculinity. Examples of sexual relationships between two-spirited individuals are absent in the historical literature (with the sole exception of the Tewa tribe),[28] yet are a common occurrence in contemporary two-spirit communities. As male assigned at birth two-spirits often regarded each other as "sisters," Lang has speculated that it may have been seen as incestuous to have a relationship with another two-spirit.[29]

In most tribes a relationship between a two-spirit and non-two-spirit was seen for the most part as neither heterosexual nor homosexual (in modern-day terms) but more hetero-normative; European colonists, however, saw such relationships as homosexual. Partners of two-spirits have not historically viewed themselves as homosexual, and moreover drew a sharp conceptual line between themselves and two-spirits.[30]

Although two-spirits have been both respected and feared in many tribes, the two-spirit is not beyond being reproached or even killed for bad deeds. In the Mojave tribe, for instance, two-spirits frequently become medicine persons and, like all who deal with the supernatural, are at risk of suspicion of witchcraft, notable in cases of failed harvest or of death. There have been instances of

murder in these cases (such as the female assigned at birth two-spirit named Sahaykwisā).[31] Another instance in the late 1840s was of a Crow male assigned at birth two-spirit who was caught, possibly raiding horses, by the Lakota and was killed.[32]

According to some reports there had never been an alternative gender identity among the Comanche.[33] This is true of some Apache bands as well, except for the Lipan, Chiricahua, Mescalero, and southern Dilzhe'e.[34][35] One tribe in particular, the Eyak, has a single report from 1938 that they did not have an alternative gender and they held such individuals in low esteem, although whether this sentiment is the result of acculturation or not is unknown.[36][37]

Williams wrote that the Iroquois do not have a specific role for gender-variant individuals,[33] although there is a single report from Bacqueville de la Potherie in his book published in 1722, *Histoire de l'Amérique septentrionale*, that indicates that an alternative gender identity existed among them.[38] Many, if not all, tribes have been influenced by European homophobia/transphobia.[39][40][41][42][43][44]

Some sources have reported that the Aztecs and Incas had laws against such individuals,[45][46][47] though there are some authors who feel that this was exaggerated or the result of acculturation, because all of the documents indicating this are post-conquest and any that existed before had been destroyed by the Spanish.[43][48] The belief that these laws existed, at least for the Aztecs, comes from the Florentine Codex. According to Dr Nancy Fitch, Professor of History at California State University, Fullerton,

> *There is evidence that indigenous peoples authored many codices, but the Spaniards destroyed most of them in their attempt to eradicate ancient beliefs. … The Florentine Codex is unquestionably a troubling primary source. Natives writing in Nahuatl under the supervision of the Spanish Fray Bernardino de Sahagúnapparently produced the manuscript in the 1500s. The facts of its production raise serious questions about whether the manuscript represents the vision of the vanquished or of the colonizers … colonization of the natives' minds loomed large in the Spanish project … To make matters worse, while it appears that the original manuscript was completed in Nahuatl some time around 1555, no evidence of it remains. Authorities in New Spain confiscated his manuscripts in 1575, and at various times, the Spanish monarchy ordered him to stop his work. The earliest known version of the manuscript is, thus, Sahagún's summary of it written in Spanish. In 1585, he published a revised version of the codex, which, he argued, corrected some errors and integrated some things ignored in his earlier summary. Sahagún's revised version is the manuscript commonly known as the Florentine Codex.*[49]
>
> *— Nancy Fitch, The Conquest of Mexico Annotated Bibliography*

Historical Accounts

Don Pedro Fages was third in command of the 1769-70 Spanish Portolà expedition, first European land exploration of what is now the U.S. state of California. At least three diaries were kept during the expedition, but Fages wrote his account later, in 1775. Fages gave more descriptive details about the native Californians than any of the others, and he alone reported the presence of homosexuality in the native culture. The English translation reads:

> *I have submitted substantial evidence that those Indian men who, both here and farther inland, are observed in the dress, clothing and character of women – there being two or three such in each village – pass as sodomites by profession…. They are called joyas, and are held in great esteem.*[50]

Media Depictions

Figure **10.7.3** - The two-spirit pride trolley at San Francisco Pride 2014.

The 2009 documentary film[51] *Two Spirits*, directed by Lydia Nibley, tells the story of the hate-murder of 16-year-old Navajo Fred Martinez, *nádleehí* – a male assigned at birth person with a feminine nature.[52]

Tributes

In 2012, a marker dedicated to two-spirit people was included in the Legacy Walk, an outdoor public display in Chicago, Illinois that celebrates LGBT history and people.[53]

Self-Identified Two-Spirits

- Alec Butler[54]
- Chrystos[55]
- Raven Davis
- Kent Monkman[56]
- Massey Whiteknife[57]

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Archival Resources

- Bruce McKinney Papers, 1908-2000 in the Kenneth Spencer Research Library (University of Kansas Libraries).
- Claude E. Schaeffer fonds at the Glenbow Museum.
- Robert Lynch Papers, 1963-1989, at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library

External Links

alt	Look up ***two-spirit*** in Wiktionary, the free dictionary.

- *Directions in Gender Research in American Indian Societies: Two Spirits and Other Categories* by Beatrice Medicine.
- NativeOUT.com, a Two-Spirit blog that includes resources and multimedia.
- Support Services for Two-Spirit Youth
- *Two Spirits*, a documentary about Fred Martinez, a *nádleehí*murdered at age 16.

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10.8: Hijra

Hijra (for translations, see [n 1]) is a term used in South Asia – in particular, in India – to refer to transwomen (male-to-female transsexual or transgender individuals).[1][2] In other areas of India, transgender people are also known as *Aravani*, *Aruvani* or *Jagappa*.[3] In Pakistan and Bangladesh, the *hijras* are officially recognized as third gender by the government,[4][5] being neither completely male nor female. The term more commonly advocated by social workers and transgender community members themselves is*khwaaja sira* (Urdu: خواجہ سرا) and can identify the individual as a transsexual person, transgender person (*khusras*), cross-dresser (*zenanas*) or eunuch (*narnbans*).[6][7]

Figure **10.8.1** - A Pakistani hijra at a protest between two hijra groups from Islamabad and Rawalpindi.

Hijras have a recorded history in the Indian subcontinent from antiquity onwards as suggested by the Kama Sutra period. This history features a number of well-known roles within subcontinental cultures, part gender-liminal, part spiritual and part survival. In South Asia, many *hijras* live in well-defined and organised all-*hijra*communities, led by a guru.[8][9] These communities have sustained themselves over generations by "adopting" young boys who are rejected by, or flee, their family of origin.[10] Many work as sex workers for survival.[11]

The word "*hijra*" is an Urdu-Hindustani word derived from the Semitic Arabic root *hjr* in its sense of "leaving one's tribe,"[12] and has been borrowed into Hindi. The Indian usage has traditionally been translated into English as "eunuch" or "hermaphrodite," where "the irregularity of the male genitalia is central to the definition."[13] However, in general hijras are born with typically male physiology, only a few having been born with intersex variations.[14] Some Hijras undergo an initiation rite into the hijra community called nirwaan, which refers to the removal of the penis, scrotum and testicles.[11]

Since the late 20th century, some hijra activists and Western non-government organizations (NGOs) have lobbied for official recognition of the hijra as a kind of "third sex" or "third gender," as neither man nor woman.[15] Hijras have successfully gained this recognition in Bangladesh and are eligible for priority in education.[16] In India, the Supreme Court in April 2014 recognized hijra and transgender people as a 'third gender' in law.[17][18][19]

Nepal, Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh have all legally recognized the existence of a third gender, including on passports and other official documents.[20]

Terminology

The Urdu and Hindi word *hijra* may alternately be romanized as *hijira*, *hijda*, *hijada*, *hijara*, *hijrah* and is pronounced ['ɦɪdʒɽaː]. This term is generally considered derogatory in Urdu and the word Khwaja Saraa is used instead. Another such term is *khasuaa* (खसुआ) or *khusaraa* (खुसरा). In Bengali hijra is called *হিজড়া*, *hijra*, *hijla*, *hijre*, *hizra*, or *hizre*.

A number of terms across the culturally and linguistically diverse Indian subcontinent represent similar sex or gender categories. While these are rough synonyms, they may be better understood as separate identities due to regional cultural differences. In Odia, a hijra is referred to as *hinjida*, *hinjda* or *napunsaka*, in Telugu, as *napunsakudu*(నపుంసకుడు), *kojja*(కొజ్జ) or *maada* (మాడ), in Tamil

Nadu, *Thiru nangai* (mister woman), *Ali*, *aravanni*, *aravani*, or *aruvani*, in Punjabi, *khusra* and *jankha*, in Sindhi *khadra*, inGujarati, *pavaiyaa* (પાવૈયા).

In North India, the goddess Bahuchara Mata is worshipped by *Pavaiyaa*(પાવૈયા). In South India, the goddess Renuka is believed to have the power to change one's sex. Male devotees in female clothing are known as *Jogappa*. They perform similar roles to hijra, such as dancing and singing at birth ceremonies and weddings.[21]

The word *kothi* (or *koti*) is common across India, similar to the Kathoey of Thailand, although kothis are often distinguished from hijras. Kothis are regarded as feminine men or boys who take a feminine role in sex with men, but do not live in the kind of intentional communities that hijras usually live in. Additionally, not all kothis have undergone initiation rites or the body modification steps to become a hijra.[22] Local equivalents include *durani* (Kolkata), *menaka* (Cochin),[23] *meti* (Nepal), and *zenana* (Pakistan).

Hijra used to be translated in English as "eunuch" or "hermaphrodite,"[13]although LGBT historians or human rights activists have sought to include them as being transgender.[24] In a series of meetings convened between October 2013 and Jan 2014 by the transgender experts committee of India's Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, hijra and other trans activists asked that the term "eunuch" be discontinued from usage in government documents, as it is not a term with which the communities identify.

Gender and Sexuality

These identities have no exact match in the modern Western taxonomy of gender and sexual orientation,[24] and challenge Western ideas of sex and gender.[11]

In India, some Hijras do not define themselves by specific sexual orientation, but rather by renouncing sexuality altogether. Sexual energy is transformed into sacred powers. However, these notions can come in conflict with the practical, which is that hijras are often employed as prostitutes.[25] Furthermore, in India a feminine male who takes a "receptive" role in sex with a man will often identify as a *kothi* (or the local equivalent term). While kothis are usually distinguished from hijras as a separate gender identity, they often dress as women and act in a feminine manner in public spaces, even using feminine language to refer to themselves and each other. The usual partners of hijras and kothis are men who consider themselves heterosexual as they are the ones who penetrate.[26] These male partners are often married, and any relationships or sex with "kothis" or hijras are usually kept secret from the community at large. Some hijras may form relationships with men and even marry,[27]although their marriage is not usually recognized by law or religion. Hijras and kothis often have a name for these masculine sexual or romantic partners; for example, *panthi* in Bangladesh, *giriya* in Delhi or *sridhar* in Cochin.[23]

Figure **10.8.2** - A group of Hijra in Bangladesh.

Social Status and Economic Circumstances

Most hijras live at the margins of society with very low status; the very word "hijra" is sometimes used in a derogatory manner. The Indian lawyer and author Rajesh Talwar has written a book highlighting the human rights abuses suffered by the community titled 'The Third Sex and Human Rights.'[28] Few employment opportunities are available to hijras. Many get their income from extortion (forced payment by disrupting work/life using demonstrations and interference), performing at ceremonies (toli), begging (dheengna), or sex work ('raarha')—an occupation of eunuchs also recorded in premodern times. Violence against hijras, especially hijra sex workers, is often brutal, and occurs in public spaces, police stations, prisons, and their homes.[29] As with transgender people in most of the world, they face extreme discrimination in health, housing, education, employment, immigration, law, and any bureaucracy that is unable to place them into male or female gender categories.[30]

In 2008, HIV prevalence was 27.6% amongst hijra sex workers in Larkana.[6] The general prevalence of HIV among the adult Pakistani population is estimated at 0.1%.[31]

In October 2013, Pakistani Christians and Muslims (Shia and Sunni) were putting pressure on the landlords of Imamia Colony to evict any transgender residents. “Generally in Pakistan, Khwaja Saraa are not under threat. But they are in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province because of a ‘new Islam’ under way”, I.A. Rehman, the director of the Human Rights Commission of Pakistan.[32]

In a study of Bangladeshi hijras, participants reported not being allowed to seek healthcare at the private chambers of doctors, and experiencing abuse if they go to government hospitals.[33]

Beginning in 2006, hijras were engaged to accompany Patna city revenue officials to collect unpaid taxes, receiving a 4-percent commission.[34]

Since India’s Supreme Court re-criminalized homosexuality and bisexuality on 13 December 2013, there has been a sharp increase in the physical, psychological and sexual violence against the transgender community by the Indian Police Service, nor are they investigating even when sexual assault against them is reported.[35]

On 15 April 2014, in *National Legal Services Authority v. Union of India*, the Supreme Court of India ruled that transgender people should be treated as a third category of gender and as a socially and economically “backward” class entitled to proportional access and representation in education and jobs.[36]

Notes

1. Hindi: हिजड़ा Urdu: ہِجڑا Bengali: হিজড়া Kannada: ಹಿಜಡಾ Telugu: హిజ్రా Punjabi: ਹਿਜੜਾ Odia: ହିଜ୍ରଡ଼।
   Also known as *chhakka* (Kannada, Bambaiya Hindi), ਖੁਸਰਾ *khusra*(Punjabi), *kojja* (Telugu) and *ombodhu* (Madras Tamil).

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External Links

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- Human Rights Violations against the Transgender Community, summary of a 2003 report by the Peoples' Union for Civil Liberties, Karnataka
- Aamr C. Bakshi of The Washington Post on Pakistan Drag Queen talk show host Begum Nawazish Ali
- Collected BBC articles on Hijras
- India's eunuchs demand rights, BBC News, 4 September 2003
- Collected Information About the Eunuchs of India Known as the Hijra
- The Works on Hijra in Indian Sub-Continent – Photographs *(Link to most recent archived version at Archive.org.)*
- Why are Indian eunuchs warned about unsafe sex?
- World Press: Pakistan's Hijras
- Eunuch MP takes seat – BBC world news– News on Shabnam Mausi, Hijra MP

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10.9: Gender and Language

Speed Practices Associated with Gender

Not all members of a particular sex may follow the specific gender roles that are prescribed by society.[2] The patterns in gender and communication that follow are only the norms for each gender, and not every member of the corresponding sex may fit into those patterns.

Listening and Attentiveness

In a conversation, meaning does not reside in the words spoken, but it filled in by the person listening. Each person decides if they think others are speaking in the spirit of differing status or symmetrical connection. The likelihood that individuals will tend to interpret someone else's words as one or the other depends more on the hearer's own focus, concerns, and habits than on the spirit in which the words were intended.[1]

It appears that women attach more weight than men to the importance of listening in conversation, with its connotations of power to the listener as confidant of the speaker. This attachment of import by women to listening is inferred by women's normally lower rate of interruption — i.e., disrupting the flow of conversation with a topic unrelated to the previous one[5] — and by their largely increased use of minimal responses in relation to men.[3] Men, however, interrupt far more frequently with non-related topics, especially in the mixed sex setting and, far from rendering a female speaker's responses minimal, are apt to greet her conversational spotlights with silence, as the work of Victoria DeFrancisco demonstrates.[4]

When men talk, women listen and agree. However men tend to misinterpret this agreement, which was intended in a spirit of connection, as a reflection of status and power. A man might conclude that a woman is indecisive or insecure as a result of her listening and attempts of acknowledgment. When in all actuality, a woman's reasons for behaving this way have nothing to do with her attitudes toward her knowledge, but are a result of her attitudes toward her relationships. The act of giving information frames the speaker with a higher status, while the act of listening frames the listener as lower. However, when women listen to men, they are not necessarily thinking in terms of status, but in terms of connection and support.[1]

Dominance versus Subjection

This, in turn, suggests a dichotomy between a male desire for conversational dominance – noted by Helena Leet-Pellegrini with reference to male experts speaking more verbosely than their female counterparts – and a female aspiration to group conversational participation.[6] One corollary of this is, according to Jennifer Coates, that males are afforded more attention in the context of the classroom and that this can lead to their gaining more attention in scientific and technical subjects, which in turn can lead to their achieving better success in those areas, ultimately leading to their having more power in a technocratic society.[7]

Conversation is not the only area where power is an important aspect of the male/female dynamic. Power is reflected in every aspect of communication from what the actual topic of the communication, to the ways in which it is communicated. Women are typically less concerned with power more concerned with forming and maintaining relationships, whereas men are more concerned with their status. Girls and women feel it is crucial that they be liked by their peers, a form of involvement that focuses on symmetrical connection. Boys and men feel it is crucial that they be respected by their peers, as form of involvement that focuses on asymmetrical status.[8] These differences in priorities are reflected in the ways in which men and women communicate. A woman's communication will tend to be more focused on building and maintaining relationships. Men on the other hand, will place a higher priority on power, their communication styles will reflect their desire to maintain their status in the relationship.

According to Tannen's research, men tend to tell stories as another way to maintain their status. Primarily, men tell jokes, or stories that focus on themselves. Women on the other hand, are less concerned with their own power, and therefore their stories revolve not around themselves, but around others. By putting themselves on the same level as those around them, women attempt to downplay their part in their own stories, which strengthens their connections to those around them.

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10.10: Gender Inequality

Gender inequality refers to unequal treatment or perceptions of individuals based on their gender. It arises from differences in socially constructed gender roles.[1] Gender systems are often dichotomous and hierarchical; gender binary systems may reflect the inequalities that manifest in numerous dimensions of daily life. Gender inequality stems from distinctions, whether empirically grounded or socially constructed.

Gender Roles in Parenting and Marriage

Sigmund Freud suggested that biology determines gender identity through identification with either the mother or father. While some might agree with Freud, others argue that the development of the gendered self is not completely determined by biology, but rather the interactions that one has with the primary caregiver(s).

According to the non-Freudian view, gender roles develop through internalization and identification during childhood. From birth, parents interact differently with children depending on their sex, and through this interaction parents can instill different values or traits in their children on the basis of what is normative for their sex. This internalization of gender norms can be seen through the example of which types of toys parents typically give to their children ("feminine" toys such as dolls often reinforce interaction, nurturing, and closeness, "masculine" toys such as cars or fake guns often reinforce independence, competitiveness, and aggression).[1] Education also plays an integral role in the creation of gender norms.[32]

In Strong Fathers, Strong Daughters, Meg Meeker emphasizes the importance of opposite-gender parental roles. She claims "fathers, more than anyone else, set the course for a daughter's life."[33]

Gender roles permeate throughout life and help to structure parenting and marriage, especially in relation to work in and outside the home.

Gender Inequality in Relationships

Gender equality in relationships has been growing over the years but for the majority of relationships, the power lies with the male.[34] Even now men and women present themselves as divided along gender lines. A study done by Szymanowicz and Furnham, looked at the cultural stereotypes of intelligence in men and women, showing the gender inequality in self-presentation.[35] This study showed that females thought if they revealed their intelligence to a potential partner, then it would diminish their chance with him. Men however would much more readily discuss their own intelligence with a potential partner. Also, women are aware of people's negative reactions to IQ, so they limit its disclosure to only trusted friends. Females would disclose IQ more often than men with the expectation that a true friend would respond in a positive way. Intelligence continues to be viewed as a more masculine trait, than feminine trait. The article suggested that men might think women with a high IQ would lack traits that were desirable in a mate such as warmth, nurturance, sensitivity, or kindness. Another discovery was that females thought that friends should be told about one's IQ more so than males. However, males expressed doubts about the test's reliability and the importance of IQ in real life more so than women. The inequality is highlighted when a couple starts to decide who is in charge of family issues and who is primarily responsible for earning income. For example, in Londa Schiebinger's book, "Has Feminism Changed Science?", she claims that "Married men with families on average earn more money, live longer, and progress faster in their careers," while "for a working woman, a family is a liability, extra baggage threatening to drag down her career."[36] Furthermore, statistics had shown that "only 17 percent of the women who are full professors of engineering have children, while 82 percent of the men do."[37]

Attempts in Equalizing Household Work

Despite the increase in women in the labor force since the mid-1900s, traditional gender roles are still prevalent in American society. Women may be expected to put their educational and career goals on hold in order to raise children, while their husbands work. However, women who choose to work as well as fulfill a perceived gender role of cleaning the house and taking care of the children. Despite the fact that different households may divide chores more evenly, there is evidence that supports that women have retained the primary caregiver role within familial life despite contributions economically. This evidence suggest that women who work outside the home often put an extra 18 hours a week doing household or childcare related chores as opposed to men who average 12 minutes a day in childcare activities.[38] One study by van Hooff showed that modern couples, do not necessarily

purposefully divide things like household chores along gender lines, but instead may rationalize it and make excuses.[34] One excuse used is that women are more competent at household chores and have more motivation to do them. Another is that some say the demands of the males' jobs is higher.

Gender Inequalities in Relation to Technology

One survey showed that men rate their technological skills in activities such as basic computer functions and online participatory communication higher than women. However, it should be noted that this study was a self-reporting study, where men evaluate themselves on their own perceived capabilities. It thus is not data based on actual ability, but merely perceived ability, as participants' ability was not assessed. Additionally, this study is inevitably subject to the significant bias associated with self-reported data.[39]

Structural Marginalization

Gender inequalities often stem from social structures that have institutionalized conceptions of gender differences.

Marginalization occurs on an individual level when someone feels as if they are on the fringes or margins of their respective society. This is a social process and displays how current policies in place can affect people. For example, media advertisements display young girls with easy bake ovens (promoting being a housewife) as well as with dolls that they can feed and change the diaper of (promoting being a mother).

Gender Stereotypes

Cultural stereotypes are engrained in both men and women and these stereotypes are a possible explanation for gender inequality and the resulting gendered wage disparity. Women have traditionally been viewed as being caring and nurturing and are designated to occupations which require such skills. While these skills are culturally valued, they were typically associated with domesticity, so occupations requiring these same skills are not economically valued. Men have traditionally been viewed as the breadwinner or the worker, so jobs held by men have been historically economically valued and occupations predominated by men continue to be economically valued and earn higher wages.[9]

Biological Fertilization Stereotypes

Bonnie Spanier coined the term hereditary inequality.[40] Her opinion is that some scientific publications depict human fertilization such that sperms seem to actively compete for the "passive" egg, even though in reality it is complicated (e.g. the egg has specific active membrane proteins that select sperm etc.)

Sexism and Discrimination

Gender inequality can further be understood through the mechanisms of sexism. Discrimination takes place in this manner as men and women are subject to prejudicial treatment on the basis of gender alone. Sexism occurs when men and women are framed within two dimensions of social cognition.

Discrimination also plays out with networking and in preferential treatment within the economic market. Men typically occupy positions of power within the job economy. Due to taste or preference for other men because they share similar characteristics, men in these positions of power are more likely to hire or promote other men, thus discriminating against women.[9]

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10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)

Double burden is a term used to describe the workload of people who work to earn money, but who are also responsible for significant amounts of unpaid domestic labor.[1] This phenomenon is also known as the *The Second Shift* as in Arlie Hochschild's book of the same name.[2] In heterosexual couples where both partners have paid jobs, women often spend significantly more time than men on household chores and caring work, such as child-rearing or caring for sick family members. This outcome is determined in large part by traditional gender roles that have been accepted by society over time. Labor market constraints also play a role in determining who does the bulk of unpaid work.

Efforts have been made to document the effects of this double burden on couples placed in such situations.[3] Many studies have traced the effects of the gendered division of labor, and in most cases there was a notable difference between the time men and women contribute to unpaid labor.

Etymology

The term *double burden* arises from the fact that many women, as well as some men, are responsible for both domestic labor and paid labor. However, due to the thinking that a woman's time spent in domestic work is more valuable than a woman's time spent doing paid work, and that a man's time spent doing paid work is more valuable than a man's time spent doing domestic work, there is the issue of women having to do a large amount of both paid and unpaid work, leading to the double burden.[4] Some alternative terms for double burden include : *double day*, *second shift*, and *double duty*.[5]

Unequal Work Burdens Around the World

In the Industrialized World

Pre-World War II

The traditional female homemaker–male breadwinner model characterized female employment prior to World War II. At the turn of the 20th century in the continental United States, only 18 percent of women over the age of 15 reported receiving income non-farm employment.[6]These women were typically young, single, white, and native-born. In contrast, married women in the non-farm labor force were "predominantly blacks or immigrants and very poor." [7] Working mothers often exited the labor force once their children were old enough to earn money.

The outpouring of occupational opportunities in the early 1920s, such as in "cafeterias, nurseries, laundries and other facilities seemed to release women from domestic chores and freed them to participate fully in the sphere of production."[8]

This migration of women into the workforce shook the traditional ideology of gender roles, but importantly, it was the catalyst to the double burden becoming noticeable.[8] The 1930s "encouraged women to fulfill what Stalin termed the "great and honorable duty that nature has given" them.[8] Evident in the Soviet Union, "an officially sponsored cult of motherhood, buttressed by anti-abortion legislation" accompanied by a "depression of living standards" led to industry's immense demand for laborers which got women into the industrial workforce in unprecedented numbers."[8] Urban women thus found themselves assuming the "double burden" (also known as the "double shift") of waged work outside the home and the lion's share of unpaid labor within it."[8] The Second World War is typically seen as a catalyst for increasing female employment. Best exemplified by Rosie the Riveter propaganda of an efficient, patriotic, woman worker, World War II increased demand for female labor to replace that of the "16 million men mobilized to serve in the Armed Forces".[6] While a substantial number of women worked in war factories, the majority of jobs were in the service sector. This caused the gendered expectations for that time to be altered and roles to be both tested and reassigned for the incoming decades.[8]

Post-World War II

The post-World War II period is marked by relatively high levels of female participation in the workforce, particularly in industrialized countries. Although a large proportion of women exited the workforce immediately following World War II, the idea of working class women was able to take root and normalize. "In 2001, 47 percent of U.S. workers were women, and 61 percent of women over the age of 15 were in the labor force." Besides an increased demand for women's labor, other factors contributed to the growth of their participation, such as more educational opportunities and later marriage and childbearing ages.

The idea of the double burden is more evolved with the times concerning both sexes and their newfound roles.[3] The role of a provider and caregiver is sometimes expected of women, but as more women enter the workforce, an 'independent' ideology seems to take effect and forces some women to decide between a career and family. Some may choose strictly one or the other, others may choose to carry the burden of both lifestyles. Some "modern men tend to believe in the principle of equal sharing of domestic labor, but fail to actually live up to that belief."[9] The constant tug of war regarding one's time and where it could, should but will be spent creates a new speed bump that is a little bit higher than the previous ones.[9] Modern times illuminate the dilemma that many dual-income couples face when trying to reconcile unpaid domestic work and paid employment.[9] The burden of encompassing both ideologies plays a toll on both sexes in today's societies.[9]

South America

Due to globalization in the past thirty years, the power of the unskilled worker has diminished, and thus, theinformal economy has flourished. In Latin America, there is an abundant amount of workers to help out withdomestic work, and consequently, domestic service is cheap, diminishing the family tensions surrounding the issue of domestic work. Currently, about half of the working population is employed in the informal sector, leading to "unemployment, underemployment, and social exclusion".[10][11] Because of this, there has been a serious delay in providing welfare for the care of children and the elderly, because the pressure to provide aid for working families is minimal. In addition, domestic workers, many of them women, often leave their countries to work in the informal sector in northern countries in order to increase income for their families, also delaying the pressure for governments to provide aid to these families. However, there has been a change since the 2000s in thinking about unpaid work due to the influx of paid jobs for women and the shortage of people available to do domestic work.[10]

Although the increase in jobs for women has had benefits in policy changes for families with working parents, there has been debates about the conditions of the work places. In Mexico, there is an influx of the maquilaindustry, which produces products that will be sold in the developed nations. The mostly female workforce is often exploited by having unsafe working conditions, and stress is a major cause of many illnesses of these women.[12]

Another increasing issue is the rise in conditional cash transfer programs in Latin America, such as the *Oportunidades* program in Mexico. Although this program is meant to provide poor families with an increase in income, the conditionalities has led to a time poverty for the family members who are in charge of fulfilling the conditions, most oftentimes the woman. This has increased the inequality of work burden within the family.[13][14]

Africa

In Africa, the HIV/AIDS pandemic has been the major cause of falling life expectancy. There is currently a crisis of decreasing number of available care workers for an increasing population requiring care. One reason why this phenomenon occurs is because HIV/AIDS affects working age people the most, and there has been evidence to show that women are affected at a younger age and in greater numbers. Another reason is due to the influx of HIV/AIDS, government-led health policies are breaking down, increasing the amount of care work and community work that women have to do. Because of the lack of care workers available, the very young and the very old have also started participating in care work, resulting in poorer quality of care.[15]

Women in Africa also face different time struggles than women elsewhere, because of the need to perform domestic chores such as "collecting water and wood",[16] which takes away from their free time.[16]

Another aspect of the double burden in Africa is that there is class divide, meaning that most white families, including poor ones, employ Africans either as a live-in worker or a part-time worker. In addition, because of the urban house shortage, oftentimes relatives and friends are given room and board in exchange for unpaid work, alleviating work for some.[15]

Western Europe

Since the 1960s, Western Europe has been participating in a series of political debates to increase women's rights in the workforce. In the 2000s, there has been a change from considering women's rights to a mother's rights, focusing on the rights of pregnant women as well as mothers. However, there have been issues with creating laws specifically for mothers. There is still the inherent gender bias that women are the ones to care for children.[17]

Some parts of Western Europe, especially Scandinavian countries have been creating family friendly policies that have aided them in equalizing the gender difference in participation in the work force.[4] Nordic countries have the highest female participation rates

in the work force in the world and salary differences are among the lowest.[18] Government aid in providing care to the elderly and the young have enabled women in Scandinavia to be a part of the working population in nearly a high rate as men.[4] Examples of government aid include paid parental leave and benefits and post maternity re-entry programs. Such programs have led to a greater participation of women in the workforce, as well as a higher birth rate, and a robust economy.[18]

Eastern Europe

Under communism, everyone was guaranteed employment. However, women suffered the double burden of paid and unpaid work, leading to lower birth rates. The commitment to social equality and the issue of declining birth rates allowed women to have some rights, such as child care and child allowances.[19] For example, in the Soviet Union, maternity leave was extended to three years and part-time work was introduced.[20]With the collapse of communism, many of these rights have been revoked due to the new largely male oriented democracy that has been put in place. Although there has been an increase in female workers, their need for welfare support such as child care has not been met, and has been ignored.[19]

Asia

In Western and Southern Asia, women represent only a third of the work force.[15] Many of them, even women in more modernized Asian countries, are involved in the informal sector, in traditional jobs for women, such as caring or teaching, without benefits such as employee health insurance or pension plans.[21]

The issue of the double burden is exacerbated in Asian countries due to the large cultural norm of women doing care work held by both men and women. In many developed countries, women drop out of work when they have children in order to have more time to take care of them.[22]

In countries where women have to do paid work in order to feed their family, there is a lack of regulation and safety standards regarding female workers due to the large amount of informal work available.[21] In Thailand for example, due to the severe economic crisis in 1997, many women have jobs in the informal industry, and often do home-based work so that they can do their domestic jobs concurrently with their paid jobs. This increases the work intensity by women doing more than one job at a time, and has been shown to have deteriorating effects on women's health.[23]

Causes of the Double Burden

Gender Ideology

"**Gender ideologies** are linked to beliefs about appropriate behaviour for men and women" [24] Socialization plays a major role in determining gender ideologies and what's valued in one time and culture may not necessarily transcend to another. Traditional gender ideologies have contributed to the double burden because it posits women as caretakers, men as providers, and each gender occupying their own sphere of influence. Although research has shown that attitudes about gender roles have become more egalitarian over the past few decades, "these changes in gender attitudes have not been accompanied by corresponding changes in the allocation of housework".[24]

Labor Market Constraints

Despite women's increasing participation in the work force, a gender division of labor persist. There are a number of constraints in the labor market that contribute to the double burden. "Women are disproportionately represented in informal work and concentrated among lower-quality jobs within self-employment." [25] The informal market is generally precarious and characterized by low wages, few benefits, and a lack of social protections that are offered in the formal market. Even within the formal market, there is occupational segregation and a gender wage gap. Occupational segregation can be either horizontal or vertical: horizontal segregation limits women to certain sectors and occupations, while vertical segregation restricts them to particular positions within occupational hierarchies. Men and women are even found at different levels of the occupational hierarchy. The "glass ceiling" is the relative absence of women in senior or managerial positions due to institutional barriers and norms. Even in female-dominated occupations, men often occupy the more skilled and better paid positions.

Figure **10.11.1** - US Gender pay gap, 1980–2009

The gender wage gap is a possible consequence of occupational segregation. The gender wage gap is the "difference between wages earned by women and men".[25] In 2008, globally, men were estimated to earn 16.5 per cent more than women. The gender wage gap is narrowing, but progress remains slow. Additionally, the narrowing of the gender wage gap may be attributed to a decrease in men's wages instead of an increase in women's wages. "The persistent gender wage gap across regions may reflect a number of factors, including women's continued disadvantage in terms of education and skills; their lack of an organized voice and bargaining power; gender-specific constraints on their labour market mobility; and their relatively high involvement in part-time or temporary jobs." [25] Many characteristics of the labor market constrain the employment opportunities of women and make it easier for them to be responsible for care work.

Societal Pressure

There are various societal pressures that combine to create the double burden, including some economic thinking of domestic work, thoughts about net household gain, and the perceived notion that women are more likely to ask for maternity leave than men. Many classical economists believe that child care does not contribute to economic growth of the nation. They believe that welfare states such as Sweden are subsidizing work that is unproductive, and often think of children like a pet that only consumes without growing up to be productive workers.[26] There is also the notion that the net household gain of a woman taking an hour away from her unpaid labor in order to do paid labor is always more than the net household gain of a man taking an hour away from paid labor to do unpaid labor. This creates the thought that women should do paid work and lose some time doing domestic jobs without the man taking time away from paid work to do domestic jobs, creating a deficit of hours necessary to do unpaid work that need to get filled.[27] In addition, women are seen as more likely to ask for maternity leave than men, meaning that it is more difficult for them to obtain a well paying job, which has negative effects on female employment.[10]

Political Pressure

One of the political pressures, it is suggested by Susan Himmelweit is the issue of whom to empower. When there are considerations of policies, politicians usually only consider work as paid labor, and do not take into account the interdependence between unpaid work and paid work. It is also often common to think that women make economic decisions similarly to men. This is typically not the case, because for men, payment is simply a compensation for lost leisure time. However, for women, when they are working in the paid sector, they are still losing money because they have to make provisions for the domestic labor they are unable to do, such as caring for children or making dinner from scratch due to lack of resources such as child care.[4][28] Her net financial gain is less than the financial gain of a man because she has to spend her earnings on providing for these provisions.[4] In addition, increasing paid work hours in order to have more money may have negative effects on the woman due to the increased total work hours and decreased leisure time.[29] Therefore, policies that give greater power to people who do paid labor, such as cutting back on public expenditure in order to lessen income taxes have an adverse effect on female employment and the effect that the double burden has on females. Such policies give greater power and consideration towards people who work in the paid sector, and less towards people who work in the unpaid sector.[4]

Another political issue surrounding the double burden is what sort of policies directly or indirectly affect those who do domestic work. Some policies that companies have, such as a lower rate for part-time workers or firing workers when they get pregnant can be seen as disempowering women. Debate as to whether this is gender segregation continues.[30] On one side, only women get pregnant and there is a disproportionate amount of women who do part-time work instead of full-time, suggesting that there should be allowances made for women. However, there is also the argument that similar to men who fail to meet the standards of the company and cannot comply with their contract, women who cannot perform work at the performance expected of them should be given the proportionate amount of benefits and given no exceptions over men.[31]

Separate Notion of Paid Work vs. Unpaid Work

As the term double burden might suggest, when people consider paid work vs. unpaid work, they often consider them as two separate entities – that the man or woman is doing one or the other, but not at the same time. In reality, men and especially women often undertake both paid and unpaid labor simultaneously, creating the issue of work intensity, where the person undertakes many activities at the same time in order to compensate for the time necessary to accomplish many things in one day.[32] Household surveys often only let people write down one thing that they are doing at any given time, and do not take into consideration that they may be cooking while cleaning, or sewing while taking care of the children. Because of this, the time taken for child care and other domestic activities may be underestimated. This coping mechanism of undertaking two or more tasks at once can especially be seen in women in developing countries.[23] For example, many Caribbean rural women use this as a method of increasing the number of things they can accomplish in a day.[32]

Increased Nuclearization of Family

Due to the increasing trend of decreased fertility rate, there has been an increased nuclearization of the family, where families have less immediate relatives to depend on in times of need. Because of this phenomenon, families do not have an extended family to depend on when they need a caretaker or someone to do domestic work, and must turn to market substitutes or a member of the immediate family doing both domestic and paid work instead.[10]

Gender Differences

Women

Many studies have been done to investigate the division of household labor within couples, and more specifically, on the gender roles played by a variety of people worldwide. According to The State of the World's Children 2007, women generally work longer hours than men regardless if they live in a developed or developing country.[33] Most studies found that when both parents are faced with a full-time job, women are faced with a higher amount of a domestic workload than men.[3] According to the World Bank Latin American and Caribbean Studies, Mexican women in the labor force still spend approximately 33 hours each week performing household responsibilities. In contrast, husbands only contribute approximately 6 hours each week. Even more striking, "daughters contribute 14 hours weekly helping their mothers, while sons spend the same time as their fathers (that is, 5–6 hours weekly)." [34] In a study done by Statistics Canada's General Social Survey of 10,000 households, the average man spent under two hours a day dealing with childcare and house work while women on average spent a little more than three.[9] This study highlights the unequal distribution of labor between partners.[9] Of the people surveyed, under fifteen percent of the couples agreed on doing around the same amount of work in the house.[9]About 83 percent of women participated in housecleaning and food preparation compared to only 51 percent of men who were surveyed.[9]

John Frederick Conway's book, *The Canadian Family in Crisis*, explores effects of the double burden by gender. In Conway's studies, he discovers the physical, emotional, and psychological differences between men and women faced with the double burden in Canada.[9] In these studies it was found that women who are raising children and are in the workforce are more prone to have anxiety and many other stress related effects than the women who are just faced with one of the two burdens.[9]

Men

Even though the effects of raising children and having a career simultaneously are mostly seen in women throughout many societies, the men in such situations are affected greatly as well.[35] This is not seen in all situations in males because the effects on men differ greatly from how females are affected by this extra responsibility.[35] In *The Canadian Family in Crisis*, the author suggests a reason for these effects to go unnoticed in most studies and surveys.[9] This is because women's stress can be seen through direct labor consisting of housework and career whereas men's stress, in most cases, mostly come from decision making and work-family conflicts.[9] These situations arise where the male must make the best choice for the future of his family.[35] Specifically, these include things such as workload, overtime hours, shift decisions, and even accepting a promotion or a transfer.[9] In these situations, the man is forced to make major choices that will affect the entire family, which brings on more stress.[9] The effects also go unnoticed since, in traditional gender roles, the male is supposed to be the backbone of the family and, in the past, it would have been seen as weakness for the male to display his emotions to the rest of the family.[9] In surveys and studies done, most males would not like to be seen as too weak to handle his responsibilities as the role of the adult male in the household, which

in the past has consisted of being the major economical supporter and physical figure for the family. With this in mind, it is very possible that some may have lied when surveyed about these topics.[9]

Types of Double Burdens

Work vs. Family

Parenting is a large task within itself, and when a parent has a career as well, it can cause a double burden, or work–family conflict. Strain begins to develop when women and men find that the demands of their family are conflicting with the demands from their job.[3] When one is faced with a double burden like this, it affects how decisions are made within a career and in a family; this burden could potentially effect when a couple decides to have children.[36] 75% of all women who have jobs are in their childbearing prime.[37] When the conflict between one's family and work presents itself, the unpaid work that is being done in the home may be cut down, because of the certain health effects, or as a solution to deal with the greater demands from the workplace.[3] Social outings and visits, and family dinners are two of the first things that get cut back on due to the work/family conflict.[38] In a study by Ari Väänänen, May V. Kevin, et al. found that if a man put a higher importance on their family, were more likely to stay home from work in order to deal with extreme family demands.[3] Ways that the double burden can be lessened for is with hired help in the house, day-care facilities, and longer maternity leaves for women.[36] For instance, in Norway women are allowed the options of 10 months of maternity leave, where they will get 100% of their pay, or 12 months leave, where they will only paid 80% of their earnings.[36]Some companies are realizing the effect the double burden of work and a family is having on their employees and are offering flexible work schedules in order to help their employees cope.[37]Not only do these flexible hours help the employee deal with their stress, but it also benefits the company because workers are happier, less likely to be absent, more productive, and the turnover rate is lower for the company.[37] As Sophia Mwangi says, "Parenthood is a joy. Let us never be burdened by it but let's celebrate the joy that it brings. Celebrate those first steps or words, the first school play, their graduation day, passing those exams, landing their first job, getting married, making you grandparents. Whatever it is, let's celebrate our children. It's not easy, but the art of juggling can always be mastered!"[39]

Family vs. School

Raising a family is not an easy task, and deciding to go back to school while raising a family can be a monumentual decision for the family says Carol Jacobs of the Jewish Employ-ment & Vocational Service. Her advice to those considering going back to school is, "Talk to an educational consultant and people in the field you want to be in."[40] She adds, "This is a commitment and the decision should involve your family. Will you be available to go to your child's softball game or have time to cook dinner?"[40] There are many reasons why someone may put off to school until their children are older, such as not wanting to leave them in the hand of a baby sitter constantly at such a young age.[41] However, once the children get older the parent pursuing an education, may start missing school events that they would have normally attended.[41] The guilt of having to leave a child while attending to educational matters is less when the child is old enough to be able to ask questions about where their parent is and comprehend the response.[42] Even though pursuing an education while nurturing a family will have its cost, the benefits include getting a higher paying job, gaining more knowledge, and becoming more stable financially.[42] Most of the time this burden will include the person trying to balance a job along with their family and schooling, because they still need to work in order to provide for their family at the present moment. For people who have a hard time fitting classes into their schedule around the needs of their family, there are options where they will be required to do all of the work for a course, but it will all take place online.[42] For example, the University of Delaware and the University of Phoenix Online have both Bachelor of Science in Nursing and Master of Science in Nursing programs for people to complete online.[42]

Single vs. Married Parents

Single Parent Double Burdens

"Single parents do not typically have the luxury of dividing tasks between two adults in the home."[43] "The parents in a married-couple family may be able to divide their tasks so that one parent specializes more in work-related and income-producing activities and the other parent specializes more in home-related, non-income producing activities."[43] Married parents have that option to split the workload, even though it usually does not happen, but single parents do not have the option of sharing the workload with anyone.

The double burden is usually viewed as a primary problem for single women or married women. However, it is often less recognized that men can and often do go through the same trials and hard times as a parent trying to balance work and the family.[9] Within the book *The Canadian Family in Crisis*, Conway addresses this issue with an argument from Eichler. Eichler says, "Social science fails to understand men" by tending "to downplay or ignore a potential conflict between work and home for men."[9] Married men can avoid the full impact of the double burden, but single fathers are totally incapable of avoiding the double burden of family and work.[9]Though single fathers face the same amount of problems that single mothers face, they have two advantages that play in their favor.[9] Men usually have a higher income and have a shorter time of being single than women.[9] However, until they are remarried or have a woman to help them out around the house, men still must deal with the sexual and emotional frustration as a woman does.[9] They must deal with the balancing of work, childcare, and domestic responsibilities.[9] Single fathers are usually doubtful about their ability be a parent, and they are challenged psychologically.[9] "The problems faced by the working single father are more than merely the logistical problems shared by all working parents. He has to change the way he feels about himself as man."[9] A man being a single parent and feelings the effects of the double burden can and will interfere with his career just as it does with a single mother that has a career.[9] A study showed that five percent of single fathers were fired form their jobs due to the double burden and another eight percent quit because the double burden became too much of a burden for them to balance both work and the family.[9] With that being said, single fathers feel the same, if not more, of the effect of the double burden as married women do.

The double burden that single mothers endure has a historical precedent, and still exists currently. Single mothers usually have higher rates of employment and children at home, and have the highest levels overall of the double burden. Women also typically have less economic resources than men, and have no partner to share the workload with them.[43] Single mothers fall heavily under economic vulnerability. They may face job discrimination and not earn as much, so there will be further difficulties in maintaining the double burden. Single-mother families tend to hover near the poverty line, with a poverty rate that is twice as high of that for men.[43]

Married Parent Double Burdens

Because of women's expanded roles in the workforce have generally not been accompanied by any relaxation of expectations for their family and domestic activities, many women today face the "double burden" of home and work responsibilities.[44] Women take on the largest portion of the domestic obligations of the home, even when they are working full-time jobs.[44] This breeds anger and frustration, as women know they do the majority of the housework on top of their careers.[44] There have been said to be more reasons, other than gender roles, as to why there is a difference in the housework performed by men and women.[44] Some theories have suggested that women's expectations for household cleanliness are higher than men's.[44]Women feel like they must be responsible for the condition of the home in a way that men do not.[44] Men do invest most of their time in their careers, but women spend double that time caring for the children, state of the home and taking care of the domestic responsibilities.[44] In a graph from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 2004, that compare the workload of married men and women between the ages of 25-54, women are displayed as performing one hundred percent more housework than men, and men are displayed as having more leisure time than women.[44]As the double burden increased in 1980, women became more critical of their marriages than men and wanted the men to do more around the house to ease the burden of a second shift. The double burden of women who have jobs and still shoulder the majority of the housework at home leads to women filing or initiating divorce.[45]

This concept of the double burden with married couples is a worldwide phenomenon. Throughout different cultures of the world, women spend more total hours in work than men do. In Japan, once married, they are still expected to be devoted wives and mothers who give all off their effort to the home, even after a full day of work.[44] Latin American women, now entering the work force in large numbers, still face what they call *doble jornada*, or double day's journey.[44] Although in the Latin American culture, men are starting to interact more with the children and helping around the house more, the main domestic responsibilities still fall upon the women of the house.[44] Sometimes women who are primary wage earners are still relegated to most of the domestic work.[44] European men are more likely to play and interact with their children but not likely to participate fully in their daily care.[44] They are more likely to help their wives at home, yet rarely do they tackle all domestic task equally.[44] Men commonly fail to live up to their belief of equal sharing of domestic labor: they may believe in an equal workload in the house, but the inconvenience of taking on work done by their wives stops many from following through.[9]

Middle-Class vs. Poor Families

Middle-Class Families

Middle-class families often use substitutes for domestic work to make up for the lost time while working in the paid sector. They buy time taking care of children by using hired help and day-care centers. They also decrease the burden of paid work and unpaid work by using household appliances such as microwaves, laundry machines, and dishwashers, as well as buying pre-made food, eating out and using laundry services.[32]

Poor Families

Poor families are much more constrained in their economic ability to "buy back" lost time through the market. Instead of buying market substitutes, they try to meet their needs without spending money by taking care of children instead of hiring help, taking care of the sick instead of taking them to the hospital, and making food from scratch instead of buying pre-made food. The way that poor families deal with the time debt is for the main caretaker to intensify the time that they spend working, by doing multiple jobs at once instead of doing one job at a time. When people increase the intensity of their work to compensate for their lack of time to finish everything that needs to get done, called work intensity, many health problems occur.[32]

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10.12: Double Burden (Part 2)

Effects of Double Burden

Health Effects

Stress

When faced with the double burden of having to deal with the responsibilities of both a career as well as domestic duties, sometimes a person's health is affected. Many people faced with these circumstances have a higher chance of being sick since health and stress seem to be correlated, as stress has been implicated in up to eighty percent of all illnesses, as found by a report done by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women.[9] In an article that was written by a team of researchers it was found that both men and women faced with a "spillover" of work and family issues were 1.5-1.6 times more likely to have an absence due to sickness than others.[3] Men and women in these situations have also been proven to be more likely to be faced with psychological stress and even see themselves as unhealthier than their colleagues who are not in their situation.[3]

Although women faced with double burden usually have more stress than most women in today's society, it was proven that in most cases they are psychologically healthier than women who are not faced with these circumstances, for either being a stay at home mother or for being a working woman without children to take care of.[9]

Mortality Rate

In a study done by Rosamund Weatherall, Heather Joshi and Susan Macran of the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine in 1994, the research presented suggests that women presented with the double burden have a lower mortality rate than women who are simply housewives.[46] The women who were observed that had part-time jobs had a mortality rate lower than the women with full-time jobs and children.[46] The same study also suggests that women who have young children are less likely to die than women who have no children or have older children.[46] Although this evidence can not be strictly attributed to the double burden of having children and a career field, it can give a good indication of a trend in society. Also, this study was conducted in multiple countries including England, Wales, and the United States which gives the information presented from the study a more global perspective on the double burden.

Absences Due to Sickness

In several Western countries it has been seen that absences due to sickness for women are far greater than men.[36] When investigating the reasons behind this, a study done in Sweden published in 1996 found that half of the difference between genders can be dismissed if you take out the days missed by pregnant women.[36]When taking into account the health effects of double burden, child birth is always a possibility for mothers who already are faced with taking care of children and having a career and effects them and their health. In many studies people have tried to relate the difference in sickness absences directly to the double burden effect. It has been somewhat successful as women who are faced with work and child care have been known to request more sick days than men in the same situation.[36] Additionally, working wives with children have twice the absence rate as men who are placed in the same position in work family conflicts.[9]

Loss of Sleep

The stress of maintaining a career and a household can also lead to a loss of sleep.[3] In traditional gender roles it is usually the mother who is the one to get the family going in the morning as she fixes breakfast and takes the children to school before she goes to her own job.[9] At night the mother cooks and does various other activities around the house that cause her to be the last person to retire for the night as well. Although this is merely just a few gender roles that are not set in stone, they may hold to be true. It was found that working women sleep twenty-five minutes less a night due solely to their responsibility for domestic work.[9]Applying this statistic in larger scale leads to the assumption that women on average lose up to thirteen hours of sleep per month due to domestic duties. It can be assumed that it is possible for an average woman to lose up to one hundred and fifty-six hours of sleep during a year because of domestic work and motherly duties.

Figure **10.12.2** - Woman working while taking care of her child

Work Intensity

For many poor women and men whose work hours have reached the point where they cannot cut back on leisure time anymore to make time for domestic and paid work, work intensity is an issue because they often intensify their work time by doing two or more activities at once, such as taking care of children while cooking. Work intensity can lead to many negative health consequences, such as lack of sleep, stress, and lack of recreation.[32]

Economic Effects

There are many economic effects to the person who has to shoulder the double burden. Oftentimes, this tends to be the woman in the relationship, and so there has been analysis done on the economic effect of the double burden on women. According to Himmelweit (2002), because women often earn less than men, there is the thought that the woman should be the one to fit her paid job around household activities such as taking care of children. Because of this, and because they have many domestic duties, women often take part-time jobs and jobs in the informal sector in order to balance paid work with domestic work.[32] Part-time jobs and jobs in the informal sector do earn less than full-time jobs, so men have to increase their paid work hours in order to compensate for the lacking family income. This will "weaken her earning power and strengthen his", leading to an unequal distribution of power in the household, and allow the man to exploit the woman's unpaid work.[4][47] This situation could have negative consequences especially for the woman because she is perceived to have less contribution to the household, due to domestic work being seen as less of a contribution than paid work. Such negative consequences include the lack of a divorce threat, where the woman does not have the economic means to ask for a divorce because she does not have a full-time job, and she has less money that she personally receives, decreasing her perceived contributions to the household.[4]

Solutions to the Double Burden

Family-Friendly Initiatives

Family-friendly initiatives are a possible solution to redistributing the load of unpaid work and alleviating the double burden. Possible initiatives include flexible work hours; part-time and job-sharing options; parental leave; child care subsidies; and on-site daycare options. There are two primary approaches to assisting working families: "One stresses the importance of action from within, with emphasis on private, internal, local initiatives within firms and organizations to alter workplace norms, conventions, and practices. The other approach calls for government interventions designed to facilitate proper care for children with less sacrifice of parents' job opportunities, advancement, and compensation".[4]

Government Initiatives

The Nordic countries exemplify the use of family-friendly initiatives. For example, a nine-month parental leave is divided into thirds in Iceland. Three months are for the mother. Three non-transferable months are for the father, and there are three months that both parents can share. "The reimbursement is 80 per cent of the salary. From 2001 to October 2003, the average number of days taken by men increased from 39 to 83, and 13 per cent of Icelandic fathers used more than their non-transferable part." [25] Dual-income families are becoming the norm, especially in industrialized countries, so it is not uncommon for large corporations to practice some form of family-friendly initiative.

Figure **10.12.3** - Child care facility

Government family-friendly initiatives such as child subsidies and cheaper child care facilities can also greatly decrease the gender difference in the workplace, due to the woman being able to work longer hours outside the home.[26] In addition, when developing policies related to paid work, it is important to do gender impact assessments in order to assess the impact of a policy on both the paid and unpaid sector.[4]

Workplace Initiatives

Whenever there is talk about new policies regarding new work time policies, there is often the argument for longer work hours in exchange for a shorter work week. For example, many are in favor of longer work hours such as "three ten-hour days or four eight-hour days".[27] However, this is often not the best work hours for people who take care of children, because children go to school for perhaps six hours a day, not eight or ten.Caretakers would prefer the opposite – shorter hours and longer weeks, such as six hour work days for six times a week, with limits on evening work and overtime, as well as flexible schedules. In order to lessen the burden of taking care of children and domestic duties as well as working in the paid sector, workplaces should consider policies that take into account the preferred work hours of caretakers. In addition, it is often the case now that many workers juggle domestic work and paid work. In order to get the most effective workers, companies should consider changing their policies in order to attract the best people in the field.[27]

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10.13: Gender and Employment

A **glass ceiling** is a term used to describe the unseen, yet unbreakable, barrier that keeps one from rising to the upper rungs of the corporate ladder, regardless of qualifications or achievements."[1]

Initially, and sometimes still today, the metaphor was applied by feminists in reference to barriers in the careers of high achieving women.[2] In the US the concept is sometimes extended to refer to obstacles hindering the advancement of minority men, as well as women.[2]

Definition

David Cotter and colleagues defined four distinctive characteristics that must be met to conclude that a *glass ceiling* exists. **A glass ceiling inequality** represents:

1. "A gender or racial difference that is not explained by other job-relevant characteristics of the employee."
2. "A gender or racial difference that is greater at higher levels of an outcome than at lower levels of an outcome."
3. "A gender or racial inequality in the chances of advancement into higher levels, not merely the proportions of each gender or race currently at those higher levels."
4. "A gender or racial inequality that increases over the course of a career."

Cotter and his colleagues found that glass ceilings are correlated strongly with gender. Both white and African-American women face a glass ceiling in the course of their careers. [3]

The glass ceiling metaphor has often been used to describe invisible barriers ("glass") through which women can see elite positions but cannot reach them ("ceiling").[4] These barriers prevent large numbers of women and ethnic minorities from obtaining and securing the most powerful, prestigious, and highest-grossing jobs in the workforce.[5] Moreover, this effect may make women feel they are not worthy to fill high-ranking positions or as if their bosses do not take them seriously or see them as potential candidates for advancement.[6][7]

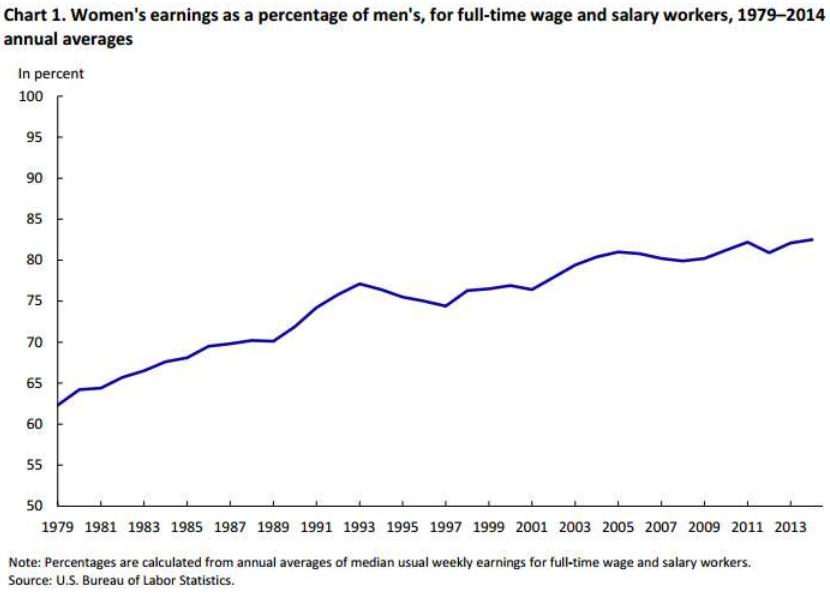

Figure 10.13.1

The chart above reflects women's earnings in comparison to men's earnings in the United States from 1979-2014. The pay gap is closing but women still earn less than men. [8]

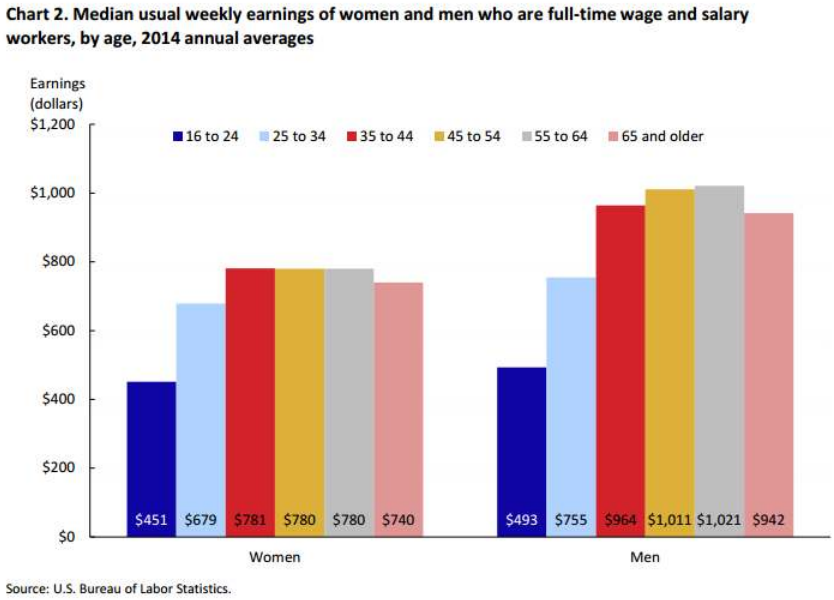

Figure **10.13.2**

The chart above reflects U.S. women's earnings in comparison to U.S. men's earnings based on age and full time work. [8]

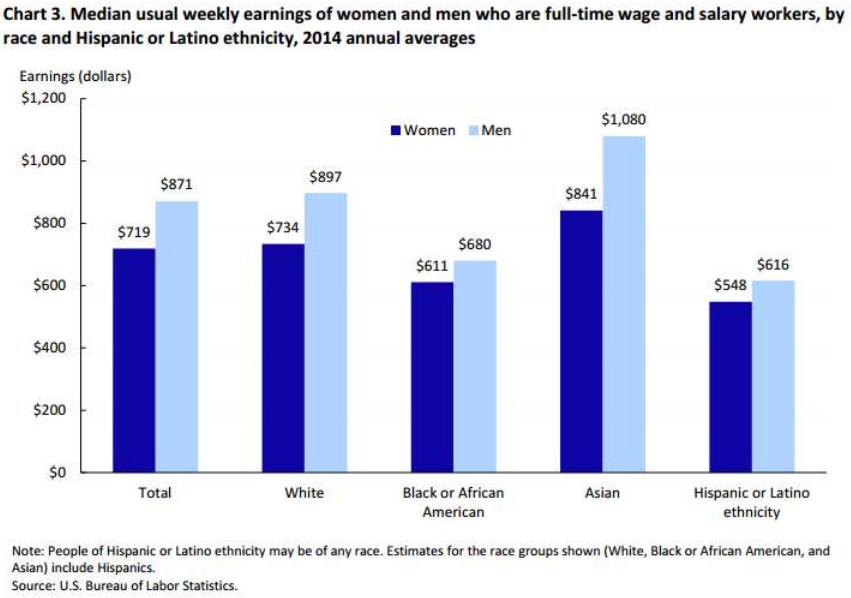

Figure **10.13.3**

The chart above reflects U.S. women's earnings and ethnicity in comparison to U.S. men's earnings and ethnicity in 2014. [8]

Table 1. Median usual weekly earnings of full-time wage and salary workers, by selected characteristics, 2014 annual averages

Characteristic	Total			Women			Men			Women's earnings as a percentage of men's
	Number of workers (in thousands)	Median weekly earnings	Standard error of median	Number of workers (in thousands)	Median weekly earnings	Standard error of median	Number of workers (in thousands)	Median weekly earnings	Standard error of median	
Age										
Total, 16 years and older	106,526	$791	$2	47,076	$719	$3	59,450	$871	$3	82.5
16 to 24 years	9,583	477	3	4,090	451	5	5,493	493	3	91.5
16 to 19 years	1,144	378	5	443	357	7	701	392	6	91.1
20 to 24 years	8,439	491	3	3,647	468	5	4,792	507	3	92.3
25 years and older	96,943	839	2	42,986	752	2	53,957	922	3	81.6
25 to 34 years	25,722	726	3	11,083	679	5	14,639	755	4	89.9
35 to 44 years	24,589	881	5	10,633	781	6	13,957	964	7	81.0
45 to 54 years	25,359	899	5	11,558	780	6	13,801	1,011	6	77.2
55 to 64 years	17,607	911	6	8,062	780	7	9,545	1,021	8	76.4
65 years and older	3,665	824	15	1,650	740	14	2,016	942	14	78.6
Race and Hispanic or Latino Ethnicity										
White	84,177	816	2	36,119	734	3	48,058	897	3	81.8
Black or African American	12,910	639	5	6,781	611	4	6,129	680	7	89.9
Asian	6,273	953	11	2,784	841	15	3,488	1,080	23	77.9
Hispanic or Latino ethnicity	17,475	594	3	6,721	548	7	10,754	616	4	89.0
Marital Status										
Never married	29,840	624	3	12,974	607	3	16,866	648	5	93.7
Married, spouse present	59,297	908	3	24,218	787	4	35,079	1,001	4	78.6
Other marital status	17,389	760	4	9,884	700	6	7,505	848	9	82.5
Divorced	11,701	800	6	6,688	740	6	5,013	894	9	82.8
Separated	4,029	659	9	1,960	598	9	2,069	730	13	81.9
Widowed	1,659	729	14	1,237	682	18	422	883	41	77.2
Union Affiliation[1]										
Members of unions[2]	13,132	970	6	5,671	904	8	7,461	1,015	6	89.1
Represented by unions[3]	14,491	965	6	6,324	899	8	8,167	1,013	6	88.7
Not represented by a union	92,035	763	2	40,752	687	3	51,283	840	4	81.8
Educational Attainment										
Total, 25 years and older	96,943	839	2	42,986	752	2	53,957	922	3	81.6
Less than a high school diploma	6,927	488	3	2,107	409	3	4,819	517	3	79.1
High school graduates, no college	25,529	668	3	10,093	578	3	15,437	751	4	77.0
Some college or associate degree	26,408	761	3	12,462	661	4	13,946	872	6	75.8
Bachelor's degree and higher	38,080	1,193	6	18,324	1,049	5	19,756	1,385	8	75.7

[1] Differences in earnings levels between workers with and without union affiliation reflect a variety of factors in addition to coverage by a collective bargaining agreement, including the distribution of workers by occupation, industry, and geographic region.
[2] Data refer to members of a labor union or an employee association similar to a union.
[3] Data refer to both union members and workers who report no union affiliation but whose jobs are covered by a union or an employee association contract.
Note: Estimates for the race groups shown (White, Black or African American, and Asian) do not sum to totals because data are not presented for all race groups. People of Hispanic or Latino ethnicity may be of any race; estimates for the race groups include Hispanics.
Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Figure **10.13.4**

The table above reflects U.S. gender, age, ethnicity, marriage status, union affiliation, and educational attainment in comparison to earnings in 2014. [8]

Notes and References

1. Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. *Solid Investments: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, November 1995, p. 4.
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8. *US Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Highlights of Women's Earning in 2014". US Department of Labor. Retrieved 22 April2016.*

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10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report

The **Global Gender Gap Report** was first published in 2006 by the World Economic Forum. The 2014 report covers 144 major and emerging economies. The Global Gender Gap Index is an index designed to measure gender equality.

Methodology

The report's Gender Gap Index ranks countries according to calculated gender gaps. The assumption is that women are strictly disadvantaged compared to men and as such, only measures where women are traditionally disadvantaged to men are used. Information about gender imbalances to the advantage of women is explicitly prevented from affecting the score.[1] So, for example, the indicator "number of years of a female head of state (last 50 years) over male value" would score 1 if the number of years was 25, but would still score 1 if the number of years was 50. Due to this methodology, gender gaps that favor women over men are reported as equality.

The three highest ranking countries have closed over 84% of their gender gaps, while the lowest ranking country has closed only a little over 50% of its gender gap. It "assesses countries on how well they are dividing their resources and opportunities among their male and female populations, regardless of the overall levels of these resources and opportunities," the Report says.[2] "By providing a comprehensible framework for assessing and comparing global gender gaps and by revealing those countries that are role models in dividing these resources equitably between women and men, the Report serves as a catalyst for greater awareness as well as greater exchange between policymakers."[2]

The report examines four overall areas of inequality between men and women in 130 economies around the globe, over 93% of the world's population:

- Economic participation and opportunity – outcomes on salaries, participation levels and access to high-skilled employment
- Educational attainment – outcomes on access to basic and higher level education
- Political empowerment – outcomes on representation in decision-making structures
- Health and survival – outcomes on life expectancy and sex ratio. In this case parity is not assumed, there are assumed to be less female births than male (944 female for every 1,000 males), and men are assumed to die younger. Provided that women live at least six percent longer than men parity is assumed, if it is less than six percent it counts as a gender gap.[3]

Thirteen out of the fourteen variables used to create the index are from publicly available "hard data" indicators from international organizations, such as the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Development Programme and the World Health Organization.[4]

WEF Global Gender Gap Index Rankings

The highest possible score is 1 (equality or better for women, except for lifespan, 106% or better for women) and the lowest possible score is 0. Data for some countries are unavailable.[5][6][7]

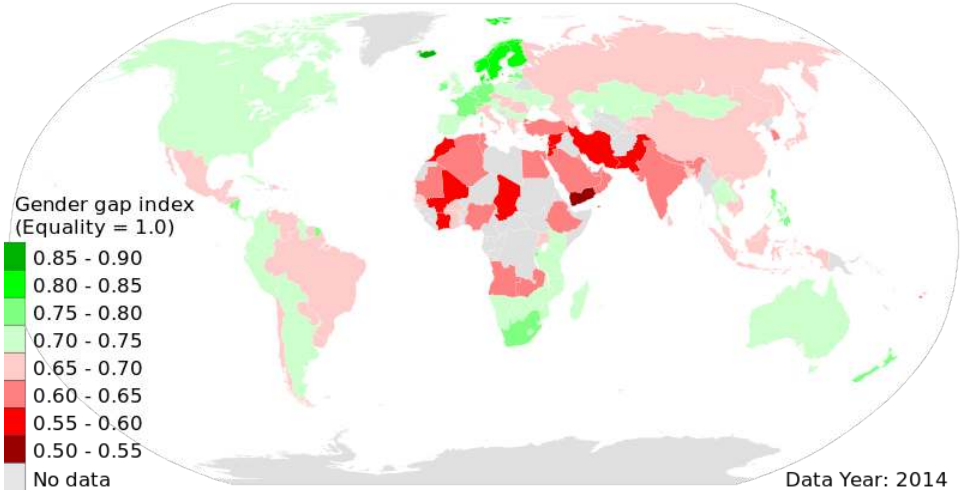

Figure **10.14.1** - The WEF Gender gap index world map for 2014[8]

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Albania	Europe	0.6607	0.6685	0.6591	0.6601	0.6726	0.6748	0.6655	0.6412	0.6869	
Algeria	Africa	0.6018	0.6068	0.6111	0.6119	0.6052	0.5991	0.6112	0.5966	0.6182	
Angola	Africa	0.6039	0.6034	0.6032	0.6353	0.6712	0.6624	N/A	0.6659	0.6311	
Argentina	South America	0.6829	0.6982	0.7209	0.7211	0.7187	0.7236	0.7212	0.7195	0.7317	
Armenia	Europe and Central Asia	N/A	0.6651	0.6677	0.6619	0.6669	0.6654	0.6636	0.6634	0.6622	
Australia	Oceania	0.7163	0.7204	0.7241	0.7282	0.7271	0.7291	0.7294	0.7390	0.7409	
Austria	Europe	0.6986	0.7060	0.7153	0.7031	0.7091	0.7165	0.7391	0.7437	0.7266	
Azerbaijan	Europe and Central Asia	N/A	0.6781	0.6856	0.6626	0.6446	0.6577	0.6546	0.6582	0.6753	
Bahamas	North America	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7179	0.7128	0.7340	0.7156	0.7128	0.7269	
Bahrain	Middle East	0.5894	0.5931	0.5927	0.6136	0.6217	0.6232	0.6298	0.6334	0.6261	
Bangladesh	South Asia	0.6270	0.6314	0.6531	0.6526	0.6702	0.6812	0.6684	0.6848	0.6973	
Barbados	North America	N/A	N/A	0.7188	0.7236	0.7176	0.7170	0.7232	0.7301	0.7289	
Belgium	Europe	0.7078	0.7198	0.7163	0.7165	0.7509	0.7531	0.7652	0.7684	0.7809	
Belize	North America	N/A	0.6426	0.6610	0.6636	0.6536	0.6489	0.6465	0.6449	0.6701	
Benin	Africa	0.5780	0.5656	0.5582	0.5643	0.5719	0.5832	0.6258	0.5885	N/A	
Bhutan	South Asia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6651	0.6364	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Bolivia	South America	0.6335	0.6574	0.6667	0.6693	0.6751	0.6862	0.7222	0.7340	0.7049	
Botswana	Africa	0.6897	0.6797	0.6839	0.7071	0.6876	0.6832	0.6744	0.6752	0.7129	
Brazil	South America	0.6543	0.6637	0.6737	0.6695	0.6655	0.6679	0.6909	0.6949	0.6941	
Brunei Darussalam	Southeast Asia	N/A	N/A	0.6392	0.6524	0.6748	0.6787	0.6750	0.6730	0.6719	
Bulgaria	Europe	0.6870	0.7085	0.7077	0.7072	0.6983	0.6987	0.7021	0.7097	0.7444	
Burkina Faso	Africa	0.5854	0.5912	0.6029	0.6081	0.6162	0.6153	0.6455	0.6513	0.6500	
Burundi	Africa	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7270	0.7338	0.7397	0.7565	
Cambodia	Southeast Asia	0.6291	0.6353	0.6469	0.6410	0.6482	0.6464	0.6457	0.6509	0.6520	
Cameroon	Africa	0.5865	0.5919	0.6017	0.6108	0.6110	0.6073	0.6291	0.6560	N/A	
Canada	North America	0.7165	0.7198	0.7136	0.7196	0.7372	0.7407	0.7381	0.7425	0.7464	
Cape Verde	Africa	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7180	0.7122	0.7133	
Chad	Africa	0.5247	0.5381	0.5290	0.5417	0.5330	0.5334	0.5594	0.5588	0.5764	
Chile	South America	0.6455	0.6482	0.6818	0.6884	0.7013	0.7030	0.6676	0.6670	0.6975	
China	East Asia	0.6561	0.6643	0.6878	0.6907	0.6881	0.6866	0.6853	0.6908	0.6830	
Colombia	South America	0.7049	0.7090	0.6944	0.6939	0.6927	0.6714	0.6901	0.7171	0.7122	
Costa Rica	North America	0.6936	0.7014	0.7111	0.7180	0.7194	0.7266	0.7225	0.7241	0.7165	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Côte d'Ivoire	Africa	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.5691	0.5773	0.5785	0.5814	0.5874	
Croatia	Europe	0.7145	0.7210	0.6967	0.6944	0.6939	0.7006	0.7053	0.7069	0.7075	
Cuba	North America	N/A	0.7169	0.7195	0.7176	0.7253	0.7394	0.7417	0.7540	0.7317	
Cyprus	Europe and Middle East	0.6430	0.6522	0.6694	0.6706	0.6642	0.6567	0.6732	0.6801	0.6741	
Czech Republic	Europe	0.6712	0.6718	0.6770	0.6789	0.6850	0.6789	0.6767	0.6770	0.6737	
Denmark	Europe	0.7462	0.7519	0.7538	0.7628	0.7719	0.7778	0.7777	0.7779	0.8025	
Dominican Republic	North America	0.6639	0.6705	0.6744	0.6859	0.6774	0.6682	0.6659	0.6867	0.6906	
Ecuador	South America	0.6433	0.6881	0.7091	0.7220	0.7072	0.7035	0.7206	0.7389	0.7455	
Egypt	Middle East and Africa	0.5786	0.5809	0.5832	0.5862	0.5899	0.5933	0.5975	0.5935	0.6064	
El Salvador	North America	0.6837	0.6853	0.6875	0.6939	0.6596	0.6567	0.6630	0.6609	0.6863	
Estonia	Europe	0.6944	0.7008	0.7076	0.7094	0.7018	0.6983	0.6977	0.6997	0.7017	
Ethiopia	Africa	0.5946	0.5991	0.5867	0.5948	0.6019	0.6136	0.6200	0.6198	0.6144	
Fiji	Oceania	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6414	0.6256	0.6255	0.6285	0.6286	0.6286	
Finland	Europe	0.7958	0.8044	0.8195	0.8252	0.8260	0.8383	0.8451	0.8421	0.8453	
France	Europe	0.6520	0.6824	0.7341	0.7331	0.7025	0.7018	0.6984	0.7089	0.7588	
Gambia,	Africa	0.6448	0.6421	0.6622	0.6752	0.6762	0.6763	0.6630	N/A	N/A	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
The											
Georgia	Europe and Central Asia	0.6700	0.6665	0.6654	0.6680	0.6598	0.6624	0.6691	0.6750	0.6855	
Germany	Europe	0.7524	0.7618	0.7394	0.7449	0.7530	0.7590	0.7629	0.7583	0.7780	
Ghana	Africa	0.6653	0.6725	0.6679	0.6704	0.6782	0.6811	0.6778	0.6811	0.6661	
Greece	Europe	0.6540	0.6648	0.6727	0.6662	0.6908	0.6916	0.6716	0.6782	0.6784	
Guatemala	North America	0.6067	0.6144	0.6072	0.6209	0.6238	0.6229	0.6260	0.6304	0.6821	
Guyana	South America	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7108	0.7090	0.7084	0.7119	0.7085	0.7010	
Honduras	North America	0.6483	0.6661	0.6960	0.6893	0.6927	0.6945	0.6763	0.6773	0.6935	
Hungary	Europe	0.6698	0.6731	0.6867	0.6879	0.6720	0.6642	0.6718	0.6742	0.6759	
Iceland	Europe	0.7813	0.7836	0.7999	0.8276	0.8496	0.8530	0.8640	0.8731	0.8594	0.881
India	South Asia	0.6011	0.5936	0.6060	0.6151	0.6155	0.6190	0.6442	0.6551	0.6455	0.664
Indonesia	Southeast Asia	0.6541	0.6550	0.6473	0.6580	0.6615	0.6594	0.6591	0.6613	0.6725	
Iran, Islamic Rep.	Middle East	0.5803	0.5903	0.6021	0.5839	0.5933	0.5894	0.5927	0.5842	0.5811	
Ireland	Europe	0.7335	0.7457	0.7518	0.7597	0.7773	0.7830	0.7839	0.7823	0.7850	
Israel	Middle East	0.6889	0.6965	0.6900	0.7019	0.6957	0.6926	0.6989	0.7032	0.7005	
Italy	Europe	0.6456	0.6498	0.6788	0.6798	0.6765	0.6796	0.6729	0.6885	0.6973	
	North	0.7014	0.6925	0.6980	0.7013	0.7037	0.7028	0.7035	0.7085	0.7128	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Jamaica	America										
Japan	East Asia	0.6447	0.6455	0.6434	0.6447	0.6524	0.6514	0.6530	0.6498	0.6584	
Jordan	Middle East	0.6109	0.6203	0.6275	0.6182	0.6048	0.6117	0.6103	0.6093	0.5968	
Kazakhstan	Central Asia	0.6928	0.6983	0.6976	0.7013	0.7055	0.7010	0.7213	0.7218	0.7210	
Kenya	Africa	0.6486	0.6508	0.6547	0.6512	0.6499	0.6493	0.6768	0.6803	0.7258	
Korea, Rep.	East Asia	0.6157	0.6409	0.6154	0.6146	0.6342	0.6281	0.6356	0.6351	0.6403	
Kuwait	Middle East	0.6341	0.6409	0.6358	0.6356	0.6318	0.6322	0.6320	0.6292	0.6457	
Kyrgyz Republic	Central Asia	0.6742	0.6653	0.7045	0.7058	0.6973	0.7036	0.7013	0.6948	0.6974	
Laos	Southeast Asia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6993	0.7044	
Latvia	Europe	0.7091	0.7333	0.7397	0.7416	0.7429	0.7399	0.7572	0.7610	0.7691	
Lebanon	Middle East	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6084	0.6083	0.6030	0.6028	0.5923	
Lesotho	Africa	0.6807	0.7078	0.7320	0.7495	0.7678	0.7666	0.7608	0.7530	0.7255	
Lithuania	Europe	0.7077	0.7234	0.7222	0.7175	0.7132	0.7131	0.7191	0.7308	0.7208	
Luxembourg	Europe	0.6671	0.6786	0.6802	0.6889	0.7231	0.7216	0.7439	0.7410	0.7333	
Macedonia	Europe	0.6983	0.6967	0.6914	0.6950	0.6996	0.6966	0.6968	0.7013	0.6943	
Madagascar	Africa	0.6385	0.6461	0.6736	0.6732	0.6713	0.6797	0.6982	0.7016	0.7214	
Malawi	Africa	0.6437	0.6480	0.6664	0.6738	0.6824	0.6850	0.7166	0.7139	0.7281	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Malaysia	Southeast Asia	0.6509	0.6444	0.6442	0.6467	0.6479	0.6525	0.6539	0.6518	0.6520	
Maldives	South Asia	N/A	0.6350	0.6501	0.6482	0.6452	0.6480	0.6616	0.6604	0.6557	
Mali	Africa	0.5996	0.6019	0.6117	0.5860	0.5680	0.5752	0.5842	0.5872	0.5779	
Malta	Europe	0.6518	0.6615	0.6634	0.6635	0.6695	0.6658	0.6666	0.6761	0.6707	
Mauritania	Africa	0.5835	0.6022	0.6117	0.6103	0.6152	0.6164	0.6129	0.5810	0.6029	
Mauritius	Africa	0.6328	0.6487	0.6466	0.6513	0.6520	0.6529	0.6547	0.6599	0.6541	
Mexico	North America	0.6462	0.6441	0.6441	0.6503	0.6577	0.6604	0.6712	0.6917	0.6900	
Moldova	Europe	0.7128	0.7172	0.7244	0.7104	0.7160	0.7083	0.7101	0.7037	0.7405	
Mongolia	East Asia	0.6821	0.6731	0.7049	0.7221	0.7194	0.7140	0.7111	0.7204	0.7212	
Morocco	Africa	0.5827	0.5676	0.5757	0.5926	0.5767	0.5804	0.5833	0.5845	0.5988	
Mozambique	Africa	N/A	0.6883	0.7266	0.7195	0.7329	0.7251	0.7350	0.7349	0.7370	
Namibia	Africa	0.6864	0.7012	0.7141	0.7167	0.7238	0.7177	0.7121	0.7094	0.7219	
Nepal	Central Asia	0.5478	0.5575	0.5942	0.6213	0.6084	0.5888	0.6026	0.6053	0.6458	
Netherlands	Europe	0.7250	0.7383	0.7399	0.7490	0.7444	0.7470	0.7659	0.7608	0.7730	
New Zealand	Oceania	0.7509	0.7649	0.7859	0.7880	0.7808	0.7810	0.7805	0.7799	0.7772	
Nicaragua	North America	0.6566	0.6458	0.6747	0.7002	0.7176	0.7245	0.7697	0.7715	0.7894	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Nigeria	Africa	0.6104	0.6122	0.6339	0.6280	0.6055	0.6011	0.6315	0.6469	0.6391	
Norway	Europe	0.7994	0.8059	0.8239	0.8227	0.8404	0.8404	0.8403	0.8417	0.8374	
Oman	Middle East	N/A	0.5903	0.5960	0.5938	0.5950	0.5873	0.5986	0.6053	0.6091	
Pakistan	South Asia	0.5434	0.5509	0.5549	0.5458	0.5465	0.5583	0.5478	0.5459	0.5522	
Panama	North America	0.6935	0.6954	0.7095	0.7024	0.7072	0.7042	0.7122	0.7164	0.7195	
Paraguay	South America	0.6556	0.6659	0.6379	0.6868	0.6804	0.6818	0.6714	0.6724	0.6890	
Peru	South America	0.6619	0.6624	0.6959	0.7024	0.6895	0.6796	0.6742	0.6787	0.7198	
Philippines	Southeast Asia	0.7516	0.7629	0.7568	0.7579	0.7654	0.7685	0.7757	0.7832	0.7814	
Poland	Europe	0.6802	0.6756	0.6951	0.6998	0.7037	0.7038	0.7015	0.7031	0.7051	
Portugal	Europe	0.6922	0.6959	0.7051	0.7013	0.7171	0.7144	0.7071	0.7056	0.7243	
Qatar	Middle East	N/A	0.6041	0.5948	0.5907	0.6059	0.6230	0.6264	0.6299	0.6403	
Romania	Europe	0.6797	0.6859	0.6763	0.6805	0.6826	0.6812	0.6859	0.6908	0.6936	
Russian Federation	Europe and Northern Asia	0.6770	0.6866	0.6994	0.6987	0.7036	0.7037	0.6980	0.6983	0.6927	
Saudi Arabia	Middle East	0.5242	0.5647	0.5537	0.5651	0.5713	0.5753	0.5731	0.5879	0.6059	
Senegal	Africa	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6427	0.6414	0.6573	0.6657	0.6923	0.6912	
Serbia	Europe	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.7037	0.7116	0.7086	
Singapore	Southeast Asia	0.6550	0.6609	0.6625	0.6664	0.6914	0.6914	0.6989	0.7000	0.7046	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
Slovak Republic	Europe	0.6757	0.6797	0.6824	0.6845	0.6778	0.6797	0.6824	0.6857	0.6806	
Slovenia	Europe	0.6745	0.6842	0.6937	0.6982	0.7047	0.7041	0.7132	0.7155	0.7443	
South Africa	Africa	0.7125	0.7194	0.7232	0.7709	0.7535	0.7478	0.7496	0.7510	0.7527	
Spain	Europe	0.7319	0.7444	0.7281	0.7345	0.7554	0.7580	0.7266	0.7266	0.7325	
Sri Lanka	South Asia	0.7199	0.7230	0.7371	0.7402	0.7458	0.7212	0.7122	0.7019	0.6903	
Suriname	South America	N/A	0.6794	0.6674	0.6726	0.6407	0.6395	0.6409	0.6369	0.6504	
Sweden	Europe	0.8133	0.8146	0.8139	0.8139	0.8024	0.8044	0.8159	0.8129	0.8165	
Switzerland	Europe	0.6997	0.6924	0.7360	0.7426	0.7562	0.7627	0.7672	0.7736	0.7798	
Syria	Middle East	N/A	0.6216	0.6181	0.6072	0.5926	0.5896	0.5626	0.5661	0.5775	
Tajikistan	Central Asia	N/A	0.6578	0.6541	0.6661	0.6598	0.6526	0.6608	0.6682	0.6654	
Tanzania	Africa	0.7038	0.6969	0.7068	0.6797	0.6829	0.6904	0.7091	0.6928	0.7182	
Thailand	Southeast Asia	0.6831	0.6815	0.6917	0.6907	0.6910	0.6892	0.6893	0.6928	0.7027	
Timor-Leste	Southeast Asia	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	0.6855	N/A	N/A	
Trinidad and Tobago	North America	0.6797	0.6859	0.7245	0.7298	0.7353	0.7372	0.7116	0.7166	0.7154	
Tunisia	Africa	0.6288	0.6283	0.6295	0.6233	0.6266	0.6255	N/A	N/A	0.6272	
Turkey	Middle East and	0.5850	0.5768	0.5853	0.5828	0.5876	0.5954	0.6015	0.6081	0.6183	

Country	Region	Year[note 1]									
		2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015[8]
	Europe										
alt Uganda	Africa	0.6797	0.6833	0.6981	0.7067	0.7169	0.7220	0.7228	0.7086	0.6821	
alt Ukraine	Europe	0.6797	0.6790	0.6856	0.6896	0.6869	0.6861	0.6894	0.6935	0.7056	
alt United Arab Emirates	Middle East	0.5919	0.6184	0.6220	0.6198	0.6397	0.6454	0.6392	0.6372	0.6436	
alt United Kingdom	Europe	0.7365	0.7441	0.7366	0.7402	0.7460	0.7462	0.7433	0.7440	0.7383	
alt United States	North America	0.7042	0.7002	0.7179	0.7173	0.7411	0.7412	0.7373	0.7392	0.7463	
alt Uruguay	South America	0.6549	0.6608	0.6907	0.6936	0.6897	0.6907	0.6745	0.6803	0.6871	
alt Venezuela	South America	0.6664	0.6797	0.6875	0.6839	0.6863	0.6861	0.7060	0.7060	0.6851	
alt Vietnam	Southeast Asia	N/A	0.6889	0.6778	0.6802	0.6776	0.6732	0.6867	0.6863	0.6915	
alt Yemen	Middle East	0.4595	0.4510	0.4664	0.4609	0.4603	0.4873	0.5054	0.5128	0.5145	
alt Zambia	Africa	0.6360	0.6288	0.6205	0.6310	0.6293	0.6300	0.6279	0.6312	0.6364	
alt Zimbabwe	Africa	0.6461	0.6464	0.6485	0.6518	0.6574	0.6607	N/A	N/A	0.7013	

Notes

1. Years of report publication. Values may reflect data collected the previous year.

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2. [a] [b] 2008 Report, p. 24
3. 2014 report, page 5

4. 2008 Report, p. 5
5. http://www3.weforum.org/docs/WEF_Gen...eport_2012.pdf
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10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1)

Violence against women (VAW) is, collectively, violent acts that are primarily or exclusively committed against women. Sometimes considered a hate crime,[1][2][3] this type of violence targets a specific group with the victim's gender as a primary motive. This type of violence is gender-based, meaning that the acts of violence are committed against women expressly because they are women. The UN Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women states that:

> *"violence against women is a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between men and women" and that "violence against women is one of the crucial social mechanisms by which women are forced into a subordinate position compared with men."*[4]

Kofi Annan, Secretary-General of the United Nations, declared in a 2006 report posted on the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) website that:

> *Violence against women and girls is a problem of pandemic proportions. At least one out of every three women around the world has been beaten, coerced into sex, or otherwise abused in her lifetime with the abuser usually someone known to her.*[5]

Violence against women can fit into several broad categories. These include violence carried out by "individuals" as well as "states". Some of the forms of violence perpetrated by individuals are rape; domestic violence;sexual harassment; coercive use of contraceptives; female infanticide; prenatal sex selection; obstetric violence and mob violence; as well as harmful customary or traditional practices such as honor killings, dowry violence, female genital mutilation, marriage by abduction and forced marriage. Some forms of violence are perpetrated or condoned by the state such as war rape; sexual violence and sexual slavery during conflict;forced sterilization; forced abortion; violence by the police and authoritative personnel; stoning and flogging. Many forms of VAW, such as trafficking in women and forced prostitution are often perpetrated by organized criminal networks.[6]

The World Health Organization (WHO), in its research on VAW, categorized it as occurring through five stages of the life cycle: "1) pre-birth, 2) infancy, 3) girlhood, 4) adolescence and adulthood and 5) elderly"[7]

In recent years, there has been a trend of approaching VAW at an international level, through instruments such as conventions; or, in the European Union, through directives, such as the directive against sexual harassment,[8] and the directive against human trafficking.[9]

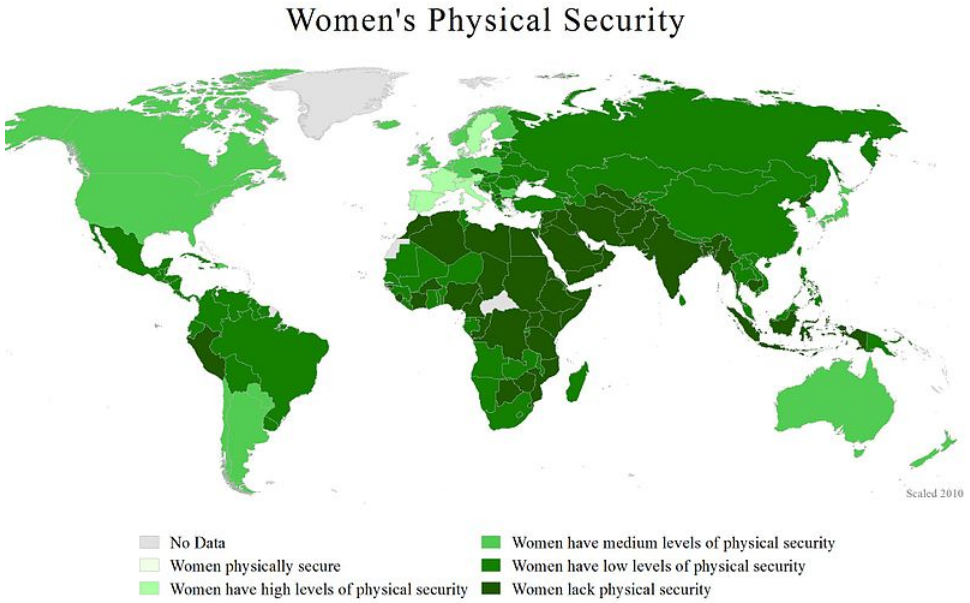

Figure 10.15.1 - A map of the world showing countries by level of women's physical security, 2011

According to an article in the Health and Human Rights Journal,[47]regardless of many years of advocacy and involvement of many feminist activist organizations, the issue of violence against women still "remains one of the most pervasive forms of human rights violations worldwide."[48] The violence against women can occur in both public and private spheres of life and at any time of their life span. Many women are terrified by these threats of violence and this essentially has an impact on their lives that they are impeded to exercise their human rights, for instance, the fear for contribution to the development of their communities socially, economically and politically. Apart from that, the causes that trigger VAW or gender-based violence can go beyond just the issue of gender and into the issues of age, class, culture, ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation and specific geographical area of their origins.

Importantly, other than the issue of social divisions, violence can also extend into the realm of health issues and become a direct concern of the public health sector.[49] A health issue such as HIV/AIDS is another cause that also leads to violence. Women who have HIV/AIDS infection are also among the targets of the violence.[48] The World Health Organization reports that violence against women puts an undue burden on health care services, as women who have suffered violence are more likely to need health services and at higher cost, compared to women who have not suffered violence.[50] Another statement that confirms an understanding of VAW as being a significant health issue is apparent in the recommendation adopted by the Council of Europe, violence against women in private sphere, at home or domestic violence, is the main reason of "death and disability" among the women who encountered violence.[48]

In addition, several studies have shown a link between poor treatment of women and international violence. These studies show that one of the best predictors of inter- and intranational violence is the maltreatment of women in the society.[51][52]

Who's Typology Table[53]

Throughout the Life Cycle

Phase	Type of violence
Pre-birth	Sex-selective abortion; effects of battering during pregnancy on birth outcomes
Infancy	Female infanticide; physical, sexual and psychological abuse
Girlhood	Child marriage; female genital mutilation; physical, sexual and psychological abuse; incest; child prostitution and pornography
Adolescence and adulthood	Dating and courtship violence (e.g. acid throwing and date rape); economically coerced sex (e.g. school girls having sex with "sugar daddies" in return for school fees); incest; sexual abuse in the workplace; rape; sexual harassment; forced prostitution and pornography; trafficking in women; partner violence; marital rape; dowry abuse and murders; partner homicide; psychological abuse; abuse of women with disabilities; forced pregnancy
Elderly	Forced "suicide" or homicide of widows for economic reasons; sexual, physical and psychological abuse

Significant progress towards the protection of women from violence has been made on international level as a product of collective effort of lobbying by many women's rights movements; international organizations to civil society groups. As a result, worldwide governments and international as well as civil society organizations actively work to combat violence against women through a variety of programs. Among the major achievements of the women's rights movements against violence on girls and women, the landmark accomplishments are the "Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women" that implies "political will towards addressing VAW " and the legal binding agreement, "the Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW)."[54] In addition, the UN General Assembly resolution also designated 25 November as *International Day for the Elimination of Violence against Women.*[55]

Another Typology: Over Time[24]

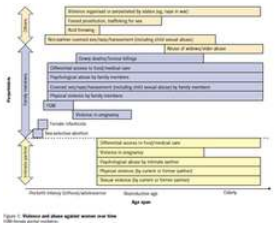

Figure **10.15.2** - A diagram of typology of violence against women over time, as conceived by authors Charlotte Watts & Cathy Zimmerman.

This similar typology from an academic journal article on violence against women shows similarly the different types of violence perpetrated against women according to what time period in a women's life the violence takes place. However, it also classifies the types of violence according to the perpetrator. One important point to note is that more of the types of violence inflicted on women are perpetrated by someone the woman knows, either a family member or intimate partner, rather than a stranger.

Types

Violence against women can take a number of forms:

Rape

Rape is a type of sexual assault, usually involving sexual intercourse. Rape is usually perpetrated by men against boys, women, and girls; women are usually assaulted more often than boys and girls and usually all by someone they know.

Internationally, the incidence of rapes recorded by the police during 2008 varied between 0.1 in Egypt per 100,000 people and 91.6 per 100,000 people in Lesotho with 4.9 per 100,000 people in Lithuania as themedian.[56] According to the American Medical Association (1995), sexual violence, and rape in particular, is considered the most underreported violent crime.[57][58] The rate of

reporting, prosecution and convictions for rape varies considerably in different jurisdictions. Rape by strangers is usually less common than rape by persons the victim knows.[59][60][61][62][63]

Victims of rape can be severely traumatized and may suffer from posttraumatic stress disorder;[64] in addition to psychological harm resulting from the act, rape may cause physical injury, or have additional effects on the victim, such as acquiring of a sexually transmitted infection or becoming pregnant.

Violence Against Victims

Following a rape, a victim may face violence or threats of violence from the rapist, and, in some cultures, from the victim's own family and relatives. Violence or intimidation of the victim may be perpetrated by the rapist or by friends and relatives of the rapist, as a way of preventing the victims from reporting the rape, of punishing them for reporting it, or of forcing them to withdraw the complaint; or it may be perpetrated by the relatives of the victim as a punishment for "bringing shame" to the family. This is especially the case in cultures where female virginity is highly valued and considered mandatory before marriage; in extreme cases, rape victims are killed in honor killings. Victims may also be forced by their families to marry the rapist in order to restore the family's "honor".[65][66][67][68]

Marital Rape

Marital rape, also known as spousal rape, is non-consensual sex perpetrated by the victim's spouse. Once widely condoned or ignored by law, spousal rape is now repudiated by international conventions and increasingly criminalized. Still, in many countries, spousal rape either remains legal, or is illegal but widely tolerated and accepted as a husband's prerogative. The criminalization of marital rape is recent, having occurred during the past few decades. Traditional understanding and views of marriage, rape, sexuality, gender roles and self determination have started to be challenged in most Western countries during the 1960s and 1970s, which has led to the subsequent criminalization of marital rape during the following decades. With a few notable exceptions, it was during the past 30 years when most laws against marital rape have been enacted. Some countries in Scandinavia and in the former Communist Bloc of Europe made spousal rape illegal before 1970, but most Western countries criminalized it only in the 1980s and 1990s. In many parts of the world the laws against marital rape are very new, having been enacted in the 2000s.

In Canada, marital rape was made illegal in 1983, when several legal changes were made, including changing the rape statute to *sexual assault*, and making the laws gender neutral.[69][70][71] In Ireland spousal rape was outlawed in 1990.[72] In the US, the criminalization of marital rape started in the mid-1970s and in 1993 North Carolina became the last state to make marital rape illegal.[73] In England and Wales, marital rape was made illegal in 1991. The views of Sir Matthew Hale, a 17th-century jurist, published in*The History of the Pleas of the Crown (1736)*, stated that a husband cannot be guilty of the rape of his wife because the wife "hath given up herself in this kind to her husband, which she cannot retract"; in England and Wales this would remain law for more than 250 years, until it was abolished by the Appellate Committee of the House of Lords, in the case of *R v R* in 1991.[74] In the Netherlands marital rape was also made illegal in 1991.[75] One of the last Western countries to criminalize marital rape was Germany, in 1997.[76]

The relation between some religions (Christianity and Islam) and marital rape is controversial. The Bible at 1 Corinthians 7:3-5 explains that one has a "conjugal duty" to have sexual relations with one's spouse (in sharp opposition to sex outside marriage which is considered a sin) and states that "The wife does not have authority over her own body, but the husband does. And likewise the husband does not have authority over his own body, but the wife does. Do not deprive one another…"[77] Some conservative religious figures interpret this as rejecting to possibility of marital rape.[78] Islam makes reference to sexual relations in marriage too, notably: "Allah's Apostle said, 'If a husband calls his wife to his bed (i.e. to have sexual relation) and she refuses and causes him to sleep in anger, the angels will curse her till morning';"[79] and several comments on the issue of marital rape made by Muslim religious leaders have been criticized.[80][81]

Figure **10.15.3** -Girl in Ethiopia. An analysis by the UN of several international studies found domestic violence against women to be most prevalent in Ethiopia[82]

Women are more likely to be victimized by someone that they are intimate with, commonly called “intimate partner violence” or (IPV). Instances of IPV tend not to be reported to police and thus many experts believe that the true magnitude of the problem is hard to estimate.[83]Women are much more likely than men to be murdered by an intimate partner. In the United States, in 2005, 1181 women, in comparison with 329 men, were killed by their intimate partners.[84][85] In England and Wales about 100 women are killed by partners or former partners each year while 21 men were killed in 2010.[86] In 2008, in France, 156 women in comparison with 27 men were killed by their intimate partner.[87]

According to WHO, globally, as many as 38% of murders of women are committed by an intimate partner.[88] A UN report compiled from a number of different studies conducted in at least 71 countries found domestic violence against women to be most prevalent in Ethiopia.[82]

In Western Europe, a country which has received major international criticism for the way it has dealt legally with the issue of violence against women is Finland; with authors pointing that a high level of equality for women in the public sphere (as in Finland) should never be equated with equality in all other aspects of women’s lives.[89][90][91]

A study by Pan American Health Organization conducted in 12 Latin American countries found the highest prevalence of domestic violence against women to be in Bolivia.[92]

Though this form of violence is often portrayed as an issue within the context of heterosexual relationships, it also occurs in lesbian relationships,[93] daughter-mother relationships, roommate relationships and other domestic relationships involving two women. Violence against women in lesbian relationships is about as common as violence against women in heterosexual relationships.[94]

Diagnosis Planning

The American Psychiatric Association planning and research committees for the forthcoming DSM-5 (2013) have canvassed a series of new Relational disorders which include *Marital Conflict Disorder Without Violence* or*Marital Abuse Disorder (Marital Conflict Disorder With Violence)*.[95]:164, 166 Couples with marital disorders sometimes come to clinical attention because the couple recognize long-standing dissatisfaction with their marriage and come to the clinician on their own initiative or are referred by an astute health care professional. Secondly, there is serious violence in the marriage which is -“usually the husband battering the wife”.[95]:163 In these cases the emergency room or a legal authority often is the first to notify the clinician. Most importantly, marital violence “is a major risk factor for serious injury and even death and women in violent marriages are at much greater risk of being seriously injured or killed (National Advisory Council on Violence Against Women 2000).”[95]:166 The authors of this study add that “There is current considerable controversy over whether male-to-female marital violence is best regarded as a reflection of male psychopathology and control or whether there is an empirical base and clinical utility for conceptualizing these patterns as relational.”[95]:166

Recommendations for clinicians making a diagnosis of *Marital Relational Disorder* should include the assessment of actual or “potential” male violence as regularly as they assess the potential for suicide in depressed patients. Further, “clinicians should not relax their vigilance after a battered wife leaves her husband, because some data suggest that the period immediately following a marital separation is the period of greatest risk for the women. Many men will stalk and batter their wives in an effort to get them to return or punish them for leaving. Initial assessments of the potential for violence in a marriage can be supplemented by

standardized interviews and questionnaires, which have been reliable and valid aids in exploring marital violence more systematically."[95]:166

The authors conclude with what they call "very recent information"[95]:167, 168 on the course of violent marriages which suggests that "over time a husband's battering may abate somewhat, but perhaps because he has successfully intimidated his wife. The risk of violence remains strong in a marriage in which it has been a feature in the past. Thus, treatment is essential here; the clinician cannot just wait and watch."[95]:167, 168 The most urgent clinical priority is the protection of the wife because she is the one most frequently at risk, and clinicians must be aware that supporting assertiveness by a battered wife may lead to more beatings or even death.[95]:167, 168

Honor Killings

Honor killings are a common form of violence against women in certain parts of the world. In honor killings, women and girls are killed by family members (usually husbands, fathers, uncles or brothers) because the women are believed to have brought shame or dishonor upon the family. These killings are a traditional practice, believed to have originated from tribal customs where an allegation against a woman can be enough to defile a family's reputation.[96][97] Women are killed for reasons such as refusing to enter anarranged marriage, being in a relationship that is disapproved by their relatives, attempting to leave a marriage, having sex outside marriage, becoming the victim of rape, dressing in ways which are deemed inappropriate.[96][98]

Honor killings are common in countries such as Afghanistan, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Lebanon, Libya, Morocco, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, Yemen.[98][99][100][101][102] Honor killings also occur in immigrant communities in Europe, the United States and Canada. Although honor killings are most often associated with the Middle East and South Asia, they occur in other parts of the world too.[96][103] In India, honor killings occur in the northern regions of the country, especially in the states of Punjab, Haryana, Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Rajasthan, Jharkhand, Himachal Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh.[104][105] In Turkey, honor killings are a serious problem in Southeastern Anatolia.[106][107]

Dowry Violence

Figure **10.15.4** - Anti-dowry poster in Bangalore, India

The custom of dowry, which is common in South Asia, especially in India, is the trigger of many forms of violence against women. Bride burning is a form of violence against women in which a bride is killed at home by her husband or husband's family due to his dissatisfaction over the dowry provided by her family. Dowry death refers to the phenomenon of women and girls being killed or committing suicide due to disputes regarding dowry. Dowry violence is common in India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal. In India, in 2011 alone, the National Crime Records Bureau reported 8,618 dowry deaths, while unofficial figures suggest the numbers to be at least three times higher.[108]

Acid Throwing

Figure **10.15.5** - Acid attack victim in Cambodia

Acid throwing, also called acid attack, or vitriolage, is defined as the act of throwing acid onto the body of a person "with the intention of injuring or disfiguring [them] out of jealousy or revenge".[109] The most common types of acid used in these attacks are sulfuric, nitric, or hydrochloric acid.[110] Perpetrators of these attacks throw acid at their victims, usually at their faces, burning them, and damaging skin tissue, often exposing and sometimes dissolving the bones.[111] The long term consequences of these attacks include blindness and permanent scarring of the face and body.[112][113] Women and girls are the victims in 75-80% of cases.[114] Acid attacks are often connected to domestic disputes, including dowry disputes, and refusal of a proposition for marriage, or of sexual advances. Such attacks are common in South Asia, in countries such as Bangladesh, Pakistan, India; and in Southeast Asia, especially in Cambodia.[115][116][117][118][119][120]

Forced Marriage

A forced marriage is a marriage in which one or both of the parties is married against their will. Forced marriages are common in South Asia, the Middle East and Africa. The customs of bride price and dowry, that exist in many parts of the world, contribute to this practice. A forced marriage is also often the result of a dispute between families, where the dispute is 'resolved' by giving a female from one family to the other.[121][122][123]

The custom of bride kidnapping continues to exist in some Central Asian countries such as Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and the Caucasus, or parts of Africa, especially Ethiopia. A girl or a woman is abducted by the would be groom, who is often helped by his friends. The victim is often raped by the would be groom, after which he may try to negotiate a bride price with the village elders to legitimize the marriage.[124][125][126]

Force-Feeding

In some countries, notably Mauritania, young girls are forcibly fattened to prepare them for marriage, because obesity is seen as desirable. This practice of force-feeding is known as *leblouh* or *gavage*.[127][128][129]

The practice goes back to the 11th century, and has been reported to have made a significant comeback after a military junta took over the country in 2008.[130]

Mob Violence

In 2010 Amnesty International reported that mob attacks against single women were taking place in Hassi Messaoud, Algeria.[131] According to Amnesty International, "some women have been sexually abused" and were targeted "not just because they are women, but because they are living alone and are economically independent."[131]

Stalking

Stalking is unwanted or obsessive attention by an individual or group toward another person, often manifested through persistent harassment, intimidation, or following/monitoring of the victim. Stalking is often understood as "course of conduct directed at a specific person that would cause a reasonable person to feel fear".[132] Although stalkers are frequently portrayed as being strangers, they are most often known people, such as former or current partners, friends, colleagues or acquaintances. In the US, a survey by NVAW found that only 23% of female victims were stalked by strangers.[133] Stalking by partners can be very dangerous, as sometimes it can escalate into severe violence, including murder.[133] Police statistics from the 1990s in Australia indicated that 87.7% of stalking offenders were male and 82.4% of stalking victims were female.[134]

Sexual Harassment

Sexual harassment is abusive, uninvited and unwelcome behavior of a sexual nature, typically in the work/studying place, which may include intimidation, bullying or coercion of a sexual nature, or the inappropriate promise of rewards in exchange for sexual

favors. It can be verbal or physical, and it is often perpetrated by a person in a position of authority against a subordinate.[135] In the United States, sexual harassment is a form of discrimination which violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The Council of Europe Convention on preventing and combating violence against women and domestic violence defines sexual harassment as: "any form of unwanted verbal, non-verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature with the purpose or effect of violating the dignity of a person, in particular when creating an intimidating, hostile, degrading, humiliating or offensive environment."[136]

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10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2)

Human Trafficking and Forced Prostitution

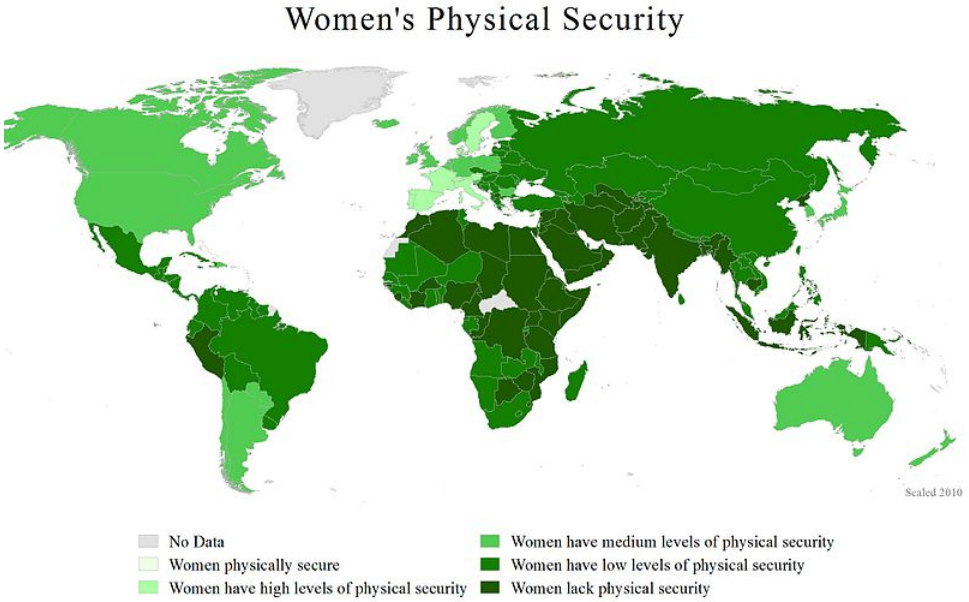

Figure **10.16.6** - A world map showing countries by prevalence of female trafficking Main articles: Human trafficking and Forced prostitution

Human trafficking refers to the acquisition of persons by improper means such as force, fraud or deception, with the aim of exploiting them.[137] The Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children states that:[138]

> *"Trafficking in persons" shall mean the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation. Exploitation shall include, at a minimum, the exploitation of the prostitution of others or other forms of sexual exploitation, forced labour or services, slavery or practices similar to slavery, servitude or the removal of organs".*

Because of the illegal nature of trafficking, reliable data on its extent is very limited.[139] The WHO states that: "Current evidence strongly suggests that those who are trafficked into the sex industry and as domestic servants are more likely to be women and children."[139] A 2006 study in Europe on trafficked women found that the women were subjected to serious forms of abuse, such as physical or sexual violence, which affected their physical and mental health.[139]

Forced prostitution is prostitution which takes place as a result of coercion by a third party. In forced prostitution, the party/parties who force the victim to be subjected to unwanted sexual acts exercise control over the victim.[140]

Mistreatment of Widows

Figure **10.16.7** - Description of the Balinese rite of Suttee, in Houtman's 1597 Verhael vande Reyse … Naer Oost Indien

A widow is a woman whose spouse has died. In some parts of the world, widows are subjected to serious forms of abuse, often fueled by traditional practices such as widow inheritance.[141] The sacrifice of widows (such as sati) has been prevalent historically in various cultures (especially in India). Although sati in India is today an almost defunct practice, isolated incidents have occurred in recent years, such as the 1987 sati of Roop Kanwar, as well as several incidents in rural areas in 2002,[142] and 2006.[143]

Accused of Witchcraft

Witch trials in the early modern period (between the 15th and 18th centuries) were common in Europe and in the European colonies in North America. Today, there remain regions of the world (such as parts of Sub-Saharan Africa, rural North India, and Papua New Guinea) where belief in witchcraft is held by many people, and women accused of being witches are subjected to serious violence.[144][145][146] In addition, there are also countries which have criminal legislation against the practice of witchcraft. In Saudi Arabia, witchcraft remains a crime punishable by death.[147]

State Violence

War Rape and Sexual Slavery During Military Conflict

Figure **10.16.8** - Brennus and His Share of the Spoils, by Paul Jamin, 1893.

Figure **10.16.9** - Rangoon, Burma. August 8, 1945. A young ethnic Chinese woman who was in one of the Imperial Japanese Army's "comfort battalions" is interviewed by an Allied officer.

Militarism produces special environments that allow for increased violence against women. War rapes have accompanied warfare in virtually every known historical era.[148] Rape in the course of war is mentioned multiple times in the Bible: "For I will gather all the nations against Jerusalem to battle, and the city shall be taken and the houses plundered and the women raped…" Zechariah 14:2 "Their little children will be dashed to death before their eyes. Their homes will be sacked, and their wives will be raped."Isaiah 13:16

War rapes are rapes committed by soldiers, other combatants or civilians during armed conflict or war, or during military occupation, distinguished from sexual assaults and rape committed amongst troops in military service. It also covers the situation where women are forced into prostitution or sexual slavery by an occupying power. During World War II the Japanese military established brothels filled with "comfort women", girls and women who were forced into sexual slavery for soldiers, exploiting women for the purpose of creating access and entitlement for men.[149] [150][151]

Another example of violence against women incited by militarism during war took place in the Kovno Ghetto. Jewish male prisoners had access to (and used) Jewish women forced into camp brothels by the Nazis, who also used them.[152]

Rape was committed during the Bangladesh Liberation War by members of the Pakistani military and the militias that supported them. Over a period of nine months, hundreds of thousands of women were raped. Susan Brownmiller, in her report on the atrocities, said that girls from the age of eight to grandmothers of seventy-five suffered attacks. (See also: Rape during the Bangladesh Liberation War)

Rape used as a weapon of war was practiced during the Bosnian War where rape was used as a highly systematized instrument of war by Serb armed forces predominantly targeting women and girls of the Bosniak ethnic group for physical and moral destruction. Estimates of the number of women raped during the war range from 50,000 to 60,000; as of 2010 only 12 cases have been prosecuted.[153] (See also Rape during the Bosnian War).

The 1998 International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda recognized rape as a war crime. Presiding judge Navanethem Pillay said in a statement after the verdict: “From time immemorial, rape has been regarded as spoils of war. Now it will be considered a war crime. We want to send out a strong message that rape is no longer a trophy of war.”[154] (See also: Rwandan Genocide)

In 2006, five U.S. troops from a six-man unit gang raped and killed a 14-year-old girl in a village near the town of Al-Mahmudiyah, Iraq. After the rape the girl was shot in her head and the lower part of her body, from her stomach down to her feet, was set on fire.[155][156] (See also: Mahmudiyah killings)

A 1995 study of female war veterans found that 90 percent had been sexually harassed. A 2003 survey found that 30 percent of female vets said they were raped in the military and a 2004 study of veterans who were seeking help for post-traumatic stress disorder found that 71 percent of the women said they were sexually assaulted or raped while serving.[157]

According to one report, the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant’s capture of Iraqi cities in June 2014 was accompanied by an upsurge in crimes against women, including kidnap and rape.[158][159][160] *The Guardian*reported that ISIL’s extremist agenda extended to women’s bodies and that women living under their control were being captured and raped.[161]Fighters are told that they are free to have sex and rape non-Muslim captive women.[162] Yazidi girls in Iraq allegedly raped by ISIL fighters committed suicide by jumping to their death from Mount Sinjar, as described in a witness statement.[163] Haleh Esfandiari from the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars has highlighted the abuse of local women by ISIL militants after they have captured an area. “They usually take the older women to a makeshift slave market and try to sell them. The younger girls … are raped or married off to fighters”, she said, adding, “It’s based on temporary marriages, and once these fighters have had sex with these young girls, they just pass them on to other fighters.”[164] Speaking of Yazidi women captured by ISIS, Nazand Begikhani said “[t]hese women have been treated like cattle… They have been subjected to physical and sexual violence, including systematic rape and sex slavery. They’ve been exposed in markets in Mosul and in Raqqa, Syria, carrying price tags.”[165] In December 2014 the Iraqi Ministry of Human Rights announced that the Islamic State of Iraq and the Levant had killed over 150 women and girls in Fallujah who refused to participate in sexual jihad.[166][167]

Forced Sterilization and Forced Abortion

Forced sterilization and forced abortion are forms of gender-based violence.[168] These procedures are reported to be practiced in countries such as Uzbekistan and China.[169][170][171][172][173][174]

Violence by the Police and Other Authority Figures

Figure **10.16.10** - A member of the Taliban’s religious police beating an Afghan woman in Kabul on August 26, 2001.

When police officers misuse their power as agents of the state to physically and sexually harass and assault victims, the survivors, including women, feel much less able to report the violence.[175] It is standard procedure for police to force entry into the victim’s home even after the victim’s numerous requests for them to go away.[176] Government agencies often disregard the victim’s right to freedom of association with their perpetrator.[177]Shelter workers are often reduced themselves to contributing to violence against women by exploiting their vulnerability in exchange for a paying job.[178]

Human rights violations perpetrated by police and military personnel in many countries are correlated with decreased access to public health services and increased practices of risky behavior among members of vulnerable groups, such as women and female sex workers.[179] These practices are especially widespread in settings with a weak rule of law and low levels of police and military management and professionalism. Police abuse in this context has been linked to a wide range of risky behaviors and health

outcomes, including post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and substance abuse.[179][180][181][182][183][184][185] Extortion of sexual services and police sexual abuse have been linked to a decrease in condom use and an elevated risk of STI and HIV infections among vulnerable groups.[179][186]

Stoning and Flogging

Stoning, or lapidation, refers to a form of capital punishment whereby an organized group throws stones at an individual until the person dies. Stoning is a punishment that is included in the laws of several countries, including Iran, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Pakistan, Yemen, the United Arab Emirates, and some states in Nigeria, as punishment for adultery.[187]Flogging or flagellation is the act of methodically beating or whipping the human body. It is a judicial punishment in various countries for specific crimes, including sex outside marriage. These punishments employed for sexual relations outside marriage, apart from constituting a form of violence in themselves, can also deter victims of sexual violence from reporting the crime, because the victims may themselves be punished (if they cannot prove their case, if they are deemed to have been in the company of an unrelated male, or if they were unmarried and not virgins at the time of the rape).[188][189]

Female Genital Mutiliation (FGM)

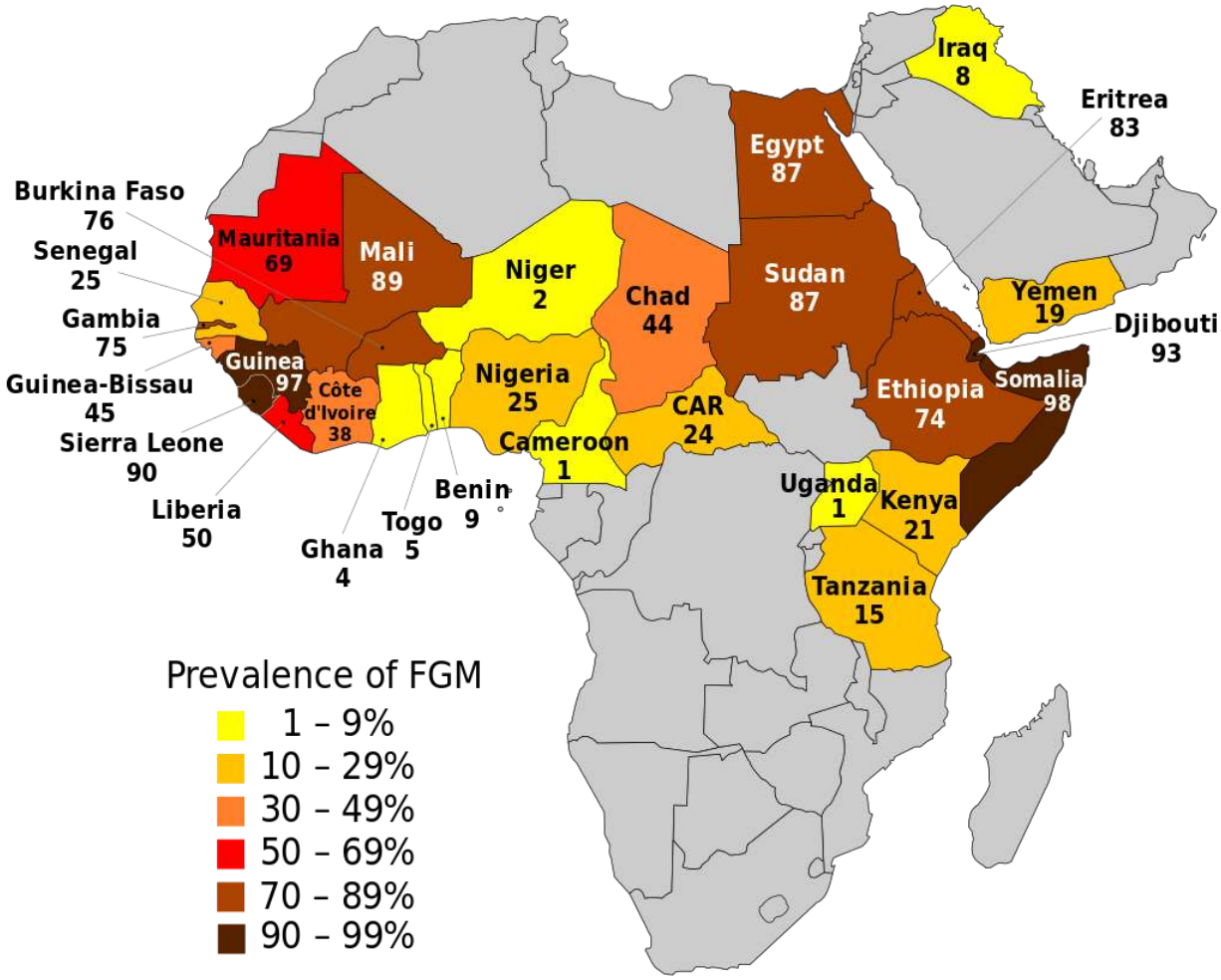

Figure 10.16.11 - Prevalence of female genital mutilation for women aged 15–49 using UNICEF “Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A global concern”, 2016

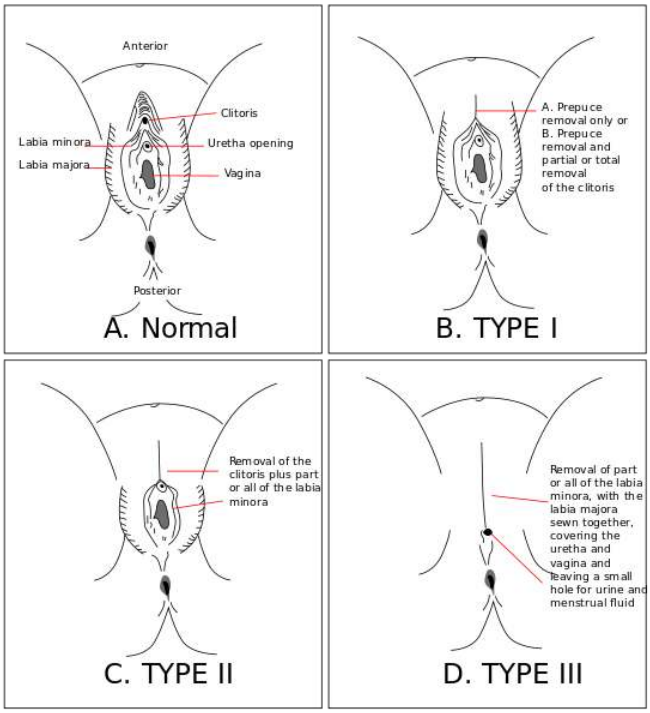

Figure **10.16.12** - Types of FGM

Female genital mutilation (FGM) is defined by the World Health Organization (WHO) as “all procedures that involve partial or total removal of the external female genitalia, or other injury to the female genital organs for non-medical reasons.”[190] According to a 2013 UNICEF report, 125 million women and girls in Africa and the Middle East have experienced FGM.[191] The WHO states that: “The procedure has no health benefits for girls and women” and “Procedures can cause severe bleeding and problems urinating, and later cysts, infections, infertility as well as complications in childbirth increased risk of newborn deaths” and “FGM is recognized internationally as a violation of the human rights of girls and women. It reflects deep-rooted inequality between the sexes, and constitutes an extreme form of discrimination against women”.[190]According to a UNICEF report, the top rates for FGM are in Somalia (with 98 percent of women affected), Guinea (96 percent), Djibouti (93 percent), Egypt (91 percent), Eritrea (89 percent), Mali (89 percent), Sierra Leone (88 percent), Sudan (88 percent), Gambia (76 percent), Burkina Faso (76 percent), Ethiopia (74 percent), Mauritania (69 percent), Liberia (66 percent), and Guinea-Bissau (50 percent).[191]

According to some local practitioners, it is believed that FGM is linked to cultural rites and customs. It is considered to be a traditional practice which continues to take place in different communities/countries of Africa and Middle East, including in places where it is banned by national legislation. FGM is defined as a “harmful traditional practice”[192] in accordance to the Inter-African Committee. Due to globalization and immigration, FGM is spreading beyond the borders of Africa and Middle East, to countries such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, New Zealand, US, and UK.[193]

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10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)

Interventionist Approaches

There exist several approaches that were set up by international health organizations and civil societies (for example, Tostan) aimed at eliminating the practice of Female genital mutilation (FGM) in implemented countries:

1. FGM as a Health issue (also known as health risks approach)
2. FGM as a Human Rights issue (also known as Human Rights-based approach)

Some scholars suggests that, when dealing with FGM, it is necessary to take lessons from history, particularly 19th-century campaign against foot-binding in China[194] which was successful.

As a Public Health Issue

The existing approaches to eliminate FGM are principally founded on health-based arguments and methods. Supporters of that approach established their arguments on the need to protect women's health from hazards caused by FGM. It is acknowledged that FGM affects women's health, reproduction, and sexual functioning. According to the World Health Organization's findings [195] "women who have had FGM) are significantly more likely to experience difficulties during childbirth and that their babies are more likely to die as a result of the practice".[192]Moreover, it can "result in myriad complications, from infections, menstrual difficulties and painful intercourse to…stillbirths and brain-damaged infants, increased risk of HIV infection, and psychological and emotional stress."[196] Therefore, in order to eradicate the procedure, advocates of the health risks approach designed strategies to raise public awareness of negative impacts of FGM to women's bodies and health. The health approach was commonly used and promoted, until it was criticized and, to a certain extent, replaced by the Human rights approach.

As a Human Rights Issue

In 1993, at the Vienna World Conference on Human Rights, the issue of FGM was for the first time addressed as a form of violence against women under the framework of International Human Rights. Since then, the elimination of FGM has taken a prominent place in the agenda of the international human rights discourse, leaving behind the health risk approach.[192]

> *"The global human rights discourse differs from earlier Western policies, which focused on health in relation to female genital mutilation. It modifies earlier Western feminist arguments that read female genital mutilation as patriarchal control over women's bodies and sexuality, and as a symbol of women's subordination".*[197]

The human rights-based arguments are founded principally on a concept of universal human rights. Supporters of that approach emphasize the flagrant violation of fundamental rights, and they consider FGM as a violent violation of woman 's and child's fundamental rights including the right to life, the right to be protected from cruel treatment, the right to physical integrity, and the right to health. According to Shell-Duncan FGM is violence against not only women, but it also constitutes a violation in the rights of child not yet achieved puberty.[192]

The use of International Human Rights discourse to tackle FGM has, however, faced challenges such as "there are no international human rights instruments that specifically address female genital cutting".[192]Therefore, advocates of FGM's elimination, building their arguments upon the UN Declarations, Conventions, and a Theory of Justice[193]suggest that the issue of FGM can be addressed under the legal framework of the three legal instruments such as: Violation of Rights of Child, violation of rights of women, and the right to be protected from torture.[192]

Debates about Best Approaches

There are growing debates about what is the most appropriate approach to tackle FGM. Both the health and the human rights-based approaches have been criticized.

The critique of the health approach is related to the medicalization of FGM,[192] meaning that concentration on health risks neglects the other aspects of FGM practice(for example, legal) and leads not to the banning of practice, but to medically safe performance of FGM. This critique is defined by Shell-Duncan:

> *"A final problematic aspect of the health approach as a rationale for abandoning FGC is that the emphasis on health risks is believed by anti-circumcision advocates to have inadvertently promoted the conceptualization of FGC and obstetrical complications."*[192]

The human rights approach notices the lack of legal instruments to address FGM. In addition to that, the usage of universal human rights language might be at a variance with collective identity and cultural understandings of indigenous people. That is why "the post-colonialist critique as an approach to the politics of female circumcision stresses the need for contextualised understandings of indigenous meanings arguing against the human rights approach."[197]

Breast Ironing

Breast ironing (also known as "breast flattening") is the practice of pounding and massaging the breasts of a pubescent girl, using hard or heated objects, in an attempt to try to make them stop developing or disappear.[198][199][200] It is typically carried out by the girl's mother, with the aim of making the girl less sexually attractive to men and boys, so that her virginity is preserved.[199] It is practiced primarily in Cameroon, but has also been reported across other areas in West and Central Africa.[198][199][201]Breast ironing is very painful and can have negative emotional and physical consequences.[198][199]

Obstetric Violence

"Obstetric violence" refers to acts categorized as physically or psychologically violent in the context of labor and birth. In most developed and many developing countries, birth takes place in an increasingly medicalized environment; with numerous surgical interventions that women can sometimes be coerced into accepting, or which are done without her consent. Medicalized birthing practices and interventions such as Caesarean sections, episiotomies and hormonal birth induction; which should normally be restricted to only a minority of cases where risks for the mother are clear, are increasingly being used during births that could otherwise take place naturally. Some organizations and scholars consider this a violent act against the woman and her child.

The concept also includes the unjustified use of instruments and maneuvers that have been recognized as risky to the health of the mother and child, or whose benefits and risks have not been sufficiently examined (use of forceps, Kristeller maneuver,[202] vacuum extraction[203]). The World Health Organization warns that "the boom in unnecessary surgeries is jeopardizing women's health", that Caesarean sections have reached "epidemic proportions" in many countries (46% in China, 25% and above in many Asian, European and Latin American countries), and that sometimes financial incentives for doctors and hospitals have an influence too.[204]

Concerning episiotomies, the World Health Organization informs that they "carry a greater risk of getting infected, and can cause a higher blood loss, than (natural) tears", and that "Limiting the use of episiotomy to strict indications has a number of benefits: less posterior perineal trauma, less need for suturing and fewer complications".[205] England's National Health Service informs that episiotomies may cause pain and discomfort for the woman for many months after their child's birth,[206] and the American Congress of Obstetricians and Gynecologists also recommends a restriction on their use.[207] Some sources refer to North American obstetricians and gynecologists, especially between the 1950s and 1980s, practicing what was called *the husband's stitch*: placing extra stitches in the woman's vagina after the episiotomy or natural tearing, supposedly to increase the husband's future sexual pleasure and often causing long-term pain and discomfort to the woman. However, there is no proof that such a practice was widespread in North America,[208][209] but mentions of it frequently appear in studies about episiotomy, also in other American countries such as Brazil.[210]

The WHO recently stated that "in normal birth, there should be a valid reason to interfere with the natural process. The aim of care is to achieve a healthy mother and child with the least possible level of intervention compatible with safety".[211] Practices that should be stopped (in normal labor), according to the WHO:

- Shaving the pubic hair
- Giving an enema to empty the bowels
- Electronic fetal monitoring
- Not letting the woman eat or drink
- Telling the woman to hold her breath and push during the second stage of labor (rather than leaving it to do her own way)
- Stretching and interfering with the entrance to the vagina when the baby is being born

- Episiotomy
- Taking the baby away from its mother at birth
- Getting the woman to lie down on her back during labor and/or delivery

The Fight for a More Humane and Respectful Birth

In Latin America, with the increasingly medicalized and surgical context of birth, many organizations propose a rediscovery of natural, unmedicated birth.[212] Different scholars such as O. Fernández have analyzed the link between Post-traumatic Stress Disorder and obstetric violence,[213][214] as have Olde et al.[215] Various NGO's around the world have the purpose of defending "the right to a respectful and humane birth", such as the Canadian organization Humanize Birth,[216] or the Spanish association El Parto es Nuestro ("Birth Is Ours").[217] In the United States, Young Women United engages in policy and advocacy efforts to improve the access that low income and pregnant people of color have to midwifery care, as well as improve breastfeeding rates in New Mexico communities (Medicaid funding is also available for home births).[218] Other organizations such as The Birth Trauma Association[219]claim to "support women suffering from Post Natal Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) or birth trauma"; which rather than being the result of the birth process itself, is caused by "factors such as loss of control, loss of dignity, the hostile or difficult attitudes of the people around them, feelings of not being heard or the absence of informed consent to medical procedures".[220] The WHO's Reproductive Health library states that a de-humanized, highly medical context for normal births can "promote the use of unnecessary interventions, neglect women's emotional needs and contribute to a high overall cost of medical services".[221]

Legal Action Against Obstetric Violence

In Venezuela, as well as in the Mexican states of Veracruz, Chiapas, Guanajuato and Durango, laws have been passed to give women the right to a life free of obstetric violence.[222] Venezuela's Organic Law on the Right of Women to a Life Free of Violence, approved November 2006, defines on its Article 51 the following acts as forms of obstetric violence:

- Failing to timely and efficiently take care of obstetric emergencies
- Forcing the woman to give birth in a face-up (lithotomy) position and with legs on stirrups, when the means are available for vertical birth,
- Blocking the child's early attachment to the mother without a justified medical cause, denying the mother the possibility of picking up the child and breastfeeding immediately after birth,
- Altering the natural process of the low-risk birth, by use of induction and acceleration techniques, without obtaining the mother's voluntary, explicit and informed consent.
- Practicing caesarean sections when the conditions are available for natural birth, without obtaining the mother's voluntary, explicit and informed consent.[223]

Mexico's GIRE (Group for Information on Planned Reproduction) has issued a report where it also mentions the "normalization of obstetric violence", as well as psychological and emotional mistreatment by care providers being common during childbirth. It also mentions forced sterilization as a form of severe violence against women; one which might disproportionally affect indigenous women.[224] Psychological and verbal abuse during childbirth, as well as coercion into accepting surgical intervention, are also documented in Goer's "Cruelty in Maternity Wards: Fifty Years Later"; published in the Journal of Perinatal Education.[225]

Sport-Related Violence Against Women

Sport-related violence against women refers to any physical, sexual, mental acts that are "perpetrated by both male athletes and by male fans or consumers of sport and sporting events, as well as by coaches of female athletes".[226]

The documenting reports and literature suggest that there are obvious connections between contemporary sport and violence against women. Such events as the 2010 World Cup, the Olympic and Commonwealth Games "have highlighted the connections between sports spectatorship and intimate partner violence, and the need for police, authorities and services to be aware of this when planning sporting events".[226]

Sport-related violence can occur in various contexts and places, including homes, pubs, clubs, hotel rooms, the streets.[226]

Sport-Related Violence By Male College Athletes

Violence against women is a topic of concern in the United States' collegiate athletic community. From the 2010 UVA lacrosse murder, in which a male athlete was charged guilty with second degree murder of his girlfriend, to the 2004 University of Colorado Football Scandal when players were charged with nine alleged sexual assaults,[227] studies suggest that athletes are at higher risk for committing sexual assault against women than the average student.[228][229] It is reported that one in three college assaults are committed by athletes.[230] Surveys suggest that male student athletes who represent 3.3% of the college population, commit 19% of reported sexual assaults and 35% of domestic violence.[231] The theories that surround these statistics range from misrepresentation of the student-athlete to an unhealthy mentality towards women within the team itself.[230]

Controversy Over Contributing Factors

Sociologist Timothy Curry, after conducting an observational analysis of two big time sports' locker room conversations, deduced that the high risk of male student athletes for gender abuse is a result of the team's subculture.[232] He states, "Their locker room talk generally treated women as objects, encouraged sexist attitudes toward women and, in its extreme, promoted rape culture."[232] He proposes that this objectification is a way for the male to reaffirm his heterosexual status and hyper-masculinity. Claims have been made that the atmosphere changes when an outsider (especially women) intrude in the locker room. In the wake of the reporter Lisa Olson being harassed by a Patriots player in the locker room in 1990, she reflected, "We are taught to think we must have done something wrong and it took me a while to realize I hadn't done anything wrong."[233]Other female sports reporters (college and professional) have claimed that they often brush off the players' comments which leads to further objectification.[233] Other sociologists challenge this claim. Steve Chandler notes that because of their celebrity status on campus, "athletes are more likely to be scrutinized or falsely accused than non-athletes."[229] Another contender, Stephanie Mak, notes that, "if one considers the 1998 estimates that about three million women were battered and almost one million raped, the proportion of incidences that involve athletes in comparison to the regular population is relatively small."[230]

Response to Violence by Male College Athletes

In response to the proposed link between college athletes and gender-based violence, and media coverage holding Universities as responsible for these scandals more universities are requiring athletes to attend workshops that promote awareness. For example, St. John's University holds sexual assault awareness classes in the fall for its incoming student athletes.[234] Other groups, such as the National Coalition Against Violent Athletes, have formed to provide support for the victims as their mission statement reads, "The NCAVA works to eliminate off the field violence by athletes through the implementation of prevention methods that recognize and promote the positive leadership potential of athletes within their communities. In order to eliminate violence, the NCAVA is dedicated to empowering individuals affected by athlete violence through comprehensive services including advocacy, education and counseling."[235]

Online Violence Against Women

On September 24, 2015, the United Nations Broadband Commission released a report that claimed that almost 75% percent of women online have encountered cyber violence.[236]

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10.18: Missing Women of Asia

The phenomenon of the **missing women of Asia** is a shortfall in the number of women in Asia relative to the number that would be expected if there were no **sex-selective abortion** and **female infanticide** and if the newborn of both sexes received similar levels of health care and nutrition.

Technologies that enable prenatal sex selection have been commercially available since the 1970s. The phenomenon was first noted by the Indian Nobel Prize–winning economist Amartya Sen in an essay in *The New York Review of Books* in 1990,[1] and expanded upon in his subsequent academic work. Sen originally estimated that more than a hundred million women were "missing" (in the sense that their potential existence had been eliminated either through sex selective abortion, infanticide or inadequate nutrition during infancy).

The disparity has also been found in the Chinese and Indian diasporas in the United States, albeit to a far lesser degree than in Asia. An estimated 2000 Chinese and Indian female fetuses were aborted between 1991 and 2004, and a shortage can be traced back as far as 1980.[2]

Some countries in the former Soviet Union also saw declines in female births after the revolutions of 1989, particularly in the Caucasus region.[3]

Originally some other economists, notably Emily Oster, questioned Sen's explanation, and argued that the shortfall was due to higher prevalence of the hepatitis B virus in Asia compared to Europe, while her later research has established that the prevalence of hepatitis B cannot account for more than an insignificant fraction of the missing women.[4] As a result, Sen's explanation for the phenomenon is still the most accepted one.

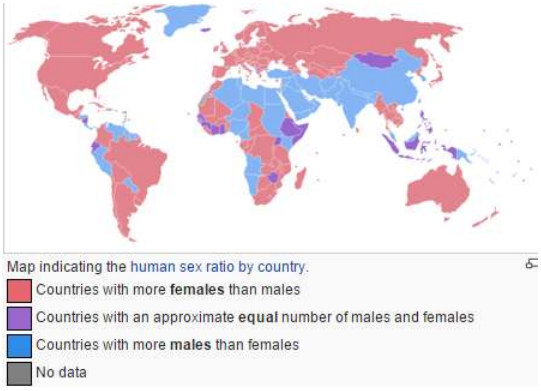

Figure **10.18.1** - Map indicating the human sex ratio by country

The Problem and Prevalence

According to Sen, women make up the majority of the world's population, even though this is not the case throughout every country. While there are typically more women than men in European and North American countries (at around 0.98 men to 1 woman for most of them, in number of males for each female), the sex ratio of developing countries in Asia, as well as the Middle East, is much higher (in number of males for each female). This runs contrary to research that females tend to have better survival rates than males, given the same amount of nutritional and medical attention.[1][5]

In China, the ratio of men to women is 1.06, far higher than most countries. The ratio is much higher than that for those born after 1985, when ultrasound technology became widely available. Translating this into an actual number means that in China alone, there are 50 million women "missing" – that should be there but are not. Adding up similar numbers from South and West Asia results in a number of "missing" women higher than 100 million.[1] According to Sen, "These numbers tell us, quietly, a terrible story of inequality and neglect leading to the excess mortality of women."[1]

Causes

Sen's Original Argument

Sen argued that the disparity in sex ratio across eastern Asian countries like India, China, and Korea when compared to North America and Europe, as seen in 1992, could only be explained by deliberate nutritional and health deprivations against female children. These deprivations are caused by cultural mechanisms, such as traditions and values, that vary across countries and even regionally within countries.[6] Due to the inherent **bias toward male children** in many of these countries, female children, if born despite many instances of sex-selective abortion, are born without the same sense of priority given to men. This is especially true in the medical care given to men and women, as well as prioritizing who gets food in less privileged families, leading to lower survival rates than if both genders were treated equally.[7]

Perspectives from Female Adults

According to Sen's cooperative conflict model,[8] the relations within the household are characterized by both cooperation and conflict: cooperation in the addition of resources and conflict in the division of resources among the household. These intra-household processes are influenced by perceptions of one's self-interest, contribution and welfare. One's fall back position is the situation for each party once the bargaining process has failed and also determines the ability of each party to survive outside of the relationship.[8]

Typically, the fall-back position for men who have land ownership rights, more economic opportunities and less care work related to children is better than a woman's fall-back position, who is dependent on her husband for land and income. According to this framework, when women lack a perception of personal interest and have greater concern for their family welfare gender inequalities are sustained. Sen argues that women's lower bargaining power in household decision contributes to the shortfall in female populations across eastern Asia.[8]

Perspectives from Female Children

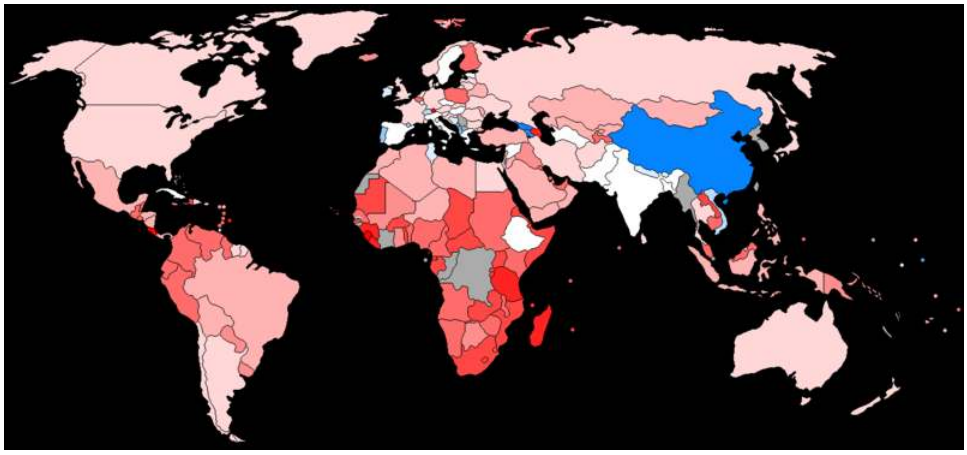

Figure **10.18.2** - The sex ratio by country for the population aged below 15. Red represents more women, blue more men than the world average of 1.06 males/female.

Sen suggests that the care and nutrition female children receive may be positively correlated to the outside earning power and sense of contribution of women when compared to men. Not all forms of outside work contribute equally to increasing women's bargaining power in the household as Sen also points out that the kind of outside work women do has bearing on their entitlements and fall-back position. Women can be doubly exploited as in the case of the work done by lace-makers in Narsapur, India. Since the work was done in the home it was perceived as only supplementary to male work rather than gainful outside contribution.[8]

Males are more prized in these regions where they are looked upon as more economically productive, and as women become more economically productive themselves it may alter the view that female children can be economically productive as well. This may increase girls' chances of surviving to birth and receiving the care and attention during childhood that they need.[9] In a 2008 study, Qian shows that when females in China earn a 10% increase in household income while male income is held constant, male births fall by 1.2 percentage points. This female-specific wage boost also increases parents' investment in female children, with female children gaining 0.25 years more education. As a result, an increase in female-specific economic productivity helped boost both the survival of and investment in female children. [10]

Perspectives Outside of Southeast Asia

The pattern of "missing women" is not uniform in all parts of developing nations.[11] For example, there is an "excess" of women in Sub-Saharan Africa rather than a deficit. The ratio of women to men being around 1.02.[1] In Sub-Saharan Africa, a woman is generally able to earn income from outside the home, increasing her contributions to her household and contributing to a different overall view of the value of women compared to that of Southeast and East Asia. Sen implies that it is a woman's opportunity to participate in the labor force that affords her more bargaining power within the home. Sen is hopeful that policies aimed to address education, women's property rights as well as economic rights and opportunities outside the home may improve the missing women situation and fight the stigma attached to female children.[9]

Sen's contention about gainful work outside the home has led to some debates. Berik and Bilginsoy researched Sen's premise that women's economic opportunities outside of the home will diminish the disparity in the sex ratio in Turkey. They found that as women participated more in the work force and maintained their unpaid labor the sex ratio disparity grew, contrary to Sen's original prediction.[12]

Sen's Amended Theory

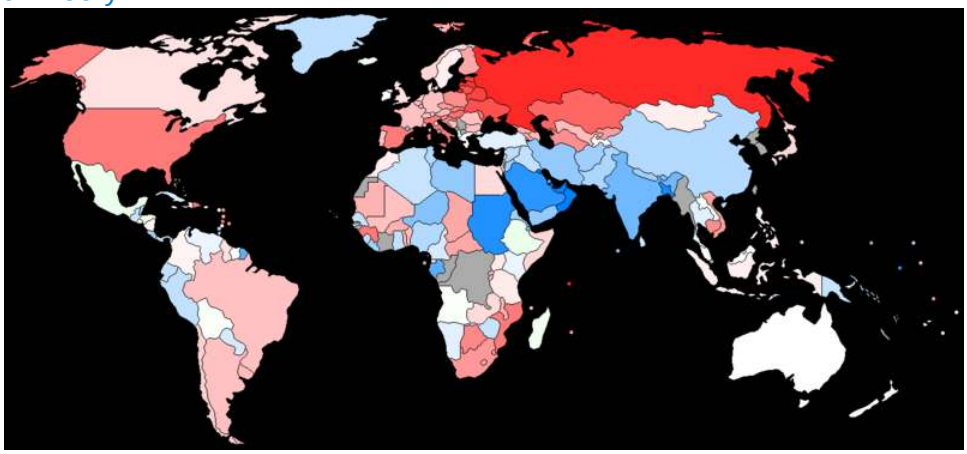

Figure **10.18.3** - The sex ratio by country for the population aged above 65. Red represents more women, blue more men than the world average of 0.79 males/female.

Later, in 2001, in response to the preliminary findings of the Indian Census, Sen amended his original argument to account for a new kind of discrimination against women being found in various states of India. Women's increased educational attainment was associated with the rise in the population sex ratio of India.[6]

Similarly, as women were able to afford better healthcare and economic opportunities outside the home they increasingly had access to healthcare facilities including ultrasound treatment. This, according to Sen, is actually exacerbating the problem, allowing parents to screen out the unwanted female fetuses before they are even born. He referred to this inequality as "high tech sexism." Sen concluded that these biases against women were so "entrenched" that even relative economic improvements in the lives of households have only enabled these parents a different avenue for rejecting their female children. Sen then argued that instead of just increasing women's economic rights and opportunities outside the home a greater emphasis needed to be placed on raising consciousness to eradicate the strong biases against female children.[6]

One reason for parents, even mothers, to avoid daughters is the traditional patriarchal culture in the countries where the elimination of females takes place. As parents grow older they can expect much more help and support from their independent sons, than from daughters, who after getting married become in a sense property of their husbands' families, and, even if educated and generating significant income, have limited ability to interact with their natal families. Women are also often practically unable to inherit real estate, so a mother-widow will lose her family's (in reality her late husband's) plot of land and become indigent if she had had only daughters. Poor rural families have meager resources to distribute among their children, which reduces the opportunity to discriminate against girls.[13]

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

11: Politics and Culture

Topic hierarchy

11.1: Political Systems
11.2: Bands
11.3: Tribes
11.4: Chiefdoms
11.5: States
11.6: Social Stratification
11.7: Indian Caste System
11.8: Social Control
11.9: Genocide

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11.1: Political Systems

Figure **11.1.1** - A protester in Cairo's Tahrir Square show unity with the protesters in Wisconsin.

Human groups have developed ways in which public decision-making, leadership, maintenance of social cohesion and order, protection of group rights, and safety from external threats are handled. Anthropologists identify these as **political systems** or **political organizations**. In studying political systems, anthropologists have learned about the myriad ways that people acquire **power**, or the ability to get others to do what one wants, and **authority**, or socially acceptable ways in which to wield power. While political anthropologists and political scientists share an interest in political systems, political anthropologists are interested in the political systems from all different types of societies while political scientists focus on contemporary nation-states.

Political Organization

Anthropologists use a typological system when discussing political organization. Introduced by Elman Service in 1962, the system uses "…types of leadership, societal integration and cohesion, decision-making mechanisms, and degree of control over people" (Bonvillain 2010: 303) to categorize a group's political organization. Service identified four types of political organizations: bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states that are closely related to subsistence strategies. As with any typological system, these types are ideals and there is variation within groups. Political organization can be thought of as a continuum with groups falling in between the ideals. It is important to note that today the various types of political organizations operate within the modern nation-state system.

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11.2: Bands

A **band** is a "…small, loosely organized [group] of people held together by informal means" (Gezen and Kottak 2014: 303). Its political organization is concerned with meeting basic needs for survival. Decision-making and leadership are focused on how best to meet those needs. Membership can be fluid. Power can be situational with leadership based on the skills and personality of an individual. Leaders do not have the power to enforce their will on the group; all members of the group, generally adults, contribute to the decision-making process. Because of this group decision-making process and the fact that everyone has access to the resources needed to survive, bands are **egalitarian**. Just like other members of the band, leaders are expected to contribute to the economic resources of the group. Authority is relegated within families, but due to the egalitarian nature of bands, even within families authority may not be strong.

In general, bands have a small number of people who are kin or loyal to the leader. Subsistence is based on foraging, thus bands need a fair amount of land from which to gather, hunt, and fish, which also contributes to the small size of bands as the group does not want to surpass the carrying capacity of their territory. Bands may be fairly mobile as they seasonally follow food sources. They may have semi-permanent settlements that are reused at specific times of the year. The concept of private property is generally absent, although if it is present, it is weak. This means that land is not owned, but can be used communally. Social stratification is absent or based on skills and age.

Bands in the modern world are relegated to marginal environments such as the arctic, deserts, and dense forests. Examples include the Mbuti and Ju'/hoansi in Africa, the Netsilik and Inuit in Canada, the Lapp of Scandinavia, the Tiwi in Australia, and the Ainu in Japan.

Figure **11.2.1** - Ainu bear sacrifice.

The Ainu, meaning "human," are traditional foraging peoples of the Far East. There are three major groups named after the islands on which they live, the Hokkaidō, the Sakhalin, and the Kurlie. Hokkaidō Island currently is part of Japan, while Sakhalin and Kurlie islands are part of Russia.

There was some variability in the settlement pattern of the three groups up until the 20th century when interaction with modern nation-states greatly changed their cultures. The Sakhalin and Kurlie were fairly mobile with the former settling near the coast during the summer and inland during winter. The Kurlie moved more frequently. The Hokkaidō resided in permanent settlements along rivers rich in fish. It was in the richest environments along rivers that supported denser populations. Most settlements contained no more than five families.

Fishing, hunting, and gathering provided necessary sustenance. The division of labor fell out along gender lines, with men responsible for fishing both freshwater and marine species and hunting (bear and deer in Hokkaidō and musk deer and reindeer in

Sakhalin) and women responsible for gathering plants. Traditional tools such as bow and arrow, set-trap bow, spears, nets, and weirs were used for hunting and fishing. The Hokkaidō used trained hunting dogs (the Sakhalin used sled dogs as well). Aconite and stingray poison was employed to ensure wounded animals would collapse within a short distance.

There is some variation in kinship among the Ainu, but generally, they are patrilineal with the nuclear family as the basic social unit. Polygyny is acceptable among prominent males. Cousins from an individual's mother's side are prohibited from marrying. Sociopolitical power is held by males and has a strong religious component. Political organization is within settlements; however, some smaller settlements may align themselves with adjacent larger settlements. Elders are involved in the decision-making process.

Religious beliefs permeate all aspects of Ainu life; from the way food scraps are disposed of to declaration of war have religious overtones. Nature deities reign supreme among the Ainu, with animal deities taking the form of humans when interacting with the Ainu people. The bear, representing the supreme deity in disguise, is the most sacred figure. The Ainu have many religious ceremonies, but the bear ceremony, which takes two years to complete, is the most important. It is a funeral ritual for a dead bear in which the soul of the bear is sent back to the mountains to be reborn as another bear. This is to ensure that the deities continue to gift the Ainu with fur and meat. The bear ceremony has political overtones, as the political leader is responsible for hosting the ceremony. The ceremony acts as a way for the leader to display their power as they are expected to display their wealth through trade items. Both men and women can be shamans, or religious leaders. In fact, most shamans are women and represents a socially acceptable way for a woman to wield, albeit little, power within Ainu culture.

The Ainu culture has been greatly impacted by contact with both Japanese and Russian governments as control of traditional lands changed hands. The Hokkaidō's, through influence from the Japanese, were forced to live in smaller territories and to adopt an agricultural lifestyle. In recent years, the Ainu, like indigenous peoples worldwide, struggle against prejudice and discrimination in Japan. The Japanese government did not recognize the Ainu as indigenous to Japan until 2008. Two times as many Hokkaidō rely on social welfare programs compared to the majority of Japanese population (Irvine 2015), but the Japanese government is now trying to learn more about the challenges that face the Ainu peoples.

Optional: You can learn more about the Ainu by visiting the Ainu museum, www.ainu-museum.or.jp/en/study/eng01.html, and NOVA's "Origins of the Ainu,"http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/hokkaido/ainu.html.

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11.3: Tribes

Like bands, **tribes'** political organization is focused on meeting basic needs of the group; however, the structure and organization are more formalized because most are reliant on pastoralism or horticulture. This leads to concepts of communal ownership of animals or land. Membership in tribes is usually restricted to descent groups. Tribes generally have more permanent settlements than bands. While still relatively egalitarian, political leaders have more power than the leaders of bands. However, leaders who try to exercise too much power can be deposed through socially structured methods. This helps to prevent over-centralization of power and wealth.

Tribal leaders are reliant on personal skills and charisma to achieve and maintain their power and status. **Status** refers to the position an individual has within a society. An individual holds multiple statuses that can change over time. Some statuses are **ascribed** in that they are assigned to us without reference to personal skill, e.g., sex and age. Other statuses are **achieved** and are based on our skills, choices, and accomplishments. Tribal leaders have a combination of ascribed status and achieved status. Most tribal leaders are male (ascribed status) and eloquent (achieved status). Many tribal leaders are leaders solely of their village. The Yanomami of the Amazon region have a village head with limited authority. The village head is always male who leads through example and persuasion. He may be called upon to mediate conflict, but lacks the power to enforce his decision. The headman is expected to be more generous and fierce than others in the village. If people within the village do not like how the headman is leading the group, they may leave and create their own village. In Papua New Guinea and the Melanesian Islands, the **big man** is the political leader. While big men have some similarities to the headman, one difference is that they have regional influence with supporters in multiple villages. Highly charismatic, the big man uses his powers of persuasion to convince others to hold feasts and support him during times of conflict. Another difference is that big men are wealthier than others. In New Guinea, the big man's wealth resides in the number of pigs that he has; however, the big man was expected to redistribute his wealth in the form of feasts. Pigs were also used to trade for support. Sometimes tribes would band together to form a **pantribal sodality**, "…a nonkin-based group that exists throughout a tribe…" (Gezen and Kottak 2014: 107). These sodalities span multiple villages and may form during times of warfare with other tribes.

Examples of tribal cultures include the Cheyenne and Blackfeet of North America, the Berbers and Amhara of Africa, the Munda of India, the Hmong of Southeast Asia, and the Basseri of Iran.

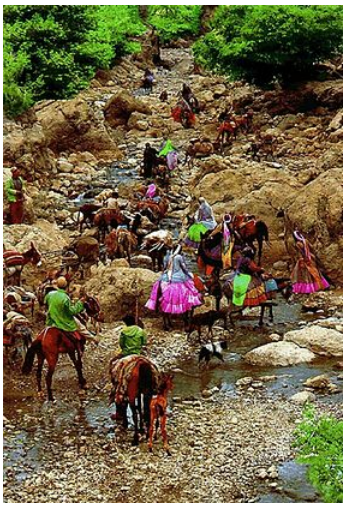

Figure **11.3.1** - Basseri of Iran.

The Basseri live in the Fars Province of southwest Iran. They are a pastoral people, raising a variety of animals including donkeys, camels, horses, sheep, and goats. The Basseri share a language and cultural traits with nearby tribes, but consider themselves a distinct cultural group who traditionally fell under the authority of a supreme chief. In the 1950s, the government of Iran wrested power from the traditional chief and invested it in the national army operating in the Fars region. The information that follows relates to pre-1950s Basseri. Anthropological research on the Basseri is notably lacking since the late 1950s.

The Basseri move seasonally, spending the rainy season on mountain flanks and spring in the lower valleys. In summer, the Bessari moved south to live in large, summer camps where they would stay until the rainy season began. If someone lost their herd, they

usually left the group to live with local agricultural peoples. If the individual was able to earn enough money to reestablish their herd, they returned to the Basseri. Sheep and goats were the most important herd animals as they provided the people with not only meat and milk, but wool and hides. The Basseri used lambskins, wool, clarified butter, and the occasional livestock to sell so they could buy flour, fruits, vegetables, tea, sugar, and other items they needed. Wealth was not just in their herds, but the wealthier Basseri often had luxury goods such as china, narcotics, jewelry, saddles, etc. Ownership of pastureland belonged to patrilineages. Any member of that patriline had the right to use the pastureland.

The basic social unit was the "tent," which was basically a nuclear family headed by a man. Each tent was considered an independent political unit responsible for its own production and consumption. Tents belonged to camps consisting of the same descent group. Tent- or camp leaders made joint decisions about herd movement, selection of campsites, etc. Sometimes a camp leader would emerge, generally someone with considerable persuasive power, but consensus was the main form of decision-making. Political authority was vested in a tribal chief who had autocratic authority, or total authority and control, over the Basseri. The chief used gifts to influence camp leaders. When disputes could not be settled within a camp, the chief made the final decision.

The division of labor fell along gender lines. Women and girls were responsible for cooking, baking, and other household duties. They were also responsible for making rugs, packbags, and other items used for packing belongings. Men provided wood and water for the household, and were responsible for the protection of the group. They also represented the household in all social and economic dealings.

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11.4: Chiefdoms

Chiefdoms constitute a political organization characterized by social hierarchies and consolidation of political power into fulltime specialists who control production and distribution of resources. Sometimes the prestige of the leader and their family is higher, but not always. The leader, or chief, was a bit like a big man on steroids; they were reliant on their persuasive skills, but had more control over resources. Chiefs were often spiritual leaders, which helped to demonstrate their right to lead. They were responsible for settling disputes among their constituents, but could not always enforce their decisions. Successive leadership usually fell within a family line, something that contributed to the development of a hierarchical society; however, leadership was not guaranteed. Chiefs had to continually demonstrate their ability to lead. Competition for leadership could be fierce. Warfare was frequent, the nature of which changed; economic gain was a primary motive.

All chiefdoms that have been anthropologically identified were based on horticulture or intensive agriculture with one notable exception. In the Pacific Northwest of North America, chiefdoms emerged based on foraging. This was possible because the rich environment was able to produce a surplus. Having a surplus of food in particular allowed leaders to have enough goods to redistribute and accumulate in order to maintain power. Members of the chiefdom were required to handover part of their harvest to the leader (or chief/king) or their appointed representatives. The chief was expected to redistribute some of this “tax” back to the people through gifting and feasting. Prestige within the chiefdom lay in the amount people were able to give to the chief and in the amount the chief gave back to individuals or families. This **differential access**, or unequal access to resources, prestige, and power, is a hallmark of a stratified society. In some groups, it was impossible to move out of one social strata and into another.

Membership in the chiefdom was primarily kin-based, but the group could be significantly larger than a tribe. Chiefdoms incorporated multiple hamlets, villages, and possibly small cities into one political unit. Occupational specialization, where people have different jobs within the society and are reliant on others for some of the goods they consume, becomes prevalent within chiefdoms. Within this cultural environment, people began to have a sense of belonging to entities beyond their kin group, their occupation being one of their identities.

Examples of chiefdoms include the Trobriand and Tongan Islanders in the Pacific, the Maori of New Zealand, the ancient Olmec of Mexico (only known archaeologically), the Natchez of the Mississippi Valley, the Kwakwaka’wakw of British Columbia, and the Zulu and Ashanti in Africa.

Figure **11.4.1** - The Ashanti, Ghana (The National Archives UK)

The Ashanti are one of several Akan groups in southern and central Ghana and the Ivory Coast. In the eighteenth-century, the Ashanti formed a confederacy of several Akan groups. Over the following century, the Ashanti expanded their territory through conquest, providing a larger economic base for the chief or Omanhene. After decades of conflict with the British colonial power, in 1901 the British prevailed and the Ashanti leaders were exiled.

The basic settlement pattern of the Ashanti chiefdom was a series of villages and towns centered on the palace of a chief. Kin groups inhabited the villages. Agriculture based on yam, guinea corn, manioc, and maize formed the backbone of subsistence. Pre-British takeover, slave and servants comprised farm labor. After, hired laborers and sharecropping are the norm. Craft specialization

was an important part of the Ashanti economy. Weaving, woodcarving, ceramics, and metallurgy were the primary occupations. While women and men shared in the farming work, women were only allowed to specialize in pottery making; all of the other craft specialization was the purview of men. The Ashanti engaged in trade with neighboring societies with gold and slaves forming the commercial basis of the traditional trade economy (Gilbert et al n.d.).

Clans held ownership of land. It was inherited along matrilines. If a clan failed to work the land, ownership would resort to the chiefdom itself. While all Ashanti recognize matrilineal descent, power is restricted to men. The mother's line determines to which clan an individual belongs, while paternity determines membership in other groups such as spirit. Membership in the various categories includes obligations to observe certain rituals and taboos. The Ashanti believe that an individual's personality is influenced by membership in the various groups.

The Omanhene always came from "kingly lineages." Officials, including the matriarchs of the clans, elected the Omanhene. This individual was chosen based on his personal qualities such as personality and competency. Once selected the individual was "enstooled," which refers to the act of being seated upon the stool that symbolized kingship. The new king takes on the identity of the previous ruler, forsaking his previous identity. He becomes a sacred person and cannot eat, drink, speak, or be spoken to publically. Communication takes place through the Okyeame, or linguist. The king never steps barefoot on the earth and is covered with an umbrella when he ventures outside. While the power of modern Ashanti kings has eroded, in the past, they had the power of life and death over their constituents.

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11.5: States

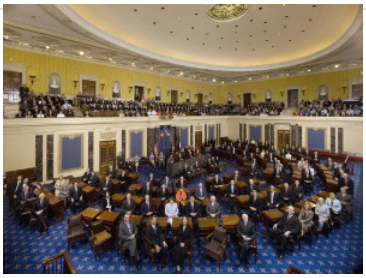

Figure **11.5.1** - A class photo of the 110th United States Senate.

State-level societies are the most complex in terms of social, economic, and political organization, and have a formal government and social classes. States control or influence many areas of its members lives. From regulation of social relations like marriage to outlining the rights and obligations of its citizens, there is little in daily life that is not impacted. States have large populations and share the following characteristics:

States have power over their domain. They define citizenship and its rights and responsibilities. Inequality is the norm, with clear social classes defined. States monopolize the use of force and maintenance of law and order through laws, courts, and police. States maintain standing armies and police forces. They keep track of citizens in terms of number, age, gender, location, and wealth through census systems. They have the power to extract resources from citizens through taxes, which can be through cash such as the U. S. tax system or through labor such as the Incan *mita* system where people paid with their labor. States also have the ability to manipulate information.

States control population in numerous ways. They regulate marriage and adoption. They create administrative divisions, e.g., provinces, districts, counties, townships, that help to create loyalties and help to administer social services and organize law enforcement. They may foster geographic mobility and resettlement that breaks down the power of kin relationships and create divided loyalty, e.g., resettlement of Native Americans on reservations.

States often uses religious beliefs and symbols to maintain power. State leaders may claim to be a deity may conscript popular ideology for political purposes. Regalia may be used to create a sense of pageantry and authority.

Most states are hierarchical and patriarchal. There have been female leaders, e.g., Indira Gandhi (India), Golda Meir (Israel), Margaret Thatcher (Great Britain), and Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan), but no female-dominated states have been documented.

Social control is of key concern to state leadership and is maintained through the formal methods mentioned above and informal methods such as psychological manipulation. **Hegemony** is the internalization of a dominant ideology (Gezen and Kottak 2014: 116), which can happen through such things as the enculturation process and persuasion through media and propaganda. The social order then seems normal and natural. Resistance is quickly squashed through shaming, gossip, stigma, and use of formal enforcement and judiciary means.

The subsistence base of all states is intensive agriculture. The first states centered production on one major crop that could be produced in large quantities and was easily storable: wheat, rice, millet, barley, maize, and tubers (potato, manioc, yams). Wheat, rice, and maize still dominate production today.

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11.6: Social Stratification

Social stratification is a society's categorization of people into socioeconomic strata, based upon their occupation and income, wealth and social status, or derived power (social and political). As such, stratification is the relative social position of persons within a social group, category, geographic region, or social unit. In modern Western societies, social stratification typically is distinguished as three **social classes**: (i) the upper class, (ii) the middle class, and (iii) the lower class; in turn, each class can be subdivided into strata, e.g. the upper-stratum, the middle-stratum, and the lower stratum.[1] Moreover, a social stratum can be formed upon the bases of kinship or caste, or both.

The categorization of people by social strata occurs in all societies, ranging from the complex, state-based societies to tribal and feudal societies, which are based upon socio-economic relations among classes of nobility and classes of peasants. Historically, whether or not hunter-gatherer societies can be defined as socially stratified or if social stratification began with agriculture and common acts of social exchange, remains a debated matter in the social sciences.[2] Determining the structures of social stratification arises from inequalities of status among persons, therefore, the degree of social inequality determines a person's social stratum. Generally, the greater the social complexity of a society, the more social strata exist, by way of social differentiation.[3]

An **open class system** is the stratification that facilitates social mobility, with individual achievement and personal merit determining social rank. The hierarchical social status of a person is achieved through their effort. Any status that is based on family background, ethnicity, gender, and religion, which is also known as ascribed status, becomes less important. There is no distinct line between the classes and there would be more positions within that status. Core industrial nations seem to have more of an ideal open class system.[4][5]

Caste is a form of social stratification characterized by endogamy, hereditary transmission of a lifestyle which often includes an occupation, status in a hierarchy and customary social interaction and exclusion based on cultural notions of superiority.[6][7]

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11.7: Indian Caste System

The **caste system in India** is a system of social stratification[1] which has pre-modern origins, was transformed by the British Raj, [2][3][4][5] and is today the basis of reservation in India. It consists of two different concepts, *varna* and *jāti*, which may be regarded as different levels of analysis of this system.[6]

Varna may be translated as "class," and refers to the four social classes which existed in the Vedic society, namely **Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Vaishyas** and **Shudras**.[6] Certain groups, now known as **Dalits**, were historically excluded from the varna system altogether, and are still ostracized as untouchables.[7][8]

Jāti may be translated as *caste*, and refers to *birth*. The names of *jātis* are usually derived from occupations, and considered to be hereditary and endogamous, but this may not always have been the case. The *jātis*developed in post-Vedic times, possibly from crystallisation of guilds during its feudal era.[9] The *jātis* are often thought of as belonging to one of the four *varnas*.[10]

The varnas and jatis have pre-modern origins, and social stratification may already have existed in pre-Vedic times. Between ca. 2,200 BCE and 100 CE admixture between northern and southern populations in India took place, after which a shift to endogamy took place. This shift may be explained by the "imposition of some social values and norms" which were "enforced through the powerful state machinery of a developing political economy".[11]

The caste system as it exists today is thought to be the result of developments during the collapse of the Mughal era and the British colonial regime in India.[2][12] The collapse of the Mughal era saw the rise of powerful men who associated themselves with kings, priests and ascetics, affirming the regal and martial form of the caste ideal, and it also reshaped many apparently casteless social groups into differentiated caste communities.[13] The British Raj furthered this development, making rigid caste organisation a central mechanism of administration.[2][12][4][14][5][15]Between 1860 and 1920, the British segregated Indians by caste, granting administrative jobs and senior appointments only to the upper castes. Social unrest during the 1920s led to a change in this policy. [16] From then on, the colonial administration began a policy of positive discrimination by reserving a certain percentage of government jobs for the lower castes.

Caste-based differences have also been practised in other regions and religions in the Indian subcontinent like Nepalese Buddhism, [17]Christianity, Islam, Judaism and Sikhism.[18][19][20] It has been challenged by many reformist Hindu movements,[21] Islam, Sikhism, Christianity [18]and also by present-day Indian Buddhism.[22]

New developments took place after India achieved independence, when the policy of caste-based reservation of jobs was formalised with lists of Scheduled Castes (*Dalit*) and Scheduled Tribes (*Adivasi*). Since 1950, the country has enacted many laws and social initiatives to protect and improve the socioeconomic conditions of its lower caste population. These caste classifications for college admission quotas, job reservations and other affirmative action initiatives, according to the Supreme Court of India, are based on heredity and are not changeable.[23][a] Discrimination against lower castes is illegal in India under Article 15 of its constitution, and India tracks violence against *Dalits* nationwide.[24]

Varna (वर्ण) is a Sanskrit word which means color or class.[25][26] Ancient Hindu literature classified all humankind, and all created beings, in principle into four varnas:[25][27]

- the Brahmins: priests, teachers and preachers.
- the Kshatriyas: kings, governors, warriors and soldiers.
- the Vaishyas: cattle herders, agriculturists, artisans[28] and merchants.[29]
- the Shudras: laborers and service providers.

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3. ***a b*** Bayly, Caste, Society and Politics (2001), pp. 25-27, 392
4. ***a b*** St. John, Making of the Raj (2012), p. 103
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11. [a] [b] Basu 2016, p. 1598.
12. [a] [b] Bayly, Caste, Society and Politics (2001), p. 392
13. [a] [b] Bayly, Caste, Society and Politics (2001), pp. 26-27what happened in the initial phase of this two-stage sequence was the rise of the royal man of prowess. In this period, both kings and the priests and ascetics with whom men of power were able to associate their rule became a growing focus for the affirmation of a martial and regal form of caste ideal. (…) The other key feature of this period was the reshaping of many apparently casteless forms of devotional faith in a direction which further affirmed these differentiations of rank and community.
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11.8: Social Control

Figure **11.8.1** - Signs warning of prohibited activities; an example of a social control.

Social control is a concept within the disciplines of the social sciences and within political science.[1]

Sociologists identify two basic forms of social control:

1. ***Informal means of control*** – Internalization of norms and values by a process known as socialization, which is defined as "the process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior which is confined to the narrower range of what is acceptable for him by the group standards."[2]
2. ***Formal means of social control*** – External sanctions enforced by government to prevent the establishment of chaos or anomie in society. Some theorists, such as Émile Durkheim, refer to this form of control as regulation.

As briefly defined above, the means to enforce social control can be either informal or formal.[3] Sociologist Edward A. Ross argues that belief systems exert a greater control on human behavior than laws imposed by government, no matter what form the beliefs take.[4]

Social control is considered to be one of the foundations of order within society.[5]

Definition of the Concept

Roodenburg identifies the concept of social control as a classical concept.[6]

While the concept of social control has been around since the formation of organized sociology, the meaning has been altered over time. Originally, the concept simply referred to society's ability to regulate itself.[7] However, in the 1930s, the term took on its more modern meaning of an individual's conversion to conformity.[7] Social control theory began to be studied as a separate field in the early 20th century.

The concept of social control is related to another concept, which is the notion of social order. Social control is a thing which is identified as existing in the following areas of society:[1]

- The education system
- Policing and the law
- Psychiatry
- Social work
- The welfare state
- The working environment

Informal

Social Values

The **social values** present in individuals are products of informal social control, exercised implicitly by a society through particular customs, norms, and mores. Individuals internalize the values of their society, whether conscious or not of the indoctrination. Traditional society relies mostly on informal social control embedded in its customary culture to socialize its members.

Sanctions

Informal **sanctions** may include shame, ridicule, sarcasm, criticism, and disapproval, which can cause an individual to stray towards the social norms of the society. In extreme cases sanctions may include social discrimination and exclusion. Informal social control usually has more effect on individuals because the social values become internalized, thus becoming an aspect of the individual's personality.

Informal sanctions check 'deviant' behavior. An example of a negative sanction comes from a scene in the Pink Floyd film 'The Wall,' whereby the young protagonist is ridiculed and verbally abused by a high school teacher for writing poetry in a mathematics class. Another example from the movie 'About a Boy', when a young boy hesitates to jump from a high springboard and is ridiculed for his fear. Though he eventually jumps, his behaviour is controlled by shame.[8]

Reward and Punishment

Informal controls reward or punish acceptable or unacceptable behaviour (i.e., **deviance**) and are varied from individual to individual, group to group, and society to society. For example, at a Women's Institute meeting, a disapproving look might convey the message that it is inappropriate to flirt with the minister. In a criminal gang, on the other hand, a stronger sanction applies in the case of someone threatening to inform to the police of illegal activity.[9]

Theoretical Bias within the Modern Media

Theorists such as Noam Chomsky have argued that systemic bias exists in the modern media.[10]The marketing, advertising, and public relations industries have thus been said to utilize mass communications to aid the interests of certain political and business elites. Powerful ideological, economic and religious lobbyists have often used school systems and centralised electronic communications to influence public opinion.

Formal

Historically

Social control developed together with civilization, as a rational measure against the uncontrollable forces of nature, which tribal organisations were at prey to, within archaic tribal societies.[11]

Rulers have legitimately used torture as a means of mind control as well as murder, imprisonment and exile to remove from public space anyone the state authorities deemed to be undesirable.

During the Age of Enlightenment harsh penalties for crimes and civil disobedience were criticised by philosophers such as Cesare Beccaria and Jeremy Bentham whose work inspired reform movements which eventually led to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 which informs most western jurisdictions and the similar Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam in 1990.

The word *crime* became part of the vocabulary of the English language via Old French, during the Middle Ages, and within the Middle English of the language.[12]

In history, religion was a factor which provided moral influence on the community and each person, providing an internal locus of control oriented toward a morality, so that each person was empowered to have a degree of control over themselves within society. As Auguste Comte instituted sociology (1830-1842), already certain thinkers had predicted the discontinuation of a perceived *false consciousness* intrinsic to religious belief. Nevertheless, within the twentieth century, religion was presumed by social scientists to be still a principal factor of social control.[13]

Comte and those preceding him were breathing the air of a revolution which occurred during the latter parts of the eighteenth century (French Revolution) to bring about a so-called enlightened way of being in society, and which brought about a new liberty for the individual, without the constraints of an over-seeing aristocracy.[14]

In the context social control through penal and correctional services, the *rehabilatative ideal* (Francis Allen 1964) is an key idea formed within the 20th century, the first principle of which is behavior has as a first cause, things which happened before ("Human behaviour is a product of antecedent causes").[15] The idea was later thought to have less relevancy to the philosophy and exaction or execution of correctional measures, at least according to a 2007 publication (and elsewhere).[16]

Techniques

Law is a technique used for the purposes of social control.[17]

A mechanism of social control occurs through the use of selective incentives.[18] Selective incentives are private goods,[19] which are gifts or services,[20] made available to people depending on whether they do or don't contribute to the good of a group, collective, or the common good. If people do contribute, they are rewarded, if they don't they are punished. Mancur Olson gave rise to the concept in its first instance (c.f. *The Logic of Collective Action*).[19]

Oberschall, in his work, identifies three elements to the pragmatics of social control as they exist in our current society. These are, confrontational control, such as riot control and crowd control, preventative measures to deter non-normal behaviours, which is legislation outlining expected boundaries for behaviour, and measures complementary to preventative measures, which amount to punishment of criminal offences.[21]

Park exclusion orders (prohibiting individuals from frequenting one, some, or all of the parks in a city for an extended period of time due to a previous infraction), trespass laws (privatizing areas generally thought of as public in order for the police to choose which individuals to interrogate), and off-limit orders (Stay Out of Drug Areas (SODA) and Stay Out of Areas of Prostitution (SOAP) which obstructs access to these spaces) are just a few of the new social control techniques employed by cities to displace certain individuals to the margins of society.[22] Several common themes are apparent in each of these control mechanisms. The first is the ability to spatially constrain individuals in their own city. Defying any of the above statutes is a criminal offense resulting in possible incarceration.[22] Although not all individuals subjected to an exclusion order will abide to it, these individuals are, at the very least, spatially hindered through decreased mobility and freedom throughout the city.[23] This spatial constrain on individuals leads to a serious disruption and interference of their lives. Homeless individuals generally frequent parks since the area provides benches for sleeping, public washrooms, occasional public services, and an overall sense of security by being near others in similar conditions. Privatizing areas such as libraries, public transportation systems, college campuses, and commercial establishments that are generally public gives the police permission to remove individuals as they see fit, even if the individual has ethical intent in the space. Off-limit orders attempting to keep drug addicts, prostitutes, and others out of concentrated areas of drug and sex crimes commonly restricts these individuals' ability to seek social services beneficial to rehabilitation, since these services are often located within the SODA and SOAP territories.[23]

Broken Windows Theory in USA

In the USA, early societies were able to easily expel individual deemed undesirable from public space through vagrancy laws and other forms of banishment. In the 1960s and 1970s, however, these exclusion orders were denounced as unconstitutional in America[24] and consequently were rejected by the US Supreme Court.[22] The introduction of broken windows theory in the 1980s generated a dramatic transformation in the concepts used in forming policies in order to circumvent the previous issue of unconstitutionality.[25] According to the theory, the environment of a particular space signals its health to the public, including to potential vandals. By maintaining an organized environment, individuals are dissuaded from causing disarray in that particular location. However, environments filled with disorder, such as broken windows or graffiti, indicate an inability for the neighborhood to supervise itself, therefore leading to an increase in criminal activity.[26] Instead of focusing on the built environment, policies substantiated by the Broken Windows Theory overwhelmingly emphasize undesirable human behavior as the environmental disorder prompting further crime.[22] The civility laws, originating in the late 1980s and early 1990s, provide an example of the usage of this latter aspect of the Broken Windows Theory as legitimization for discriminating against individuals considered disorderly in order to increase the sense of security in urban spaces.[24] These civility laws effectively criminalize activities considered undesirable, such as sitting or lying on sidewalks, sleeping in parks, urinating or drinking in public, and begging,[23] in an attempt to force the individuals doing these and other activities to relocate to the margins of society.[22] Not surprisingly then, these restrictions disproportionally affect the homeless.[22]

Individuals are deemed undesirable in urban space because they do not fit into social norms, which causes unease for many residents of certain neighborhoods.[27] This fear has been deepened by the Broken Windows Theory and exploited in policies seeking to remove undesirables from visible areas of society.[26] In the post-industrial city, concerned primarily with retail, tourism, and the service sector,[22] the increasing pressure to create the image of a livable and orderly city has no doubt aided in the most recent forms of social control.[24] These new techniques involve even more intense attempts to spatially expel certain individuals

from urban space since the police are entrusted with considerably more power to investigate individuals, based on suspicion rather than on definite evidence of illicit actions.[23]

Recent Developments

In the decades prior to the end of the 1980s, an increased prevalence of the individual as a feature within society has caused a high number of new therapists to be established suggesting the use of therapy as a means of social control. (Conrad & Scheider, 1980: Mechanic 1989) [28]

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11.9: Genocide

Figure **11.9.1** - Skulls of victims of the Rwandan Genocide

Genocide is the deliberate and systematic destruction, in whole or in part, of an ethnic, racial, religious or national group. The term was coined in 1944 by Raphael Lemkin. It is defined in Article 2 of the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (CPPCG) of 1948 as "any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: killing members of the group; causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group; deliberately inflicting on the groups conditions of life, calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; [and] forcibly transferring children of the group to another group."[1]

The preamble to the CPPCG states that "genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world" and that "at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity."[1]

Determining what historical events constitute a *genocide* and which are merely criminal or inhuman behavior is not a clear-cut matter. In nearly every case where accusations of genocide have circulated, partisans of various sides have fiercely disputed the details and interpretation of the event, often to the point of depicting wildly different versions of the facts.

International Law

Figure **11.9.2** - Members of the Sonderkommando burn corpses of Jews in the fire pits at Auschwitz II-Birkenau, an extermination camp

After the Holocaust, which had been perpetrated by the Nazi Germany and its allies prior to and during World War II, Lemkin successfully campaigned for the universal acceptance of international laws defining and forbidding genocides. In 1946, the first session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution that "affirmed" that genocide was a crime under international law, but did not provide a legal definition of the crime. In 1948, the UN General Assembly adopted the *Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide* (CPPCG) which defined the crime of genocide for the first time.[2]

The *CPPCG* was adopted by the UN General Assembly on 9 December 1948 and came into effect on 12 January 1951 (Resolution 260 (III)). It contains an internationally recognized definition of genocide which has been incorporated into the national criminal legislation of many countries, and was also adopted by the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court, which established the International Criminal Court (ICC). Article II of the Convention defines genocide as:

> *…any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such:*
>
> *(a) Killing members of the group;*
>
> *(b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;*

> *(c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;*
>
> *(d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;*
>
> *(e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.*

Notes

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

12: Supernatural Belief Systems

Religion changes across the globe. Different parts of the world have different beliefs and rules that maintain their religion. Not all religions follow the same practices but there are some similarities between most, if not all, religions. Religions have their own rituals attached to their beliefs. Some rituals across religions (like fasting) are specific to one religion while others are practiced throughout. Religions incorporate myths into how they practice, and why they practice by conveying messages about the supernatural through stories or metaphors. They are used to help express ideas and concepts as well as help the followers achieve spirituality. Religion can help people find peace of mind, give them hope, turn their life around, and change their point of view. Religion can be used to justify things and to motivate others. Rituals and ceremonies are practiced to show dedication and faith to a religion.

12.1: Introduction to Religion
12.2: Definitions of Religions
12.3: The Function of Religion
12.4: Aspects of Religion
12.5: Patterns of Belief
12.6: Religious Practitioners
12.7: Religious Change
12.8: Four Categories of Religion
12.9: Rite of Passage
12.10: Vision Quest
12.11: Religious Demographics
12.12: Health and Illness

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12.1: Introduction to Religion

Religion

This section is not meant to provide an in-depth exploration of religion, but simply to introduce students to the anthropological approach to the study of religion.

You should start with Wade Davis' TED Talk on The Worldwide Web of Belief and Ritual.

Figure **12.1.1** - Sufi Whirling Dervishes

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12.2: Definitions of Religions

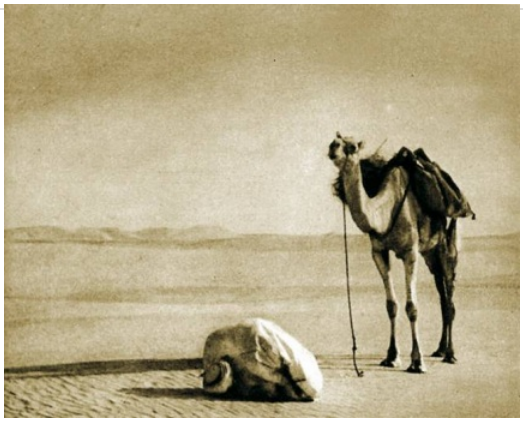

Figure **12.2.1** - Nomad praying

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

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

The **functional definition** highlights the role religion plays within a culture. This approach defines religion in terms of how it fulfills cognitive, emotional and social needs for its adherents.

The third definition looks at the essential nature of religion, hence its name, the **essentialist definition**. This approach defines religion as a system of beliefs and behaviors that characterizes the relationship between people and the supernatural. It is an adaptive behavior that promotes a sense of togetherness, unity and belonging. It helps to define one of the groups to which we belong. Warms (2008) takes an essentialist approach when he defines religion as a system that is composed of stories, includes rituals, has specialists, believes in the supernatural, and uses symbols and symbolism as well as altered states of consciousness. Additionally, Warms states that a key factor in religion is that it changes over time.

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12.3: The Function of Religion

Why are People Religious?

There appears to be two primary explanations for the emergence of religious systems: for **psychological reasons** and **social reasons**. Psychologically, religion helps people answer the big existential questions, why do we die and suffer, and help people cope with uncertainty. Religion provides a clear cut way to deal with the unknown. The Trobriand Islanders are excellent mariners, yet perform elaborate rituals before setting sail. On 9/11 and in the days following, tens of thousands US citizens went to church, temple, or mosque to pray and find comfort and answers to the devastation of the terrorist attack.

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

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12.4: Aspects of Religion

Religious systems have stories, or sacred narratives. Some stories may be more sacred than others, e.g., in Christianity the story of Christ's resurrection is more sacred then the story of Him turning water into wine at a wedding celebration. Stories may be about many things, but there are some common themes: origins of earth and humans, what happens when we die, deeds of important people, and disasters. Anthropologists can study these stories, or **myths**, to learn more about the people. Myth in anthropology should not be interpreted as a falsehood. In anthropology, a myth is a truism for the people following that belief system.

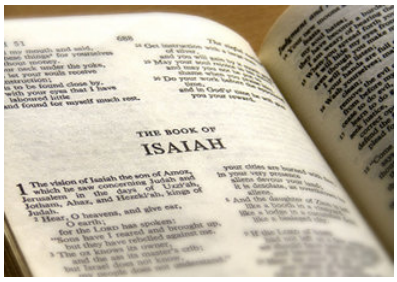

Figure **12.4.1** - Photo of the Book of Isaiah page of the Bible

An important part of religion is the belief in the **supernatural**, which includes a variety of beings from angels and demons to ghosts and gods and souls. The supernatural is a realm separate from the physical world inhabited by humans, although the supernatural can influence the human realm either through direct action or by influencing humans. For some peoples the supernatural realm is disconnected from everyday life; for others it is an intricate part of it. The supernatural can also refer to an unseen power that infuses humans, nature and for some belief systems, inanimate objects. Some groups refer to this power as **mana**, a term that is sometimes used to represent this supernatural power. This belief in a supernatural power is called **animatism**, while the belief in supernatural beings is **animism**.

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

Figure **12.4.2** - Diwali, Festival of Lights

Ritual promotes what Victor Turner called **communitas**, a sense of unity that transcends social distinctions like socioeconomic class. During the period of the ritual, rank and status are forgotten as members think of themselves as a community. This helps cement unity among community members.

Ritual can also be a **portrayal influence** or a reenactment of myth, e.g., communion or baptism. Portrayal influence invokes magic to manipulate the supernatural. This has nothing to do with David Copperfield type of magic—it is about harnessing supernatural forces. If the magic does not seem to work, there is not a problem with the magic, but with the ritual—the practitioner did something wrong in their performance.

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

Figure 12.4.3 - Roman Catholic Infant Baptism in the United States.

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

Figure 12.4.4 - Voodoo Doll

Another form of magic is divination. **Divination** is the use of ritual to obtain answers to questions from supernatural sources, e.g., oracle bones, tea leaves, way a person falls, date of birth, etc. There are two main categories of divination: those results that can be influenced by diviner and those that cannot. Tarot cards, tea leaves, randomly selecting a Bible verse and interpreting an astrological sign are examples of the former. Casting lots, flipping a coin or checking to see whether something floats on water are examples of the latter.

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

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12.5: Patterns of Belief

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

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

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12.6: Religious Practitioners

There are several types of religious practitioners or people who specialize in religious behaviors. These are individuals who specialize in the use of spiritual power to influence others. A **shaman** is an individual who has access to supernatural power that can then be used for the benefit of specific clients. Found in indigenous cultures, shamans may be part-time specialists, but is usually the only person in the group that can access the supernatural. They have specialized knowledge that is deemed too dangerous for everyone to know because they do not have the training to handle the knowledge. Oftentimes, shamans train their replacement in the ways of contacting and utilizing the supernatural. Shamans are often innovative in their practices, using trance states to contact the supernatural.

Figure **12.6.1** - Buddhist monks

The term shaman originated with the Tungus peoples of eastern Siberia. Anthropologists debate the ethics of using the term to apply to all indigenous religious practitioners. Some think that we should use each cultures' name for their religious practitioners; others take the position that use of the term is not meant to be disrespectful but is simply a way for all anthropologists to categorize a cultural trait much like we use the names of several cultures for the anthropological kinship terminology systems. There is also public debate about the increasing number of so-called white shamans, especially in the United States where there is still heated debate about the plight of Native Americans. For more information on this debate, check out the video White Shamans and Plastic Medicine Men on YouTube.

Priests are another type of religious practitioner who are trained to perform rituals for benefit of a group. Priests differ from shamans in a couple of important ways. For priests, rituals are key—innovation and creativity are generally not prized or encouraged. Priests are found in most organized religions, e.g., Buddhism, Christianity and Judaism, although they have a different name such as monks, ministers, or rabbis.

Sorcerers and **witches**, unlike shamans and priests who have high status in their cultures, usually have low status because their abilities are seen in a negative manner. Both sorcerers and witches have the ability to connect with the supernatural for ill purposes. Sorcerers often take on a role similar to law enforcement in the United States; they are used by people to punish someone who has violated socially proscribed rules. Witches are believed to have an innate connection to the supernatural, one that they often cannot control. Because witches may inadvertently hurt people because they cannot control their power, if discovered, they are often ostracized or forced to leave their group. It is important to differentiate witches in some cultures from **Wiccans**. While Christianity makes no distinction between Wiccans and witches as described above, Wicca has clear mandates against using magic to harm others. The Wiccan rede states, "An' it harm none, do what ye will."

Mediums are part-time practitioners who use trance and possession to heal and divine. Oftentimes after a trance or possession, the medium remembers nothing about the experience or their actions.

Anthropologists have identified a pattern linking the type and number of practitioners with social complexity: the more complex the society, the more variety of religious practitioners. Foraging cultures tend to have only one practitioner, a shaman. If a culture has two practitioners, a shaman and a priest, chances are that they are agriculturalists, albeit without complex political and social organization. Agriculturalists and pastoralists with more complex political organization that goes beyond the immediate community, generally have at least three types of practitioners, shamans, priests and a sorcerer, witch or medium. Cultures with complex political organization, agriculture, and complex social organization usually have all four practitioners (Bonvillain 2010).

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12.7: Religious Change

Religious beliefs and rituals can be the catalyst or vehicle of social change. Most religions are **syncretic**; they borrow practices, beliefs and organizational characteristics from other religions. Sometimes this is done voluntarily and at other times it is done by force. For instance, Catholicism through the practice of forced conversion during the period of European colonialism influenced other religions. **Vodoun** borrowed heavily from Catholicism. The one god is manifested in Bondye while St. Patrick is symbolized by Vodoun's rainbow serpent deity, Ochumare. Oftentimes special days are adopted by religions. Catholicism adopted Yule, the winter solstice celebration of Pagans, to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ. The Zuni merged their native religion with Catholicism, incorporating images of Christ into their cloths and jewelry.

Revitalization movements are frequently associated with religion. They often occur in disorganized societies due to warfare, revolutions, etc. They usually call for the destruction of existing social institutions in order to resolve conflict and stabilize the culture through reorganization. Most recorded revitalization movements were an adaptive response to rapidly changing social and economic circumstances brought on by contact with an outside culture.

The **cargo cults of Melanesia** are one example of movements that make a conscious effort to build an ideology that will be relevant to changing cultural needs. Cargo cults arose in Melanesia and other areas of the world after European contact in response to "…the expropriation of native land, and the relegation of indigenous peoples to roles as menial laborers and second-class citizens" (Bonvillain 2010: 374). Rituals were performed in the belief that they would result in increased wealth and prosperity in line with the European idea of material wealth.

Figure 12.7.1 - The Ghost Dance

Another example of a revitalization movement is the **Ghost Dance** that swept through western Native American cultures from 1870-1890. The Ghost Dance was begun by a Pauite, Wovoka. Wovoka claimed to have a vision from God during eclipse. In this vision, he was brought before God and given message for people of earth about peace and right living. He was shown the circle dance, that represented the movement of harmony around sun. Wovoka prophesied that dead Indian forebears would return soon to take possession of technology of the whites, who would simultaneously be exterminated in a huge explosion, resulting in a renewal of earth. Many Native American nations rallied to the Ghost Dance; e.g., Lakota, Ute, Washoe, Shoshone, Cheyenne, Arapaho, Kiowa, Mandan, and Comanche. However, during the process of learning about the Ghost Dance from Wovoka, some of the new adherents changed its meaning and intent. The Lakota were one group who changed some of the meaning of the Ghost Dance.

The Lakota had suffered greatly at hands of US Army. Their lands were taken away by miners, the railroads were given rights to build through the reservations, and traditional hunting grounds were being settled by farmers. One Lakota warrior, Kicking Bear, visited Wovoka, and returned to his people with the message of the Ghost Dance, but he injected militancy into it. He claimed that if the people wore a special costume for the dance, one that included eagle feathers, the dancer would be impervious to the white man's bullets. The Ghost Dance made the United States government nervous and in November 1890 sent thousands of troops onto the Pine Ridge and Rosebud reservations. Sitting Bull, one of the Lakota peace chiefs was arrested and subsequently murdered.

Meanwhile another peace chief, Big Foot was encamped with his people along Wounded Knee Creek. On December 28, 1890, soldiers showed up at camp to confiscate weapons in response to the Ghost Dance. One Lakotan man who was deaf and did not understand what the army was doing struggled to keep his gun, which went off in the melee. This caused the soldiers to open fire on the camp of mainly elders, women and children. The resulting massacre left 153 Lakotans dead, mostly women and children. Twenty-five soldiers were killed as well, most by friendly fire, all of whom were posthumously awarded medals of honor.

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12.8: Four Categories of Religion

Anthropologist Anthony F.C. Wallace proposed **four categories of religion**, each subsequent category subsuming the previous. These are, however, synthetic categories and do not necessarily encompass all religions.[1]

1. **Individualistic**: most basic; simplest. Example: vision quest.
2. **Shamanistic**: part-time religious practitioner, uses religion to heal, to divine, usually on the behalf of a client. The Tillamook have four categories of shaman. Examples of shamans: spiritualists, faith healers, palm readers. Religious authority acquired through one's own means.
3. **Communal**: elaborate set of beliefs and practices; group of people arranged in clans by lineage, age group, or some religious societies; people take on roles based on knowledge, and ancestral worship.
4. **Ecclesiastical**: dominant in agricultural societies and states; are centrally organized and hierarchical in structure, paralleling the organization of states. Typically deprecates competing individualistic and shamanistic cults.

Figure **12.8.1** - ARABIAN SEA (Feb. 3, 2012) Cmdr. Keith Shuley, chaplain aboard the Nimitz-class aircraft carrier USS Carl Vinson (CVN 70), leads Roman Catholic Mass in the ship's chapel

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1. Anthony Wallace www.mnsu.edu/emuseum/informat...e_anthony.html www.amphilsoc.org/collections...d.xml#bioghist

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12.9: Rite of Passage

Figure **12.9.1** - Initiation ritual of boys in Malawi. The ritual marks the passage from child to adult male, each subgroup having its customs and expectations.

Rite of passage is a celebration of the passage which occurs when an individual leaves one group to enter another. It involves a significant change of status in society. In cultural anthropology the term is the Anglicisation of *rite de passage*, a French term innovated by the ethnographer Arnold van Gennep in his work *Les rites de passage*, "The Rites of Passage."[1] The term is now fully adopted into anthropology as well as into the literature and popular cultures of many modern languages.

In English, Van Gennep's first sentence of his first chapter begins:[2]

> *Each larger society contains within it several distinctly separate groupings. … In addition, all these groups break down into still smaller societies in subgroups.*

The population of a society belongs to multiple groups, some more important to the individual than others. Van Gennep uses the metaphor, "as a kind of house divided into rooms and corridors."[3] A passage occurs when an individual leaves one group to enter another; in the metaphor, he changes rooms.

Van Gennep further distinguishes between "the secular" and "the sacred sphere." Theorizing that civilizations are arranged on a scale, implying that the lower levels represent "the simplest level of development," he hypothesizes that "social groups in such a society likewise have magico-religious foundations." Many groups in modern industrial society practice customs that can be traced to an earlier sacred phase. Passage between these groups requires a ceremony, or ritual hence rite of passage.

The rest of Van Gennep's book presents a description of rites of passage and an organization into types, although in the end he despairs of ever capturing them all:[4] "It is but a rough sketch of an immense picture …." He is able to find some universals, mainly two: "the sexual separation between men and women, and the magico-religious separation between the profane and the sacred." (Earlier the translators used secular for profane.) He refuses credit for being the first to recognize type of rites. In the work he concentrates on groups and rites individuals might normally encounter progressively: pregnancy, childbirth, initiation, betrothal, marriage, funerals and the like. He mentions some others, such as the territorial passage, a crossing of borders into a culturally different region, such as one where a different religion prevails.

Stages

Rites of passage have three phases: **separation, liminal,** and**incorporation**, as van Gennep described. "I propose to call the rites of separation from a previous world, *preliminal rites*, those executed during the transitional stage *liminal (or threshold) rites*, and the ceremonies of incorporation into the new world *postliminal rites*."[5]

In the first phase, people withdraw from their current status and prepare to move from one place or status to another. "The first phase (of separation) comprises symbolic behavior signifying the detachment of the individual or group … from an earlier fixed point in the social structure."[6] There is often a detachment or "cutting away" from the former self in this phase, which is signified in symbolic actions and rituals. For example, the cutting of the hair for a person who has just joined the army. He or she is "cutting away" the former self: the civilian.

The transition (liminal) phase is the period between states, during which one has left one place or state but has not yet entered or joined the next. "The attributes of liminality or of liminal *personae* ("threshold people") are necessarily ambiguous."[7]

In the third phase (reaggregation or incorporation) the passage is consummated [by] the ritual subject."[8] Having completed the rite and assumed their "new" identity, one re-enters society with one's new status. Re-incorporation is characterized by elaborate rituals and ceremonies, like debutant balls and college graduation, and by outward symbols of new ties: thus "in rites of incorporation

there is widespread use of the 'sacred bond', the 'sacred cord', the knot, and of analogous forms such as the belt, the ring, the bracelet and the crown."[9]

Psychological Effects

Laboratory experiments have shown that severe initiations produce cognitive dissonance.[10] It is theorized that such dissonance heightens group attraction among initiates after the experience, arising from internal justification of the effort used.[11] Rewards during initiations have important consequences in that initiates who feel more rewarded express stronger group identity.[12] As well as group attraction, initiations can also produce conformity among new members.[13]Psychology experiments have also shown that initiations increase feelings of affiliation.[14]

Cultural

Initiation rites are seen as fundamental to human growth and development as well as socialization in many African communities. These rites function by ritually marking the transition of someone to full group membership.[15] It also links individuals to the community and the community to the broader and more potent spiritual world. Initiation rites are "a natural and necessary part of a community, just as arms and legs are natural and necessary extension of the human body". These rites are linked to individual and community development. Dr. Manu Ampim identifies five stages; rite to birth, rite to adulthood, rite to marriage, rite to eldership and rite to ancestorship.[16] In Zulu culture entering womanhood is celebrated by the Umhlanga (ceremony).

Types and Examples

Rites of passage are diverse, and are found throughout many cultures around the world. Many western societal rituals may look like rites of passage but miss some of the important structural and functional components. However, in many Native and African-American communities, traditional Rites of Passage programs are conducted by community-based organizations such as *Man Up Global*. Typically the missing piece is the societal recognition and reincorporation phase. Adventure Education programs, such as Outward Bound, have often been described as potential rites of passage. Pamela Cushing researched the rites of passage impact upon adolescent youth at the Canadian Outward Bound School and found the rite of passage impact was lessened by the missing reincorporation phase.[17] Bell (2003) presented more evidence of this lacking third stage and described the "Contemporary Adventure Model of a Rites of Passage" as a modern and weaker version of the rites of passage typically used by outdoor adventure programs. For non-religious people, Rites of Passage are important as well. They mark important changes in their lives and they help to guide them.

Coming of Age

In various tribal societies, entry into an age grade—generally gender-separated—(unlike an age set) is marked by an initiation rite, which may be the crowning of a long and complex preparation, sometimes in retreat.

- Bar and Bat Mitzvah
- Breeching
- Coming of Age in Unitarian Universalism
- Completion of toilet training
- Confirmation
- Débutante ball
- Dokimasia
- Ear piercing in Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States
- First crush
  - First date
  - First kiss
  - Losing one's virginity
- First day of school
- First house key: In the United States, Canada, Australia, and the United Kingdom, this is a sign that a child's parents think he/she is responsible enough to be left alone at home while they are away.
- First menstruation

- First pet
- First steps
- First word
  - Seclusion of girls at puberty
  - *Sevapuneru* or *Turmeric* ceremony in South India
- Graduation
  - Kindergarten graduation: Last day of non-mandatory education. Children have finished kindergarten and are ready to attend elementary school.
- Jugendweihe in East Germany
- Learning to read and write
- Learning to drive
  - Earning a driver's license
- Prom
- Riding a bicycle
  - Riding a bike without training wheels
- Moving out
- Okuyi in several West African nations
- *Quinceañera*
- Rebellion: First attempt to go against/question authority figures, usually parents.
- Retiring
- *Russ* in Norway
- Scarification and various other physical endurances
- Secular coming of age ceremonies for non-religious youngsters who want a rite of passage comparable to the religious rituals like confirmation
- Sweet Sixteen
- Wedding
- Walkabout

Religious

Figure **12.9.2** - Jesus underwent Jewish circumcision, here depicted in a Catholic cathedral; a liturgical feast commemorates this on New Year's Day

- *Amrit Sanchar* in Sikhism
- *Annaprashana*
- Baptism (Christening)
- Bar and Bat Mitzvah in Judaism
- Circumcision
  - Bris in Judaism
  - In Islam[18][19][20][21]
  - In Coptic Christianity and theEthiopian Orthodox Church[22][23]

- Confirmation
- Confirmation in Reform Judaism
- Diving for the Cross, in someOrthodox Christian churches
- First Eucharist and First Confession(especially First Communion inCatholicism)
- Hajj
- Muran or Hair cutting in Hinduism
- Rumspringa
- *Saṃskāra* a series of sacraments inHinduism
- *Shinbyu* in Theravada Buddhism
- Vision quest in some Native American cultures
- Wiccaning in Wicca
- Pilgrimage

Military

- Blood wings
- Line-crossing ceremony
- *Krypteia*, a rite involving young Spartans, part of the *agoge* regime of Spartan education.
- Wetting-down. In the U.S. Navy and Royal Navy, is a ceremony in which a Naval officer is ceremonially thrown into the ocean upon receiving a promotion.

Academic

- Graduation
- Matura

Some academic circles such as dorms, fraternities, teams and other clubs practice hazing, ragging and fagging. *Szecskáztatás*, a mild form of hazing (usually without physical and sexual abuse) practiced in some Hungarian secondary schools. First-year junior students are publicly humiliated through embarrassing clothing and senior students branding their faces with marker pens; it is sometimes also a contest, with the winners usually earning the right to organize the next event.

Vocational/Professional

- White coat ceremony in medicine and pharmacy.
- The Ritual of the Calling of an Engineer, also known as the Iron Ring Ceremony
- Walk on Water: Second-year students must pass the competition to continue in the school of architecture at Florida International University in the United States

Sports

- *Batizados* in Capoeira
- Black Belt Grading in Martial Arts

Other

- Castration in some sects and special castes

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12.10: Vision Quest

A **vision quest** is a rite of passage in some Native American cultures. It is usually only undertaken by young males entering adulthood.[1] Individual indigenous cultures have their own names for their rites of passage. “Vision quest” is an English umbrella term, and may not always be accurate or used by the cultures in question.

Among Native American cultures who have this type of rite, it usually consists of a series of ceremonies led by Elders and supported by the young man’s community.[1] The process includes a complete fast for four days and nights, alone at a sacred site in nature which is chosen by the Elders for this purpose.[1] Some communities have used the same sites for many generations. During this time, the young person prays and cries out to the spirits that they may have a vision, one that will help them find their purpose in life, their role in community, and how they may best serve the People.[1]

Dreams or visions may involve natural symbolism – such as animals or forces of nature – that require interpretation by Elders.[1] After their passage into adulthood, and guided by this experience, the young person may then become an apprentice or student of an adult who has mastered this role.[1]

When talking to Yellow Wolf, Lucullus Virgil McWhorter came to believe that the person fasts, and stays awake and concentrates on their quest until their mind becomes “comatose.”[1] It was then that their Weyekin (Nez Perce word) revealed itself.[1]

New Age Misappropriation

Many Non-Native, New Age and “wilderness training” schools offer what they call “vision quests” to the non-Native public.[2] This cultural misappropriation sometimes includes New Age versions of a sweat lodge, which has at times led to untrained people causing harm and even death, such as in the James Arthur Ray manslaughter incident, which involved a 36-hour, non-Native idea of a vision quest, for which the participants paid almost $10,000.[3][4]

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12.11: Religious Demographics

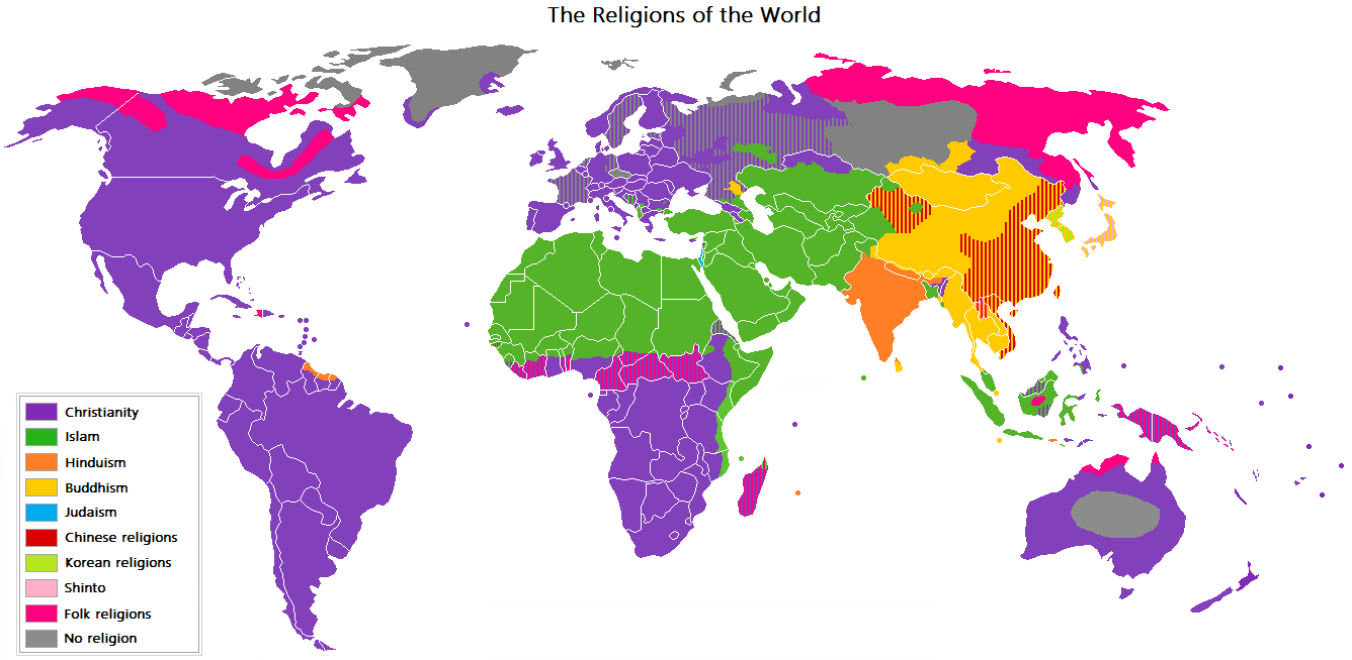

Figure **12.11.1** - Major Religions of the World (2009)

The five largest religious groups by world population, estimated to account for 5.8 billion people and 84% of the population, are Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism (with the relative numbers for Buddhism and Hinduism dependent on the extent of syncretism) and traditional folk religion.

Five largest religions	2010 (billion)[10]	2010 (%)	2000 (billion)[62][63]	2000 (%)	Demographics
Christianity	2.2	32%	2.0	33%	Christianity by country
Islam	1.6	23%	1.2	19.6%	Islam by country
Hinduism	1.0	15%	0.811	13.4%	Hinduism by country
Buddhism	0.5	7%	0.360	5.9%	Buddhism by country
Folk religion	0.4	6%	0.385	6.4%	
Total	5.8	84%	4.8	78.3%	

A global poll in 2012 surveyed 57 countries and reported that 59% of the world's population identified as religious, 23% as not religious, 13% as "convinced atheists", and also a 9% decrease in identification as "religious" when compared to the 2005 average from 39 countries.[64] A follow up poll in 2015 found that 63% of the globe identified as religious, 22% as not religious, and 11% as "convinced atheists".[65] On average, women are "more religious" than men.[66] Some people follow multiple religions or multiple religious principles at the same time, regardless of whether or not the religious principles they follow traditionally allow for syncretism.[67][68][69]

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12.12: Health and Illness

Figure 12.12.1 - The U.S. Army – MEDRETE in the Bac Ninh Province of Vietnam.

Medical anthropology is the research area within cultural anthropology that marries concepts from biological and cultural anthropology to better understand health and disease among humans. It is one of the fastest growing research areas within anthropology. Some would classify it as part of **applied anthropology**, the fifth (often overlooked) anthropological sub-discipline. Applied anthropologists use anthropological research methods and results to "identify, assess, and solve contemporary problems" (Gezen and Kottak 2014: 240). Applied anthropologists are found in many areas of work, including public health, economic development, forensics, linguistics, and human rights, in both rural and urban settings across the globe. For decades, anthropologists have been studying the interaction of cultural values and norms on health-related issues. In recent years, Western medical practitioners are beginning to use anthropological data to better understand their multicultural patients' responses to "modern" health care practices.

Defining Health and Illness

In order to understand the anthropological approach to health and illness, it is necessary to know the definitions of terms related to the topics.

All definitions of health are imbued with moral, ethical, and political implications. Perhaps the broadest definition of **health** is that proposed by the World Health Organization (WHO), defining health with reference to an "overall sense of well-being." By WHO's criteria, only a relatively small percentage of the world's population could be classified as healthy (Glazier and Hallin 2010: 925).

Disease and illness are separate concepts. **Disease** is a condition caused by a pathogen, e.g., bacterium, parasite, or virus, which has been scientifically verified; it is something that can be objectively measured. These can vary by group (e.g., ethnicity and socioeconomic status), geography, incidence, and severity. **Illness** is a feeling or perception of not being healthy. Illness may be caused by disease, but it can also be caused by psychological or spiritual factors and tied to an individual's worldview. **Health systems** include cultural perceptions and classification of health-related issues, healing practices, diagnosis, prevention, and healers (Miller 2011).

Theoretical Approaches

Anthropologists George Foster and Barbara Anderson, who together with Khwaja Hassan established the field of medical anthropology, identified three **disease theory systems** that explain illness:

1. **Personalistic disease theory**: Illness is due to the action of an agent such as a witch, sorcerer, or supernatural entity, e.g., ancestor spirit or ghost. Healers must use supernatural means to learn the cause and to help cure illness.
2. **Emotionalistic disease theory**: Illness is due to a negative emotional experience. For many Latin Americans, anxiety or fright may cause lethargy and distraction, an illness called susto. Psychotherapists are interested in the role emotions play in physical health.
3. **Naturalistic theory**: Illness is due to an impersonal factor, e.g., pathogen, malnutrition, obstruction (e.g., kidney stone), or organic deterioration (e.g., heart failure). Naturalistic theory has its origins in the work of Hippocrates and dominates the pedagogy of modern medical schools.

Barbara Miller (2011) outlines three **theoretical approaches that attempt to understand health systems**:

1. **Ecological/Epidemiological Approach**: This approach aims to produce data that can be used by public health programs by focusing how the interaction of the natural environment and culture can cause health problems and influence their spread through a population.
2. **Interpretivist Approach**: Drawing on the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, the interpretivist approach examines how community and individual distress is alleviated through healing systems and how illness is defined and experienced. The assumption is that the healing system provides meaning for suffering.
3. **Critical Medical Anthropology**: Critical medical anthropologists examine how health systems are impacted by structural elements, e.g., social inequality, political economy, global media, etc.

Ethnomedicine

The cross-cultural study of health systems is called **ethnomedicine**. It goes beyond examination of health systems to look at such things as the impact of globalization on the health system as well as cultural concepts of the body and disability and the use of plants and animals within the health system. Early ethnomedicine studies focused on the health systems of indigenous peoples across the globe. More recently Western biomedical practices are identified as an ethnomedicine and included in the scope of ethnomedicine studies.

All people try to understand the cause of illness and disease. The cross-cultural study of specific causal explanations for health-related problems is called **ethno-etiology**. Ethno-etiological studies of migraines demonstrate that in the Bahia area of Brazil, migraines the causal explanation of migraines is certain types of winds. In the U.S., biomedical explanations for migraines include emotional stress, sensitivity to certain chemicals and preservatives in food, excessive caffeine, menstrual periods, skipping meals, changes in sleep patterns, excessive fatigue, changing weather conditions, and numerous medical conditions such as hypertension, asthma, and chronic fatigue syndrome.

Structural suffering, or social suffering resulting from poverty, famine, conflict, and forced migration, is a focus of ethnomedicine and medical anthropology in general. Frequently, structural suffering is related to **culture-bound syndromes**, which are psychopathologies (suite of signs and symptoms) restricted to certain cultural environments. Witiko is a culture-bound syndrome found among indigenous peoples of Canada. The symptoms include an aversion to food accompanied by depression and anxiety. The witiko spirit, which is a giant human-eating monster, eventually possesses the inflicted individual causing the person to acts of cannibalism and homicide. Studies indicate that witiko is an extreme form of starvation anxiety (Martin 2012). Other examples of culture-bound syndromes that are not necessarily to structural suffering include:

- Amok afflicts males in Indonesia, Malaysai, and Thailand. The term means ‘to engage furiously in battle.’ Symptoms include wild, aggressive behavior. The inflicted first withdraws or broods then attempts to kill or hurt another person until they are restrained, exhausted, or killed. The condition is caused by loss of either social or economic status, a loved one, or a real or perceived insult (Gomez 2006).
- Anorexia nervosa is a culture-bound syndrome associated with affluent industrial societies. It is an eating disorder characterized by self-starvation. Affecting primarily women, anorexia nervosa is associated with cultures that place excessive value on female thinness. Contributing factors include over-controlling parents and socially, economically upwardly mobile family, earl onset of puberty, tallness, low self-esteem, depression, and some illnesses like juvenile diabetes.
- Hwa-byung, meaning fire disease, occurs in Korea. Eastern medicine relates its cause to an imbalance between yin (negative force) and yang (positive force) or between ki (vital energy) and hwa (illness with properties of fire). Western biomedicine attributes it to incomplete suppressed anger or projection of anger into the body. Symptoms include feelings of frustration, anxiety, guilt, fear, humiliation, hatred, depression, and disappointment. Physical manifestations are many, including palpitations, indigestion, dizziness, nausea, constipation, pain, insomnia, and more. Individuals suffering from hwa-byung may be abnormally talkative, short-tempered, absent-minded, paranoid, and have suicidal thoughts (Park 2006).
- Latah has been found predominantly in Malaysia, but similar syndromes occur in the Philippines (mali-mali), Burma (yaun), and among indigenous peoples in Siberia (myriachif) and Japan (imo). Caused by a sudden shock, e.g., death of a loved one, or fright, the individual enters a dissociative, highly suggestible state where they readily follow the commands of others. They often suffer from echolalia when they compulsively repeat what others say, or echopraxia when they mimic the actions of others. Socially inappropriate behaviors are common with this syndrome, including touching or hitting others, saying sexually explicit things, and singing out loud (Legerski 2006).

Healing & Healers

In the Western biomedical approach to healing, **private healing** is the norm; oftentimes only the patient and the professional health practitioner(s) is/are in the room. In other health systems community healing or humoral healing are common. The **community healing approach** considers social context critical for the healing process. Healing practices take place in front of the whole community and often involve their participation. One example is the healing dance of Ju/hoansi foragers of the Kalahari. Several times a month, the healing dance is performed to draw on the collective energy of the participants. Men, and sometimes women, dance around a circle of women who sit around a fire, clapping and singing. Healers draw on the spiritual energy of the dancers and singers to enhance their consciousness. During this period of enhanced consciousness, healers can heal those in need (Miller 2011).

Humoral healing systems use a philosophy centered on the idea that heat and coolness imbalances in the body cause disease. Coolness causes death in some Chinese, Indian, and Islamic cultures while in others such as the Orang Asli in Malaysia heat is the culprit. Food and drugs are used to offset these imbalances.

Figure **12.12.2** - A Tsaatan shaman in northern Mongolia prepares for a ceremony. Khovsgol Province, Mongolia.

Healing is generally done through a combination of informal methods, e.g., self-diagnosis and treatment, and formal treatment using a healing specialist. There are many different types of healing specialists:

- Shamans and shmankas,
- Midwives,
- Bonesetters,
- Doctors,
- Nurses,
- Dentists,
- Chiropractors,
- Herbalists,
- Psychiatrists and psychologists, and
- Acupuncturists.

All healing specialists go through similar process to become specialists. First there is the selection process. In most cases, the candidate must show some aptitude. In an indigenous society it might be an ability to connect with the supernatural realm. In cultures reliant on the Western biomedical approach, candidates must past entry exams and academic courses to become specialists. Training from seasoned healing specialists is a key component for all those who wish to become healing specialist whether in the form of apprenticeship with a shaman to formal training in a medical school. Training can be arduous both physically and mentally no matter the type of training. Once training is complete, the candidate earns a medical degree in the Western biomedical system. In indigenous societies, initiation rituals are performed. Once this certification process is complete, the healing specialist can adopt the raiment of the professional healer, e.g., the white coat of the medical doctor. Payment is generally expected for services rendered. What constitutes payment is highly variable, from salaries to livestock.

Explore: Learn More About the Anthropologists

Claude Lévi-Strauss: www.egs.edu/library/claude-le...uss/biography/

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

13: Art

Topic hierarchy

13.1: Art
13.2: Anthropology of Art
13.3: Purpose of Art
13.4: Paleolithic Art
13.5: Tribal Art
13.6: Folk Art
13.7: Indigenous Australian Art
13.8: Sandpainting
13.9: Ethnomusicology
13.10: Dance
13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

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13.1: Art

Figure **13.1.1** - Clockwise from upper left: a self-portrait by Vincent van Gogh; a female ancestor figure by a Chokwe artist; detail from The Birth of Venus by Sandro Botticelli; and an Okinawan Shisa lion.

Art is a diverse range of human activities in creating visual, auditory or performing artifacts – artworks, expressing the author's imaginative or technical skill, intended to be appreciated for their beauty or emotional power.[1][2] In their most general form these activities include the production of works of art, the criticism of art, the study of the history of art, and the aesthetic dissemination of art.

The oldest documented forms of art are **visual arts**, which include creation of images or objects in fields including painting, sculpture, printmaking, photography, and other visual media. Architecture is often included as one of the visual arts; however, like the decorative arts, it involves the creation of objects where the practical considerations of use are essential—in a way that they usually are not in a painting, for example. Music, theatre, film, dance, and other performing arts, as well as literature and other media such as interactive media, are included in a broader definition of art or the arts.[1][3] Until the 17th century, *art* referred to any skill or mastery and was not differentiated from crafts or sciences. In modern usage after the 17th century, where aesthetic considerations are paramount, the fine arts are separated and distinguished from acquired skills in general, such as the decorative or applied arts.

Art may be characterized in terms of mimesis (its representation of reality), expression, communication of emotion, or other qualities. During the Romantic period, art came to be seen as "a special faculty of the human mind to be classified with religion and science".[4] Though the definition of what constitutes art is disputed[5][6][7] and has changed over time, general descriptions mention an idea of imaginative or technical skill stemming from human agency[8] and creation.[9]

Notes

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13.2: Anthropology of Art

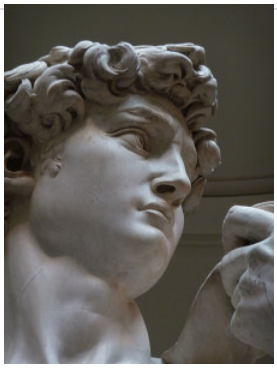

Figure **13.2.1** - Michelangelo's David, 1501-1504, Galleria dell'Accademia (Florence)

Anthropology of art is a sub-field in cultural anthropology dedicated to the study of art in different cultural contexts. The anthropology of art focuses on historical, economic and aesthetic dimensions in non-Western art forms, including what is known as 'tribal art'.

History

Franz Boas, one of the pioneers of modern anthropology, conducted many field studies of the arts, helping create a foundation to the field. His book, *Primitive Art* (1927), summarizes his main insights into so-called 'primitive' art forms, with a detailed case study on the arts of the Northwest Pacific Coast.[1] The famous anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss took Boas' analyses further in his book *The Way of the Masks*, where he traced changes in the plastic form of Northwest Pacific masks to patterns of intercultural interaction among the indigenous peoples of the coast.[2]

The Problem of Art

One of the central problems in the anthropology of art concerns the universality of 'art' as a cultural phenomenon. Several anthropologists have noted that the Western categories of 'painting', 'sculpture', or 'literature', conceived as independent artistic activities, do not exist, or exist in a significantly different form, in most non-Western contexts.[3]Thus, there is no consensus on a single, cross-cultural definition of 'art' in anthropology.[4][5] To surmount this difficulty, anthropologists of art have focused on formal features in objects which, without exclusively being 'artistic', have certain evident 'aesthetic' qualities. Boas' *Primitive Art*, Claude Lévi-Strauss' *The Way of the Masks* (1982) or Geertz's 'Art as Cultural System' (1983) are some examples in this trend to transform the anthropology of 'art' into an anthropology of culturally-specific 'aesthetics'. More recently, in his book *Art and Agency*, Alfred Gell proposed a new definition of 'art' as a complex system of intentionality, where artists produce art objects to effect changes in the world, including (but not restricted to) changes in the aesthetic perceptions of art audiences.[6] Gell's ideas have stirred a large controversy in the anthropology of art in the 2000s.[7][8][9]

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9. Howard Morphy. (2009). Art as a Mode of Action: Some Problems with Gell's Art and Agency. *Journal of Material Culture*, 14 (1): 5-27

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13.3: Purpose of Art

Figure **13.3.1** - A Navajo rug made circa 1880

Art has had a great number of different functions throughout its history, making its purpose difficult to abstract or quantify to any single concept. This does not imply that the purpose of Art is “vague”, but that it has had many unique, different reasons for being created. Some of these functions of Art are provided in the following outline. The different purposes of art may be grouped according to those that are non-motivated, and those that are motivated (Lévi-Strauss).

Figure **13.3.2** - Mozarabic Beatus miniature. Spain, late 10th century

Non-Motivated Functions of Art

The **non-motivated purposes** of art are those that are integral to being human, transcend the individual, or do not fulfill a specific external purpose. In this sense, Art, as creativity, is something humans must do by their very nature (i.e., no other species creates art), and is therefore beyond utility.

1. ***Basic human instinct for harmony, balance, rhythm.*** Art at this level is not an action or an object, but an internal appreciation of balance and harmony (beauty), and therefore an aspect of being human beyond utility.

> *“Imitation, then, is one instinct of our nature. Next, there is the instinct for ‘harmony’ and rhythm, meters being manifestly sections of rhythm. Persons, therefore, starting with this natural gift developed by degrees their special aptitudes, till their rude improvisations gave birth to Poetry.” -Aristotle*[1]

2. ***Experience of the mysterious.*** Art provides a way to experience one’s self in relation to the universe. This experience may often come unmotivated, as one appreciates art, music or poetry.

> *“The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and science.” -Albert Einstein*[2]

3. ***Expression of the imagination.*** Art provides a means to express the imagination in non-grammatic ways that are not tied to the formality of spoken or written language. Unlike words, which come in sequences and each of which have a definite meaning, art provides a range of forms, symbols and ideas with meanings that are malleable.

> *"Jupiter's eagle [as an example of art] is not, like logical (aesthetic) attributes of an object, the concept of the sublimity and majesty of creation, but rather something else – something that gives the imagination an incentive to spread its flight over a whole host of kindred representations that provoke more thought than admits of expression in a concept determined by words. They furnish an aesthetic idea, which serves the above rational idea as a substitute for logical presentation, but with the proper function, however, of animating the mind by opening out for it a prospect into a field of kindred representations stretching beyond its ken." -Immanuel Kant*[3]

4. ***Ritualistic and symbolic functions.*** In many cultures, art is used in rituals, performances and dances as a decoration or symbol. While these often have no specific utilitarian (motivated) purpose, anthropologists know that they often serve a purpose at the level of meaning within a particular culture. This meaning is not furnished by any one individual, but is often the result of many generations of change, and of a cosmological relationship within the culture.

> *"Most scholars who deal with rock paintings or objects recovered from prehistoric contexts that cannot be explained in utilitarian terms and are thus categorized as decorative, ritual or symbolic, are aware of the trap posed by the term 'art'." -Silva Tomaskova*[4]

Motivated Functions of Art

Motivated purposes of art refer to intentional, conscious actions on the part of the artists or creator. These may be to bring about political change, to comment on an aspect of society, to convey a specific emotion or mood, to address personal psychology, to illustrate another discipline, to (with commercial arts) sell a product, or simply as a form of communication.

1. ***Communication.*** Art, at its simplest, is a form of communication. As most forms of communication have an intent or goal directed toward another individual, this is a motivated purpose. Illustrative arts, such as scientific illustration, are a form of art as communication. Maps are another example. However, the content need not be scientific. Emotions, moods and feelings are also communicated through art.

> *"[Art is a set of] artifacts or images with symbolic meanings as a means of communication." -Steve Mithen*[5]

2. ***Art as entertainment.*** Art may seek to bring about a particular emotion or mood, for the purpose of relaxing or entertaining the viewer. This is often the function of the art industries of Motion Pictures and Video Games.
3. ***The Avante-Garde. Art for political change.*** One of the defining functions of early twentieth-century art has been to use visual images to bring about political change. Art movements that had this goal—Dadaism, Surrealism, Russian Constructivism, and Abstract Expressionism, among others—are collectively referred to as the *avante-garde* arts.

> *"By contrast, the realistic attitude, inspired by positivism, from Saint Thomas Aquinas to Anatole France, clearly seems to me to be hostile to any intellectual or moral advancement. I loathe it, for it is made up of mediocrity, hate, and dull conceit. It is this attitude which today gives birth to these ridiculous books, these insulting plays. It constantly feeds on and derives strength from the newspapers and stultifies both science and art by assiduously flattering the lowest of tastes; clarity bordering on stupidity, a dog's life." -André Breton (Surrealism)*[6]

4. ***Art as a "free zone"***, removed from the action of the social censure. Unlike the avant-garde movements, which wanted to erase cultural differences in order to produce new universal values, contemporary art has enhanced its tolerance towards cultural differences as well as its critical and liberating functions (social inquiry, activism, subversion, deconstruction …), becoming a more open place for research and experimentation.[7]

5. ***Art for social inquiry, subversion and/or anarchy.*** While similar to art for political change, subversive or deconstructivist art may seek to question aspects of society without any specific political goal. In this case, the function of art may be simply to criticize some aspect of society.

Figure **13.3.3** - Spray-paint graffiti on a wall in Rome

Graffiti art and other types of street art are graphics and images that are spray-painted or stenciled on publicly viewable walls, buildings, buses, trains, and bridges, usually without permission. Certain art forms, such as graffiti, may also be illegal when they break laws (in this case vandalism).

6. ***Art for social causes.*** Art can be used to raise awareness for a large variety of causes. A number of art activities were aimed at raising awareness of autism,[8][9][10] cancer,[11][12][13] human trafficking,[14][15]and a variety of other topics, such as ocean conservation,[16] human rights in Darfur,[17] murdered and missing Aboriginal women,[18]elder abuse,[19] and pollution.[20] Trashion, using trash to make fashion, practiced by artists such as Marina DeBris is one example of using art to raise awareness about pollution.
7. ***Art for psychological and healing purposes.*** Art is also used by art therapists, psychotherapists and clinical psychologists as art therapy. The Diagnostic Drawing Series, for example, is used to determine the personality and emotional functioning of a patient. The end product is not the principal goal in this case, but rather a process of healing, through creative acts, is sought. The resultant piece of artwork may also offer insight into the troubles experienced by the subject and may suggest suitable approaches to be used in more conventional forms of psychiatric therapy.
8. ***Art for propaganda, or commercialism.*** Art is often utilized as a form of propaganda, and thus can be used to subtly influence popular conceptions or mood. In a similar way, art that tries to sell a product also influences mood and emotion. In both cases, the purpose of art here is to subtly manipulate the viewer into a particular emotional or psychological response toward a particular idea or object.[21]
9. ***Art as a fitness indicator.*** It has been argued that the ability of the human brain by far exceeds what was needed for survival in the ancestral environment. One evolutionary psychology explanation for this is that the human brain and associated traits (such as artistic ability and creativity) are the human equivalent of the peacock's tail. The purpose of the male peacock's extravagant tail has been argued to be to attract females (see also Fisherian runaway and handicap principle). According to this theory superior execution of art was evolutionary important because it attracted mates.[22]

The functions of art described above are not mutually exclusive, as many of them may overlap. For example, art for the purpose of entertainment may also seek to sell a product, i.e. the movie or video game.

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6. André Breton, *Surrealist Manifesto* (1924)
7. According to Maurizio Bolognini this is not only associated with the postmodern rejection of all canons but with a process of secularization of art, which is finally considered as "a mere (albeit essential) convention, sustained and reproduced by the art system (artists, galleries, critics, collectors), providing a free zone, that is, a more open place for experimentation, removed from the constraints of the practical sphere.": see *Maurizio Bolognini (2008). Postdigitale. Rome: Carocci. ISBN 978-88-430-4739-0*, chap. 3.
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13.4: Paleolithic Art

Lower and Middle Paleolithic

The earliest undisputed art originated with the Aurignacian archaeological culture in the Upper Paleolithic. However, there is some evidence that the preference for the aesthetic emerged in the Middle Paleolithic, from 100,000 to 50,000 years ago. Some archaeologists have interpreted certain Middle Paleolithic artifacts as early examples of artistic expression.[3][4]The symmetry of artifacts, evidence of attention to the detail of tool shape, has led some investigators to conceive of Acheulean hand axes and especially laurel points as having been produced with a degree of artistic expression.

Similarly, a zig-zag etching made with a shark tooth on a freshwater clam-shell around 500,000 years ago (i.e. well into the Lower Paleolithic), associated with *Homo erectus*, was proposed as the earliest evidence of artistic activity in 2014.[5]

The Mask of La Roche-Cotard has been taken as evidence of Neanderthal figurative art, although in a period post-dating their contact with *Homo sapiens*. There are other claims of Middle Paleolithic sculpture, dubbed the "Venus of Tan-Tan" (before 300 kya)[6] and the "Venus of Berekhat Ram" (250 kya). In 2002 in **Blombos cave**, situated in South Africa, stones were discovered engraved with grid or cross-hatch patterns, dated to some 70,000 years ago. This suggested to some researchers that early *Homo sapiens* were capable of abstraction and production of abstract art or symbolic art.

Upper Paleolithic

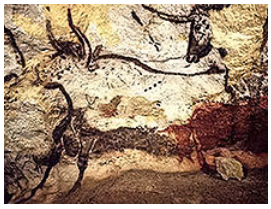

Figure **13.4.1** - Aurochs on a cave painting in Lascaux, France

The oldest undisputed works of **figurative art** were found in the Schwäbische Alb, Baden-Württemberg, Germany. The earliest of these, the Venus figurine known as the Venus of Hohle Fels and the Löwenmensch figurine date to some 40,000 years ago.

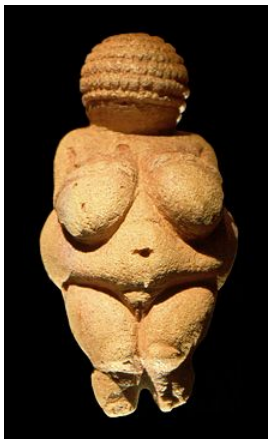

Figure **13.4.2** - Venus of Willendorf

Further depictional art from the Upper Palaeolithic period (broadly 40,000 to 10,000 years ago) includes **cave painting** (e.g., those at Chauvet, Altamira, Pech Merle, and Lascaux) and portable art: Venus figurines like the Venus of Willendorf, as well as animal carvings like the Swimming Reindeer, Wolverine pendant of Les Eyzies, and several of the objects known asbâtons de commandement.

Figure **13.4.3** - Image of a horse from the Lascaux caves.

Cave paintings from the Indonesian island of Sulawesi were in 2014 found to be 40,000 years old, a similar date to the oldest European cave art, which may suggest an older common origin for this type of art, perhaps in Africa.[7]

Monumental open air art in Europe from this period include Côa Valley and Mazouco in Portugal, Domingo García and Siega Verde in Spain, and Fornols-Haut in France.

A cave at Turobong in South Korea containing human remains has been found to contain carved deer bones and depictions of deer that may be as much as 40,000 years old.[8] **Petroglyphs** of deer or reindeer found at Sokchang-ri may also date to the Upper Paleolithic. Pot shards in a style reminiscent of early Japanese work have been found at Kosan-ri on Jeju island, which, due to lower sea levels at the time, would have been accessible from Japan.[9]

The oldest petroglyphs are dated to approximately the Mesolithic and late Upper Paleolithic boundary, about 10,000 to 12,000 years ago. The earliest undisputed African rock art dates back about 10,000 years. The first naturalistic paintings of humans found in Africa date back about 8,000 years apparently originating in the Nile River valley, spread as far west as Mali about 10,000 years ago. Noted sites containing early art include Tassili n'Ajjer in southern Algeria, Tadrart Acacus in Libya (A Unesco World Heritage site), and the Tibesti Mountains in northern Chad.[10] Rock carvings at the Wonderwerk Cave in South Africa have been dated to this age.[11]Contentious dates as far back as 29,000 years have been obtained at a site in Tanzania. A site at the Apollo 11 Cave complex in Namibia has been dated to 27,000 years.

Notes

1. "The term "prehistoric" ceases to be valid some thousands of years B.C. in the near east but remains a warranted description down to about 500 A.D. in Ireland", Review by "A. T. L." of *Prehistoric Art* by T. G. E. Powell, *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, Vol. 97, No. 1 (1967), p. 95, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, JSTOR
2. *"Shell 'art' made 300,000 years before humans evolved – New Scientist". New Scientist.*
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7. *"Indonesian Cave Paintings As Old As Europe's Ancient Art". NPR.org. 8 October 2014.*
8. Portal, p. 25
9. ***a b*** Portal, p. 26
10. Coulson, pp. 150–155

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13.5: Tribal Art

Figure **13.5.1** - A Punu tribe mask. Gabon West Africa

Tribal art is the visual arts and material culture of indigenous peoples. Also known as **ethnographic art**, or, controversially, **primitive art**,[2]tribal arts have historically been collected by Western anthropologists, private collectors, and museums, particularly ethnographic and natural history museums. The term “primitive” is criticized as being Eurocentric and pejorative.[3]

Figure **13.5.2** - Artwork in the Museum of Indian Terracotta, New Delhi, India.[1]

Description

Tribal art is often ceremonial or religious in nature.[4] Typically originating in rural areas, tribal art refers to the subject and craftsmanship of artefacts from tribal cultures.

In museum collections, tribal art has three primary categories:

- **African art**, especially arts of Sub-Saharan Africa
- **Art of the Americas**[5]
- **Oceanic art**, originating notably from Australia, Melanesia, New Zealand, and Polynesia.

Collection of tribal arts has historically been inspired by the Western myth of the “noble savage”, and lack of cultural context has been a challenge with the Western mainstream public’s perception of tribal arts.[6] In the 19th century, non-western art was not seen by mainstream Western art professional as being as art at all.[3] The art world perception of tribal arts is becoming less paternalistic, as indigenous and non-indigenous advocates have struggled for more objective scholarship of tribal art. Before Post-Modernism emerged in the 1960s, art critics approached tribal arts from a purely formalist approach,[7] that is, responding only to the visual elements of the work and disregarding historical context, symbolism, or the artist’s intention.

Figure 13.5.3 - Congolese Nkisi Nkondi, a female power figure, with nails, collection BNK, Royal Tribal Art

Influence on Modernism

Major exhibitions of tribal arts in the late 19th through mid-20th centuries exposed the Western art world to non-Western art. Major exhibitions included the Museum of Modern Art's 1935 *Africa Negro Art* and 1941 *Indian Art of the United States*.[7] Exposure to tribal arts provide inspiration to many modern artists,[8] notably Expressionists,[7] Cubists, and Surrealists, notably Surrealist Max Ernst.[9] Cubist painter, Pablo Picasso stated that "primitive sculpture has never been surpassed."[3]

Figure 13.5.4 - A male Kifwebe mask. Songye tribe. D.R. Congo. Central Africa

Notes

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7. [a] [b] [c] Storr, Robert. "Global Culture and the American Cosmos." *Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts: Arts, Culture and Society.* 1995. (retrieved 15 Nov 2011)
8. Perkins and Morphy 133
9. Perkins and Morphy 134

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External Links

- Tribal Art Magazine
- Paleobree — Tribal Art Information Service
- Art Tribal Newsletter
- Tribal art forgeries
- Oceanic Art Society

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13.6: Folk Art

Figure **13.6.1** - “Gran calavera eléctrica” by José Guadalupe Posada, Mexico, 1900–1913

Folk art encompasses art produced from an indigenous culture or by peasants or other laboring tradespeople. In contrast to fine art, folk art is primarily utilitarian and decorative rather than purely aesthetic.[1] Folk Art is characterized by a naïve style, in which traditional rules of proportion and perspective are not employed.

As a phenomenon that can chronicle a move towards civilization yet rapidly diminish with modernity, industrialization, or outside influence, the nature of folk art is specific to its particular culture. The varied geographical and temporal prevalence and diversity of folk art make it difficult to describe as a whole, though some patterns have been demonstrated.

Figure **13.6.2** - Island of Salvation Botanica, Piety Street, Bywater, New Orleans

Characteristically folk art is not influenced by movements in academic or fine art circles, and, in many cases, folk art excludes works executed by professional artists and sold as “high art” or “fine art” to the society’s art patrons.[1] On the other hand, many 18th- and 19th-century American folk art painters made their living by their work, including itinerant portrait painters, some of whom produced large bodies of work.[2]

Terms that might overlap with folk art are naïve art, tribal art, primitive art, popular art, outsider art, traditional art, tramp art and working-class art/blue-collar art. As one might expect, these terms can have multiple and even controversial connotations but are often used interchangeably with the term “folk art”.

Folk art expresses cultural identity by conveying shared community values and aesthetics. It encompasses a range of utilitarian and decorative media, including cloth, wood, paper, clay, metal and more. If traditional materials are inaccessible, new materials are often substituted, resulting in contemporary expressions of traditional folk art forms. Folk art reflects traditional art forms of diverse community groups — ethnic, tribal, religious, occupational, geographical, age- or gender-based — who identify with each other and society at large. Folk artists traditionally learn skills and techniques through apprenticeships in informal community settings, though they may also be formally educated. Folk art are simple, direct, and mostly always colorful.

Figure **13.6.3** - Darrel Mortimer holding 8′ tattooed bamboo chillum; photograph by Sally Larsen, 2009

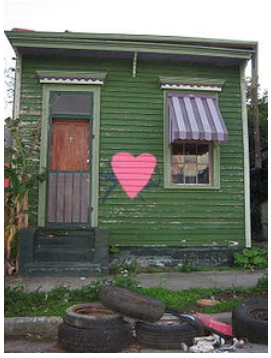

Figure **13.6.4** - House in New Orleans

Antique Folk Art

Antique folk art is distinguished from traditional art in that, while collected today based mostly on its artistic merit, it was never intended to be ‘art for art’s sake’ at the time of its creation. Examples include: weathervanes, old store signs and carved figures, itinerant portraits, carousel horses, fire buckets, painted game boards, cast iron doorstops and many other similar lines of highly collectible “whimsical” antiques.

Figure **13.6.5** - Detail of 17th century calendar stick carved with national coat of arms, a common motif in Norwegian folk art.

Figure **13.6.6** - A folk art wall in Lincoln Park, Chicago

Many folk art traditions like quilting, ornamental picture framing, and decoy carving continue to thrive, while new forms constantly emerge.

Contemporary folk artists are frequently self-taught as their work is often developed in isolation or in small communities across the country.[3] The Smithsonian American Art Museum houses over 70 such artists; for example,Elito Circa, a famous and internationally recognized folk artist, developed his own styles without professional training or guidance from the masters.

Influence on Mainstream Art

Folk artworks, styles and motifs have inspired various artists. For example, Pablo Picasso was inspired by African tribal sculptures and masks, while Natalia Goncharova and others were inspired by traditional Russian popular prints called luboks.[4] In music, Igor Stravinsky's seminal *The Rite of Spring* was inspired by pagan religious rites.

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13.7: Indigenous Australian Art

Figure **13.7.1** - Bradshaw rock paintings found in the north-west Kimberley region of Western Australia

Figure **13.7.2** - Aboriginal pictographs known as Wandjina in the Wunnumurra Gorge, Barnett River, Kimberley, Western Australia

Indigenous Australian art or **Australian Aboriginal art** is art made by the Indigenous peoples of Australia and in collaborations between Indigenous Australians and others. It includes works in a wide range of media including painting on leaves, wood carving, rock carving, sculpting, ceremonial clothing and sand painting. This article discusses works that pre-date European colonization as well as contemporary Indigenous Australian art by Aboriginal Australians. These have been studied in recent years and have gained much international recognition.[1]

Traditional Indigenous Art

There are several types of aboriginal art, and ways of making art, including rock painting, dot painting, rock engravings, bark painting, carvings, sculptures, and weaving and string art.

Rock Painting

Figure **13.7.3** - Aboriginal Namadgi National Parkfeaturing a Kangaroo, Dingoes,Echidna or Turtles, totems and stories are created using dots.

Figure **13.7.4** - This photo shows the painting of Baiame made by an unknown Wiradjuri artist in “Baiame’s cave”, near Singleton, NSW. Notice the length of his arms which extend to the two trees either side.

Australian Indigenous art is the oldest unbroken tradition of art in the world. The oldest firmly dated rock art painting in Australia is a charcoal drawing on a rock fragment found during the excavation of the Narwala Gabarnmang rock shelter in south-western Arnhem Land in the Northern Territory. Dated at 28,000 years, it is one of the oldest known pieces of rock art on Earth with a confirmed date. Rock art, including painting and engraving or carving, can be found at sites throughout Australia. Rock paintings appear on caves in the Kimberley region of Western Australia known as Bradshaws. They are named after the European, Joseph

Bradshaw, who first reported them in 1891. To Aboriginal people of the region they are known as *Gwion Gwion*[2] or *Giro Giro*.[3] Other painted rock art sites include Laura, Queensland,[4] Ubirr, in the Kakadu National Park,[5] Uluru,[6] and Carnarvon Gorge.[7]

Aboriginal rock art has been around for a long period of time, with the oldest examples, in Western Australia's Pilbara region and the Olary district of South Australia, estimated to be up to around 40,000 years old.[8] Examples have been found that are believed to depict extinct megafauna such as *Genyornis*[9] and *Thylacoleo*[10] as well as more recent historical events such as the arrival of European ships.[11]

Rock Engravings

Rock engraving depends on the type of rock being used. Many different methods are used to create rock engravings. There are several different types of Rock art across Australia, the most famous of which is Murujuga in Western Australia, the Sydney rock engravings around Plymouth in New South Wales, and the Panaramitee rock art in Central Australia. The Sydney engravings, depicting carved animals and humans, have their own peculiar style not found elsewhere in Australia.

The rock art at Murujuga is said to be the world's largest collection of petroglyphs[12] and includes images of extinct animals such as the thylacine. Activity prior to the last ice age until colonisation is recorded.

Dot Painting

Dot painting consists of various paint colours like yellow (representing the sun), brown (the soil), red (desert sand) and white (the clouds and the sky). These are traditional Aboriginal colours. Dot paintings can be painted on anything though in aboriginal times they were painted on rocks, in caves, etc. The paintings were mostly images of animals or lakes, and the **Dreamtime**. Stories and legends were depicted on caves and rocks to represent the artists' religion and beliefs.

On modern artwork, dots are generally applied with one of two instruments, (1) bamboo satay sticks and (2) ink bottles. The larger flat end of bamboo satay sticks are more commonly used for single application of dots to paintings, but the sharp pointier end is used to create fine dots. To create superimposed dotting, artists may take a bunch of satay sticks, dip the pointy ends into the paint and then transfer it onto the canvas in quick successions of dotting.[13]

Bark Painting

Bark paintings are regarded as fine art, and today the finest art commands high prices on the international art markets. The best artists are recognized annually in the National Aboriginal & Torres Strait Islander Art Award.

Aerial Desert "Country" Landscapes

From ancient times, Australian aboriginal culture also produced a genre of aerial landscape art, often titled simply "country". It is a kind of maplike, bird's-eye view of the desert landscape, and it is often meant to tell a traditional Dreaming story. In the distant past, the common media for such artwork were rock, sand or body painting, but the tradition continues today in the form of colored drawings with liquid based color on canvas (see section **Papunya Tula and "Dot Painting"** below).

Stone Arrangements

Stone arrangements in Australia range from the 50m-diameter circles of Victoria, with 1m-high stones firmly embedded in the ground, to the smaller stone arrangements found throughout Australia, such as those near Yirrkala which depict accurate images of thepraus used by Macassan Trepang fishermen and spear throwers.

See Aboriginal stone arrangements for more details.

Carvings and Sculpture

- Carved shells – *Riji*
- Mimih (or Mimi) small man-like carvings of mythological impish creatures. Mimihs are so frail that they never venture out on windy days lest they be swept away like leaf litter. It is said their necks are so thin a slight breeze might snap their heads off. If approached by men they will run into a rock crevice; if no crevice is there, the rocks themselves will open up and seal behind the Mimih.
- Fibre sculpture

Weaving and String-Art

- Basket weaving – see Australian Aboriginal fibrecraft
- Necklaces and other jewellery, such as those from the Tasmanian Aborigines

Figure **13.7.5** - Ochre Pits in central Australia where a variety of clay earth pigments were obtained

Symbols

Certain **symbols** within the Aboriginal modern art movement retain the same meaning across regions although the meaning of the symbols may change within the context of a painting. When viewed in monochrome other symbols can look similar, such as the circles within circles, sometimes depicted on their own, sparsely, or in clustered groups. Depending upon the tribe of which the artist is a murnanember, symbols such as campfire, tree, hill, digging hole, waterhole, or spring can vary in meaning. Use of the symbol can be clarified further by the use of colour, such as water being depicted in blue or black.

Many paintings by Aboriginal artists, such as those that represent a “dreamtime story”, are shown from an aerial perspective. The narrative follows the lie of the land, as created by ancestral beings in their journey or during creation. The modern day rendition is a reinterpretation of songs, ceremonies, rock art and body art that was the norm for many thousands of years.

Whatever the meaning, interpretations of the symbols should be made in context of the entire painting, the region from which the artist originates, the story behind the painting, and the style of the painting, with additional clues being the colours used in some of the more modern works, such as blue circles signifying water.(Source: Aboriginal Symbols – Indigenous Australia)[14]

Religious and Cultural Aspects of Aboriginal Art

Figure **13.7.6** - Aboriginal art at Uluru

Figure **13.7.7** - *Aboriginal art showing Barramundi fish*

Traditional indigenous art almost always has a mythological undertone relating to the Dreamtime of indigenous Australian artists. Wenten Rubuntja, an indigenous landscape artist, says it is hard to find any art that is devoid of spiritual meaning:

> *Doesn’t matter what sort of painting we do in this country, it still belongs to the people, all the people. This is worship, work, culture. It’s all Dreaming. There are two ways of painting. Both ways are important, because that’s culture. – source The Weekend Australian Magazine, April 2002*

Story-telling and totem representation feature prominently in all forms of Aboriginal artwork. Additionally, the female form, particularly the female womb in X-ray style, features prominently in some famous sites in Arnhem Land.

Graffiti and Other Destructive Influences

Many culturally significant sites of Aboriginal rock paintings have been gradually desecrated and destroyed by encroachment of early settlers and modern-day visitors. This includes the destruction of art by clearing and construction work, erosion caused by excessive touching of sites, and graffiti. Many sites now belonging to National Parks have to be strictly monitored by rangers, or closed off to the public permanently.

Contemporary Indigenous Art

Modern Aboriginal Artists

Figure **13.7.7** - *Picture of Albert Namatjira at the Albert Namatjira Gallery, Alice Springs Cultural Precinct, in 2007.*

Figure **13.7.8** - *Rainbow serpent byJohn Mawurndjul, 1991*

In 1934 Australian painter Rex Batterbee taught Aboriginal artist Albert Namatjira western style watercolour landscape painting, along with other Aboriginal artists at the Hermannsburg mission in the Northern Territory. It became a popular style, known as the Hermannsburg School, and sold out when the paintings were exhibited in Melbourne, Adelaide and other Australian cities. Namatjira became the first Aboriginal Australian citizen, as a result of his fame and popularity with these watercolour paintings.

In 1966, one of David Malangi's designs was produced on the Australian one dollar note, originally without his knowledge. The subsequent payment to him by the Reserve Bank marked the first case of Aboriginal copyright in Australian copyright law.

In 1988 the *Aboriginal Memorial* was unveiled at the National Gallery of Australia in Canberra made from 200 hollow log coffins, which are similar to the type used for mortuary ceremonies in Arnhem Land. It was made for the bicentenary of Australia's colonisation, and is in remembrance of Aboriginal people who had died protecting their land during conflict with settlers. It was created by 43 artists from Ramingining and communities nearby. The path running through the middle of it represents the Glyde River.[15]

In that same year, the new Parliament House in Canberra opened with a forecourt featuring a design by Michael Nelson Tjakamarra, laid as a mosaic.

The late Rover Thomas is another well known modern Australian Aboriginal artist. Born in Western Australia, he represented Australia in the Venice Biennale of 1991. He knew and encouraged other now well-known artists to paint, including Queenie McKenzie from the East Kimberley / Warmun region, as well as having a strong influence on the works of Paddy Bedford and Freddy Timms.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s the work of Emily Kngwarreye, from the Utopia community north east of Alice Springs, became very popular. Although she had been involved in craftwork for most of her life, it was only when she was in her 80s that she was recognised as a painter. Her works include *Earth's Creation*. Her styles, which changed every year, have been seen as a mixture of traditional Aboriginal and contemporary Australian. Her rise in popularity has prefigured that of many Indigenous artists from

central, northern and western Australia, such as Kngwarreye's niece Kathleen Petyarre, Minnie Pwerle, Dorothy Napangardi, Lena Pwerle, Angelina Ngale (Pwerle) and dozens of others, all of whose works have become highly sought-after. The popularity of these often elderly artists, and the resulting pressure placed upon them and their health, has become such an issue that some art centres have stopped selling these artists' paintings online, instead placing prospective clients on a waiting list for work.[16]

Current artists in vogue include Jacinta Hayes, popular for her iconic representation of "Bush Medicine Leaves" and "Honey Ants", Rex Sultan (who studied with Albert Namatjira), Trephina Sultan and Reggie Sultan, Bessie Pitjara and Joyce Nakamara, amongst others.[17]

Despite concerns about supply and demand for paintings, the remoteness of many of the artists, and the poverty and health issues experienced in the communities, there are widespread estimates of an industry worth close to half a billion Australian dollars each year, and growing rapidly.[18]

Papunya Tula and "Dot Painting"

In 1971–1972, art teacher Geoffrey Bardon encouraged Aboriginal people in Papunya, north west of Alice Springs to put their Dreamings onto canvas. These stories had previously been drawn on the desert sand, and were now given a more permanent form.

The dots were used to cover secret-sacred ceremonies. Originally, the Tula artists succeeded in forming their own company with an Aboriginal Name, Papunya Tula Artists Pty Ltd,[19] however a time of disillusionment followed as artists were criticised by their peers for having revealed too much of their sacred heritage. Secret designs restricted to a ritual context were now in the market place, made visible to Australian Aboriginal painting. Much of the Aboriginal art on display in tourist shops traces back to this style developed at Papunya. The most famous of the artists to come from this movement was Clifford Possum Tjapaltjarri. Also from this movement is Johnny Warangkula, whose *Water Dreaming at Kalipinya* twice sold at a record price, the second time being $486,500 in 2000.

The Papunya Collection at the National Museum of Australia contains over 200 artifacts and paintings, including examples of 1970's dot paintings.[20]

Issues

Figure **13.7.9** - *Albert Namatjira refueling for a trip to Alice Springs, around 1948.*

There have been cases of some exploitative dealers (known as carpetbaggers) that have sought to profit from the success of the Aboriginal art movements. Since Geoffrey Bardon's time and in the early years of the Papunya movement, there has been concerns about the exploitation of the largely illiterate and non-English speaking artists.

One of the main reasons the Yuendumu movement was established, and later flourished, was due to the feeling of exploitation amongst artists:

> *"Many of the artists who played crucial roles in the founding of the art centre were aware of the increasing interest in Aboriginal art during the 1970s and had watched with concern and curiosity the developments of the art movement at Papunya amongst people to whom they were closely related. There was also a growing private market for Aboriginal art in Alice Springs. Artists' experiences of the private market were marked by feelings of frustration and a sense of disempowerment when buyers refused to pay prices which reflected the value of the Jukurrpa or showed little interest in understanding the story. The establishment of Warlukurlangu was one way of ensuring the artists had some*

> *control over the purchase and distribution of their paintings." (Source: "Warlukurlangu Artists". warlu.com. Archived from the original on 2005-07-23.)*

Other cases of exploitation include:

- painting for a lemon (car): "Artists have come to me and pulled out photos of cars with mobile phone numbers on the back. They're asked to paint 10-15 canvasses in exchange for a car. When the 'Toyotas' materalise, they often arrive with a flat tyre, no spares, no jack, no fuel." (Coslovich 2003)
- preying on a sick artist: "Even coming to town for medical treatment, such as dialysis, can make an artist easy prey for dealers wanting to make a quick profit who congregate in Alice Springs" (op.cit.)
- pursuing a famous artist: "The late (great) Emily Kngwarreye…was relentlessly pursued by carpetbaggers towards the end of her career and produced a large but inconsistent body of work." According to Sotheby's "We take about one in every 20 paintings of hers, and with those we look for provenance we can be 100% sure of." (op.cit.)

In March 2006, the ABC reported art fraud had hit the Western Australian Aboriginal Art movements. Allegations were made of sweatshop-like conditions, fake works by English backpackers, overpricing and artists posing for photographs for artwork that was not theirs. A detective on the case said:

> *"People are clearly taking advantage…Especially the elderly people. I mean, these are people that, they're not educated; they haven't had a lot of contact with white people. They've got no real basic understanding, you know, of the law and even business law. Obviously they've got no real business sense. A dollar doesn't really have much of a meaning to them, and I think to treat anybody like that is just… it's just not on in this country."Call for ACCC to investigate Aboriginal Art industry, ABC PM, 15 March.*

In August 2006, following concerns raised about unethical practices in the Indigenous art sector, the Australian Senate initiated an inquiry into issues in the sector. It heard from the Northern Territory Art Minister, Marion Scrymgour, that backpackers were often the artists of Aboriginal art being sold in tourist shops around Australia:

> *"The material they call Aboriginal art is almost exclusively the work of fakers, forgers and fraudsters. Their work hides behind false descriptions and dubious designs. The overwhelming majority of the ones you see in shops throughout the country, not to mention Darling, are fakes, pure and simple. There is some anecdotal evidence here in Darwin at least, they have been painted by backpackers working on industrial scale wood production."[21]*

The inquiry's final report made recommendations for changed funding and governance of the sector, including a code of practice.

Aboriginal Art Movements and Cooperatives

Australian Indigenous art movements and cooperatives have been central to the emergence of Indigenous Australian art. Whereas many western artists pursue formal training and work as individuals, most contemporary Indigenous art is created in community groups and art centres.[22]

Many of the centres operate online art galleries where local and international visitors can purchase works directly from the communities without the need of going through an intermediary. The cooperatives reflect the diversity of art across Indigenous Australia from the north west region where ochre is significantly used; to the tropical north where the use of cross-hatching prevails; to the Papunya style of art from the central desert cooperatives. Art is increasingly becoming a significant source of income and livelihood for some of these communities.

Figure **13.7.10** - US President George W. Bush examines a Yirrkala Bark Painting at the Australian National Maritime Museum, 2007

The winners of the West Australian Indigenous Arts Awards were announced on 22 August 2013. From over 137 nominations from throughout Australia, Churchill Cann won the Best West Australian Piece (A$10,000) and North Queensland artist Brian Robinson won the Best Overall prize (A$50,000),[23]

Aboriginal Art in International Museums

The Museum for Australian Aboriginal art "La grange" (at Neuchâtel, Switzerland) is one of the few museums in Europe that dedicates itself entirely to this kind of art. During seasonal exhibitions, works of art by internationally renowned artists are being shown. Also, the Musée du Quai Branly, Paris, has an "Oceania" collection,[24] which includes works by Australian Aboriginal artists Lena Nyadbi, Paddy Nyunkuny Bedford, Judy Watson, Gulumbu Yunupingu, John Mawurndjul, Tommy Watson, Ningura Napurrula and Michael Riley.[25]

Two museums that solely exhibit Australian Aboriginal art are the Museum of Contemporary Aboriginal Art (AMU), in Utrecht, The Netherlands and the Kluge-Ruhe Aboriginal Art Collection of the University of Virginia.[26][27]

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13.8: Sandpainting

Sandpainting is the art of pouring colored sands, and powdered pigments from minerals or crystals, or pigments from other natural or synthetic sources onto a surface to make a fixed, or unfixed sand painting. Unfixed sand paintings have a long established cultural history in numerous social groupings around the globe, and are often temporary, ritual paintings prepared for religious or healing ceremonies. It is also referred to as dry painting.

Drypainting is practiced by Native Americans in the Southwestern United States, by Tibetan and Buddhist monks, as well as Australian Aborigines, and also by Latin Americans on certain Christian holy days.

Figure **13.8.1** - SLNSW 75764 Warriors in Ambush series 49 Aboriginal Mystic Bora Ceremony

History

Native American Sandpainting

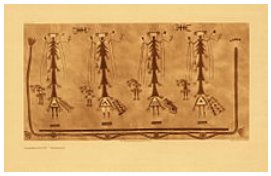

Figure **13.8.2** - Navajo sandpainting, photogravure by Edward S. Curtis, 1907, Library of Congress

In the sandpainting of southwestern Native Americans (the most famous of which are the **Navajo** (known as the Diné)), the Medicine Man (or *Hataałii*) paints loosely upon the ground of a hogan, where the ceremony takes place, or on a buckskin or cloth tarpaulin, by letting the coloured sands flow through his fingers with control and skill. There are 600 to 1,000 different traditional designs for sandpaintings known to the Navajo. They do not view the paintings as static objects, but as spiritual, living beings to be treated with great respect. More than 30 different sandpaintings may be associated with one ceremony.

The colors for the painting are usually accomplished with naturally coloured sand, crushed gypsum (white), yellow ochre, red sandstone, charcoal and a mixture of charcoal and gypsum (blue). Brown can be made by mixing red and black; red and white make pink. Other colouring agents include corn meal, flower pollen, or powdered roots and bark.

The paintings are for healing purposes only. Many of them contain images of *Yeibicheii* (the Holy People). While creating the painting, the medicine man will chant, asking the *yeibicheii* to come into the painting and help heal the patient.

When the medicine man finishes painting, he checks its accuracy. The order and symmetry of the painting symbolize the harmony which a patient wishes to reestablish in his or her life. The accuracy of a sandpainting is believed to determine its efficacy as a sacred tool. The patient will be asked to sit on the sandpainting as the medicine man proceeds with the healing chant. It is claimed the sandpainting acts as a portal to attract the spirits and allow them to come and go. Practitioners believe sitting on the sandpainting helps the patient to absorb spiritual power, while in turn the Holy People will absorb the illness and take it away. Afterward, when the sandpainting has served its purpose, it is considered to be toxic, since it has absorbed the illness. For this reason, the painting is destroyed. Because of the sacred nature of the ceremonies, the sandpaintings are begun, finished, used and destroyed within 12 hours.

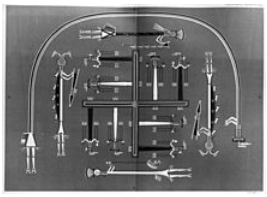

Figure **13.8.3** - Navajo sandpainting, photo by H.S. Poley, published c. 1890-1908, Library of Congress

The ceremonies involving sandpaintings are usually done in sequences, termed ‘chants’, lasting a certain number of days depending on the ceremony. At least one fresh, new sandpainting is made for each day.

Some Navajo laws and taboos relate to the sandpaintings, and protect their holiness:

- Women of child-bearing age are not supposed to sing the chants associated with the *yeibicheii*. This is both because the ceremony has a possibility of injuring an unborn child, and because of a taboo preventing menstruating women from attending. (Some cultures considered menstruation and presence of blood to be powerful spiritual events that had to be restrained, as they represented life forces.) Post-menopausal women are more likely to be chanters or diagnosticians.
- Authentic sandpaintings are rarely photographed, so as to not disrupt the flow of the ceremony. For many reasons, medicine men will seldom allow outsiders inside a sacred ceremony. Because so many outsiders are curious about sandpainting, some medicine men may create pieces for exhibition purposes only, using reversed colors and variations. To create an authentic sandpainting solely for viewing would be a profane act. The sandpaintings for sale in shops and on the Internet are commercially produced and contain deliberate errors, as the real sandpaintings are considered sacred.
- The earliest credited instance of traditional Navajo sandpaintings (being rendered in coloured sands as opposed to tapestry or other media) being created in a permanent form for sale, have been traced to between 1945 and 1955. The main credit is generally given to a Navajo Hatałii named Fred Stevens, Jr. (Grey Squirrel), who developed the primary method of “permatizing” for commercial sandpaintings that is still used.[1]

Indigenous Australian Sandpainting

Figure **13.8.4** - Artwork in Alice Springs

Indigenous Australian art has a history which covers more than 30,000 years, and a wide range of native traditions and styles. These have been studied in recent decades and their complexity has gained increased international recognition.[2] Aboriginal Art covers a wide variety of media, including sandpainting, painting on leaves, wood carving, rock carving, sculpture, and ceremonial clothing, as well as artistic embellishments found on weaponry and also tools. Art is one of the key rituals of Aboriginal culture. It was and still is, used to mark territory, record history, and tell stories about “The Dreaming”.

Gulgardi

Artist	Kaapa Tjampitjinpa
Year	1971
Type	Acrylic paint on hardboard
Dimensions	61.0 cm × 137.0 cm (24.0 in × 53.9 in)
Location	Araluen Cultural Precinct, Alice Springs

Aboriginal people have taken to transforming their tradition sand paintings into more permanent forms using modern techniques and materials. [1]

Geoffrey Bardon was an Australian art teacher who was instrumental in creating the Aboriginal art of the Western Desert movement, and in bringing Australian indigenous art to the attention of the world.”… [directed by Bardon, the elders] began to

interact with certain issues in 1960s and 70s international painting, especially the extreme schematisation of New York minimalism." In the History of Painting"Lyrical Abstraction in the late 1960s is characterized by the paintings of Dan Christensen, Ronnie Landfield, Peter Young and others, and along with the fluxus movement and postminimalism (a term first coined by Robert Pincus-Witten in the pages of Artforum in 1969)[3]sought to expand the boundaries of abstract painting and minimalism by focusing on process, new materials and new ways of expression. "

This connection is seen most obviously in the connection between the paintings from the late sixties of Peter Young (artist) and the paintings that follow in the early seventies produced in thePapunya Tula[2] [3]

Papunya Tula, or Papunya Tula Artists Pty Ltd, is an artist cooperative formed in 1972 that is owned and operated by Aboriginal people from the Western Desert of Australia. Kaapa Tjampitjinpa is one of the early Papunya Tula artists and is known for GulgardiIt is notable for being the first work by an Indigenous Australian artist to win a contemporary art award, and the first public recognition of a Papunya painting.[1]

Tibetan Sandpainting

Figure **13.8.5** - Mandala made of sand in the Sera Monastery, Lhasa

Figure **13.8.6** - Mandala Sable 2008-05 showing the use of Chak-pur

Tibetan Buddhist sand paintings usually composed *mandalas*. In Tibetan, it is called *dul-tson-kyil-khor* (mandala of colored powders). The sand is carefully placed on a large, flat table. The construction process takes several days, and the mandala is destroyed shortly after its completion. This is done as a teaching tool and metaphor for the "impermanence" (Pali:*anicca*) of all contingent and compounded phenomena (Sanskrit: *Pratītya-samutpāda*).

The mandala sand-painting process begins with an opening ceremony, during which the *lamas*, or Tibetan priests, consecrate the site and call forth the forces of goodness. They chant, declare intention, *mudra*, *asana*, *pranayama*, do visualisations, play music, recite *mantras*, etc.

Figure **13.8.7** - *Mandala zel-tary using Vajra to ceremoniously divide the painting*

Figure **13.8.8** - Tibetan monks in a ceremony after having broken their mandala, Twentse Welle

On the first day, the lamas begin by drawing an outline of the mandala to be painted on a wooden platform. The following days see the laying of the colored sands, which is effected by pouring the sand from traditional metal funnels called **chak-pur**. Each monk holds a *chak-pur* in one hand, while running a metal rod on its serrated surface; the vibration causes the sands to flow like liquid. Formed of traditional prescribed iconography that includes geometric shapes and a multitude of ancient spiritual symbols (e.g.:

Ashtamangala and divine attributes of *yidam*), seed syllables, mantra, the sand-painted mandala is used as a tool or instrument for innumerable purposes. A primary purpose is to reconsecrate the earth and its inhabitants. When the meditation is complete, the sand painting is ceremoniously destroyed using a Vajra and the sand is then gathered and taken to a body of water for offering.

Japanese Tray Pictures

From the 15th century in Japan, Buddhist artists in the times of the *shoguns* practiced the craft of *bonseki* by sprinkling dry colored sand and pebbles onto the surface of plain black lacquered trays. They used bird feathers as brushes to form the sandy surface into seascapes and landscapes. These tray pictures were used in religious ceremonies. Japanese esoteric Buddhism was transmitted from East Central Asia after the 8th century, and thus these Japanese Buddhist sandpaintings may share earlier historical roots with the more intricate brightly coloured Buddhist sand mandalas created by Tibetan Buddhist monks.

Figure **13.8.9** - A woman making a tray landscape showing the full moon. Ukiyo-e woodblock print by Yōshū Chikanobu, 1899

Figure **13.8.10** - Mt Fuji bonseki

Table Decking

During the 17th and 18th centuries, the royal courts of Europe employed “table deckers”, who decorated the side tables at royal banquets having adapted the craft of ‘bonseki’ from the Japanese. The table deckers sprinkled coloured sands, marble dust, sugars, etc. upon the surface of plain white tablecloths to create unfixed pictures of fruit, flowers, birds and rustic scenery. In between each design spaces were left for fruit bowls and sweetmeat dishes so that the diners could refresh themselves in between the main courses of the feast. These ornate pictures were discarded along with the debris of the feast.

As a fine example of the table deckers’ craft, Woburn Abbey in Bedfordshire, England possesses an ornate folding screen with three panels, decorated with sand pictures protected by glass. The centre one has five spaces for sweetmeat pyramid dishes while the two side leaves of the screen have three spaces for fruit trays. There are four sand pictures in each corner of the side panels of the screen, featuring 18th-century pastoral scenes, while the remaining areas of the screen are decorated with butterflies, doves, fruit, flowers, etc. The screen would be laid upon the surface of a side table. It doubled as a serving base for elaborate porcelain dishes and glass trays containing fruits, bonbons and sweetmeats, from which the hosts and their guests could help themselves while socializing or stretching their legs between the multiple courses being served on the main table in the dining hall. This screen may have been the work of the German artisan F. Schweikhardt, who specialised in still-life studies in the style of the Dutch painter Jan van Huysum.

Georgian Sandpainting

Figure **13.8.11** - A Hermit by a Wayside Shrine by Benjamin Zobel (early 19th century)

Sandpainting as a craft was inspired by King George III, who was a skilled watchmaker and craftsman in his own right, and took an interest in the skills demonstrated by royal functionaries, known as Table Deckers, who decorated the white table-cloths at royal banquets with ornate centre-pieces decorated by using coloured sands and sugars as ‘paint’, and a bird’s feather as a ‘brush’ a craft introduced by a European traveller who had observed the craftsmen at work in Japan.

It was while watching the table deckers at work the King suggested that if the sand pictures could be temporarily laid out upon the surface of the tablecloths rather than being fixed permanently in place but discarded with the remains of the feast this would save

much time and energy employing a multitude of skilled embroiderers toiling over such skilled work. So on one occasion the King bellowed “Haas! – Hass! Why don’t you fix it!” This set an number of craftsmen including Haas, Schweikhardt and Zobel to successfully invent suitable methods to achieve their goal, and these pictures were commissioned by the royal worthies of the day and became highly prized by the aristocracy. The King’s brother, the Duke of York, commissioned a number of works by Zobel and the others, although the sand artists jealously guarded their methods a secret from their competitors. Zobel depicted “pigs in the manner of Morland”; “Nelson”, the favourite dog of the Duke of York; “Tiger after George Stubbs”, and an impressive “Vulture and snake.” Although many of Zobel’s works have survived, few of those by Haas have survived the passage of time, although observers considered his work superior to that of Zobel. This may reflect the differing techniques used by each artist. A diarist observed Zobel’s coating the surface of the baseboard with a mixture of gum arabic and white lead and sprinkling sand upon the sticky surface using a folded paper funnel as a brush. He had to work quickly since the adhesive would dry in a few hours. Several of his surviving pictures have unfinished work on the reverse.

Haas followed more closely the techniques developed in Japan, but mixing dry powdered gum arabic with the sand, sprinkling the mixture through a sieve and using feathers as brushes to create the pictures upon the baseboard, then fixing them by some method which he kept a secret. Due to the damp conditions in many of the stately homes of the day, his pictures failed to last more than a few years. On one occasion Haas was called away while working on an unfixed sand picture. When he returned he found one of Windsor Castles’ cats curled up on the picture, damaging it.

Eventually Zobel returned to Memmingen in Bavaria where he continued to successfully pursue his craft. Some of his work is displayed in Memmingen Town Hall. Haas was forced to give up sand painting, probably due to the ongoing disasters with his pictures. He opened a bakery in Windsor instead, and the icing on his cakes may well have been decorated with pictures in coloured sugar instead of sand.

With the passing of these Georgian craftsmen and the disposal of the Duke of York’s collection the interest and skills evolved in sand picture work declined. The only Royal personage to take further interest in the craft was the late Queen Mary, consort to George V who bequeathed her Georgian sand paintings to the Victoria and Albert Museum, and her collection of Isle of Wight sand pictures to Carisbrooke Castle Museum on the Isle of Wight.

In the first half of the 20th century Lt. Colonel Rybot was a keen collector of sand paintings, which were the source material of the articles written on the subject in the arts and crafts magazines of the day. Eventually 37 of his collection of sand paintings were the main feature at an auction held at Sotheby’s New Bond Street gallery on 15 June 1956.

Victorian Sand Picture Souvenirs

Thousands of sites exist where it is possible to collect natural coloured sands for craftwork, with an enormous range of colours being available around the globe varying with the contents of the mineral charged waters leaching through the sands. But for the tourist the vertical sand cliffs at Alum Bay on the Isle of Wight form the central portion of a visual geological phenomenon (best viewed after a shower of rain) which encapsulates the impressive chalk spires of The Needles and Tennyson Downs. Although tourists are no longer encouraged to obtain their own sand from the cliffs, numerous companies on the Island sell sand for the purpose of Sandpainting.
After her marriage to Prince Albert and having chosen Osborne House near Cowes to be her new family retreat, Queen Victoria was the prime mover in the gentrification of this former backwater, local artisans benefitted from the influx of wealthy visitors, and a number of craftsmen sold their fixed sand pictures and unfixed sand jars featuring views of the Island as unique keepsakes of the Isle of Wight.

Some of these sand pictures were small and crude and left unsigned, but Edwin and John Dore of Arreton produced some fine work in the 1840s. The pictures were of postcard size and the subject matter local views such as Carisbrooke Castle, and other touristy subjects. Edwin always signed his quaint pictures in a fine hand with a mapping pen and Indian ink, one of his most successful mass-produced subjects being ‘Collecting birds eggs on Needles Cliffs’. John Dore used a card embellished with a printed border of lace design on which to execute his sand pictures although the quality of his work was inferior to that of his brother.

Few of the Island sand artists filled in the sky, giving that detail a light colourwash as a finishing touch, sometimes leaving doors and windows free of sand which would be blocked in with Indian ink. In the 1860s and 1870s J. Symons of Cowes kept up the good work, producing local views much larger than postcard size, mounted in glazed oak or maple frames and signed with the artist’s signature on the reverse. The father and son team the Neates of Newport sold their works from a stall outside Carisbrooke

Castle gates where visitors were offered sand pictures and sand jars priced from 1/- to 2/6 each and the son grew his fingernails abnormally long in order to distribute the sand on his pictures. During the 1930s and 1940s R.J.Snow of Lake came nearest to producing sand pictures in the manner of the Georgian craftsmen, but postcard size, although he did produce some fine commissioned work, particularly a view of Oddicombe in Devon, in which the sea and sky were also 'painted' in sand, but after the war years the quality of the postcard sand pictures deteriorated with the mass-produced article with little taste or skill being offered for sale for a few shillings.

Senegal

Figure **13.8.12** - Sand painting workshop in Dakar, Senegal

In Senegal, designs are glued to board and are typically of figures in the landscape.

Sand Bottles

In the 1860s to 1890s Andrew Clemens a deaf mute born in Dubuque, Iowa, USA became famous for his craft of creating unfixed pictures using multicoloured sands compressed inside glass bottles or ornate chemist jars. The sand was collected from the bluffs overlooking the Mississippi. The subjects of his sand bottles included ornately decorated sentimental verses, sailing ships, plants, animals and portraits.

He exhibited his work at the St. Louis trade fair and having spent hours creating a picture in a bottle would demonstrate to an incredulous audience that the picture inside was unfixed by destroying the bottle with a hammer. Clemens' sand bottles have become museum pieces and highly prized antiques which have since sold at auction for thousands of U.S. dollars.

Sand Carpets

Figure **13.8.13** - Sandpainting on the tiled floor (on the wall are handpainted decorated tiles)

Figure **13.8.14** - *"Carpet" of land in the Town Hall Square in La Orotava Tenerife in celebration of Corpus Christi.*

In the province of Drenthe in the Netherlands in the late 19th, early 20th centuries it was custom to use a stiff broom to sweep patterns in white sand to form simple decorations on the tiled floors of the houses, mostly for special occasions or celebrations. The next day it was swept up. This custom was also practiced in Northern Belgium by the Dutch speaking communities while in Hekelgem, 1973 was the centenary year of the craft of "Old Zandtapijt". The hotels and cafes would employ artisans to strew ornate sand pictures in unfixed coloured sands on the tiled floors of their premises to encourage passing tourists to halt and enjoy local hospitality on their way towards Brussels. Roger de Boeck, born in 1930, was a well-respected exponent of this craft, who used glue to fix his sand pictures to a suitable base selling them to visitors to his atelier. In addition to biblical scenes, his finest works included a portrait of Queen Elizabeth 1953, and US president John Kennedy, in the early 60s. This craft continues, and a booklet to celebrate the centenary was published on 1 February 1973.[4]

Figure **13.8.15** - *"Asynchronous Syntropy" painting using colored sand as seen at The Museum of Arts and Design "Swept Away" exhibit May 2012*

In modern days, sandpainting is most often practiced during Dia de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) in Mexico and the United States. Streets are decorated with sand paintings that are later swept away, symbolizing the fleeting nature of life. Of note are the sandpaintings done during the Seattle Dia De Muertos Festival, but the most exciting development has been the Performance Art of Sand Animation which has created a new wave of younger artists and also revived interest in all types of sand painting.

A number of contemporary artists use sand in ways that depart from specific cultural traditions exploring techniques by raking sand, pouring it, carving it, creating unique designs. The works are ephemeral and are primarily shared through documentation or part of a live performance.

Many of these artists were included in an exhibit at the Museum of Arts and Design in New York City titled "Swept Away: Dust, Ashes, and Dirt in Contemporary Art and Design" which was featured in the galleries in 2012.[5][6] Curator David Revere McFadden described his reasoning for curating the exhibit as wanting to spotlight the work of contemporary artists who specialize in what he described as "unorthodox, unusual, or unexpected materials."[7]

Artist included in the exhibit that use sand and techniques related to sand painting were: Elvira Wersche,[8] who collects sands from all over the world to create geometric patterned paintings, only to be destroyed as part of a performance.[9] Andy Goldsworthy is known for his ephemeral works using nature, and began sand painting in 1986,[10][11] documented the deterioration of a giant ball of sand on the beach packed with bones for the exhibit. Jim Denevan known for his massive raked sand paintings also shared documentation of his process on California beaches.[12][13] Igor Eskinja used dust to paint an architectural floor plan in the galleries.[14]Cui Fei produces calligraphic works in sand using tradition chak-pur and brushes.[15]Vik Muniz uses dust, chocolate syrup, grains of sand, sugar, caviar, magazines and industrial garbage in a way that reflects sand painting.[16][17] The rotating exhibit "Swept Away Projects" featured Linda Florence and Joe Mangrum whose works were added to the galleries after removal of previous works.[18] Linda Florence used chalk to stencil patterns onto the floor and often uses various materials like sugar to create installations.[19] Joe Mangrum poured colored sand from his hand for two consecutive days on 8–9 May 2012 he titled "Asynchronous Syntropy" and an outdoor project that acted as a circumambulation of the museum itself. Mangrum worked a total of 24 hours over the span of two days, spontaneously improvising his sand painting design, only to have it quickly disappear under the bustle of Columbus Circle foot traffic.[5][20]

Other contemporary artists who work with sand include Andrew van der Merwe, based in Cape Town, who carves calligraphic imagery into the sand on beaches;[21] Andres Amador, an American artist who rakes designs into beaches;[22] Ahmad Nadalian, an Iranian artist who uses natural ground pigments to paint with sand;[23] and Motoi Yamamoto, who makes paintings reflecting typhoons and natural phenomena using salt.[24][25]

Present-day Sand Painting Techniques

Figure **13.8.16** - Brian Pike's 1985 portrait of Margaret Thatcher incorporates magnetised iron filings

Some sand artists work exclusively in environmentally friendly re-cycled and found materials with no preparatory drawing. Dry naturally occurring oxidised and mineral-charged coloured sands are traced by reference to geological maps, and collected on field trips, and then with the addition of powdered charcoal to widen the palette, the sands are sprinkled through sieves or 'drawn' with a paper funnel onto the area of the picture being worked on, and then blended in, either with a discarded feather used as a 'brush' or gently blown into position with a drinking straw before being permanently fixed to a plywood offcut which is used as the 'canvas'. Having been allowed to dry, the sand painter moves on to the next section of the picture. Any minor adjustments or snags are sorted out before the work is sprayed with a coat of Calaton, (a nylon adhesive used to protect fragile ancient papyri) then finally being sprayed with varnish to intensify the depth of color without the disadvantage of surface reflection which occurs in the case of many oil paintings.

Other artists use industrial tinted quartz sands with a long lasting colors with capacity to resist intemperie action and a new generation of strong adhesives. The painting technique starts with a sketch over the protective cover of the adhesive. After, the cover is retired by small or big parts, using a scalpel, pouring the tinted sands by hand to build the color and the motives in the uncovered area. The work is protected with a vernis spray similar to used with powder materials. No glass cover is needed with this sands and the adhesives. The paintings have proven to resist the effect of direct sun without changes of colours or yellowsing of the adhesive.

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13.9: Ethnomusicology

Figure **13.9.1** - Ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore recording Blackfoot chief Mountain Chief for the Bureau of American Ethnology in 1916

Ethnomusicology is an area of study that encompasses distinct theoretical and methodical approaches to the study of music that emphasizes the cultural, social, material, cognitive, biological, and other dimensions or contexts of musical behavior instead of or in addition to its isolated sound component.

The term *ethnomusicology*, said to have been first coined by Jaap Kunst from the Greek words ἔθνος (*ethnos*, "nation") and μουσική (*mousike*, "music"), is often defined as the anthropology or ethnography of music, or as musical anthropology.[1] During its early development from comparative musicology in the 1950s, ethnomusicology was primarily oriented toward non-Western music, but for several decades has included the study of all and any musics of the world (including Western art music and popular music) from anthropological, sociological and intercultural perspectives. Bruno Nettl once characterized ethnomusicology as a product of Western thinking, proclaiming that "ethnomusicology as western culture knows it is actually a western phenomenon";[2] in 1992, Jeff Todd Titon described it as the study of "people making music".[3]

Figure **13.9.2** - The didgeridoo and clap stick players of the One Mob Different Country dance troupe at the Nightcliff Seabreeze Festival 04 May 2013

Definition

Stated broadly, ethnomusicology may be described as a holistic investigation of music in its cultural contexts.[4] Combining aspects of folklore, psychology, cultural anthropology, linguistics, comparative musicology, music theory, and history,[5] ethnomusicology has adopted perspectives from a multitude of disciplines.[6] This disciplinary variety has given rise to many definitions of the field, and attitudes and foci of ethnomusicologists have evolved since initial studies in the area of comparative musicology in the early 1900s. When the field first came into existence, it was largely limited to the study of non-Western music—in contrast to the study of Western art music, which had been the focus of conventional musicology. In fact, the field was referred to early in its existence as "comparative musicology," defining Western musical traditions as the standard to which all other musics were compared, though this term fell out of use in the 1950s as critics for the practices associated with it became more vocal about ethnomusicology's distinction from musicology.[7] Over time, the definition broadened to include study of all the musics of the world according to certain *approaches*.[8][9]

While there is not a single, authoritative definition for ethnomusicology, a number of constants appear in the definitions employed by leading scholars in the field. It is agreed upon that ethnomusicologists look at music from beyond a purely sonic and historical perspective, and look instead at music within culture, music as culture, and music as a reflection of culture.[7][9] In addition, many ethnomusicological studies share common methodological approaches encapsulated in ethnographic fieldwork, often conducting primary fieldwork among those who make the music, learning languages and the music itself, and taking on the role of a participant observer in learning to perform in a musical tradition, a practice Hood termed "bi-musicality".[10] Musical fieldworkers often also collect recordings and contextual information about the music of interest.[7] Thus, ethnomusicological studies do not rely on printed or manuscript sources as the primary source of epistemic authority.

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13.10: Dance

Dance is a performance art form consisting of purposefully selected sequences of human movement. This movement has aesthetic and symbolic value, and is acknowledged as dance by performers and observers within a particular culture.[nb 1] Dance can be categorized and described by its choreography, by its repertoire of movements, or by its historical period or place of origin.

Origins

Figure **13.10.1** - Mesolithic dancers at Bhimbetka

Archaeological evidence for early dance includes 9,000-year-old paintings in India at the Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka, and Egyptian tomb paintings depicting dancing figures, dated c. 3300 BC. It has been proposed that before the invention of written languages, dance was an important part of the oral and performance methods of passing stories down from generation to generation.[5] The use of dance in ecstatic trance states and healing rituals (as observed today in many contemporary indigenous cultures, from the Brazilian rainforest to the Kalahari Desert) is thought to have been another early factor in the social development of dance.[6]

Figure **13.10.2** - Greek bronze statuette of a veiled and masked dancer, 3rd-2nd century BC, Alexandria, Egypt.

References to dance can be found in very early recorded history; Greek dance(*horos*) is referred to by Plato, Aristotle, Plutarch and Lucian.[7] The Bible and Talmud refer to many events related to dance, and contain over 30 different dance terms.[8] In Chinese pottery as early as the Neolithic period, groups of people are depicted dancing in a line holding hands,[9]and the earliest Chinese word for “dance” is found written in the oracle bones.[10] Dance is further described in the *Lüshi Chunqiu*.[11][12] Primitive dance in ancient China was associated with sorcery and shamanic rituals.

During the first millennium BCE in India, many texts were composed which attempted to codify aspects of daily life. Bharata Muni’s *Natyashastra* (literally“*the text of dramaturgy*”) is one of the earlier texts. It mainly deals with drama, in which dance plays an important part in Indian culture. It categorizes dance into four types – secular, ritual, abstract, and, interpretive – and into four regional varieties. The text elaborates various hand-gestures (*mudras*) and classifies movements of the various limbs, steps and so on. A strong continuous tradition of dance has since continued in India, through to modern times, where it continues to play a role in culture, ritual, and, notably, the Bollywood entertainment industry. Many other contemporary dance forms can likewise be traced back to historical, traditional, ceremonial, and ethnic dance.

Cultural Traditions

Africa

Figure **13.10.3** - Ugandan youth dance at a cultural celebration of peace

Dance in Africa is deeply integrated into society and major events in a community are frequently reflected in dances: dances are performed for births and funerals, weddings and wars.[13]:13 Traditional dances impart cultural morals, including religious traditions and sexual standards; give vent to repressed emotions, such as grief; motivate community members to cooperate, whether fighting wars or grinding grain; enact spiritual rituals; and contribute to social cohesiveness.[14]

Thousands of dances are performed around the continent. These may be divided into traditional, neotraditional, and classical styles: folkloric dances of a particular society, dances created more recently in imitation of traditional styles, and dances transmitted more formally in schools or private lessons.[13]:18 African dance has been altered by many forces, such as European missionaries and colonialist governments, who often suppressed local dance traditions as licentious or distracting.[14] Dance in contemporary African cultures still serves its traditional functions in new contexts; dance may celebrate the inauguration of a hospital, build community for rural migrants in unfamiliar cities, and be incorporated into Christian church ceremonies.[14]

Figure **13.10.4** - An Indian classical dancer

Asia

All Indian classical dances are to varying degrees rooted in the *Natyashastra* and therefore share common features: for example, the *mudra*s (hand positions), some body positions, and the inclusion of dramatic or expressive acting or abhinaya. Indian classical music provides accompaniment and dancers of nearly all the styles wear bells around their ankles to counterpoint and complement the percussion.

There are now many regional varieties of Indian classical dance. Dances like *"Odra Magadhi"*, which after decades long debate, has been traced to present day Mithila, Odisha region's dance form of Odissi (Orissi), indicate influence of dances in cultural interactions between different regions.[15]

The Punjab area overlapping India and Pakistan is the place of origin of Bhangra. It is widely known both as a style of music and a dance. It is mostly related to ancient harvest celebrations, love, patriotism or social issues. Its music is coordinated by a musical instrument called the 'Dhol'. Bhangra is not just music but a dance, a celebration of the harvest where people beat the dhol (drum), sing Boliyaan (lyrics) and dance. It developed further with the Vaisakhi festival of the Sikhs.

The dances of Sri Lanka include the devil dances (*yakun natima*), a carefully crafted ritual reaching far back into Sri Lanka's pre-Buddhist past that combines ancient "Ayurvedic" concepts of disease causation with psychological manipulation and combines many aspects including Sinhalese cosmology. Their influence can be seen on the classical dances of Sri Lanka.[16]

Figure **13.10.5** - Two classical ballet dancers perform a sequence of The Nutcracker, one of the best known works of classical dance

The dances of the Middle East are usually the traditional forms of circle dancing which are modernized to an extent. They would include dabke, tamzara, Assyrian folk dance, Kurdish dance, Armenian dance and Turkish dance, among others.[17][18] All these forms of dances would usually involve participants engaging each other by holding hands or arms (depending on the style of the dance). They would make rhythmic moves with their legs and shoulders as they curve around the dance floor. The head of the dance would generally hold a cane or handkerchief.[17][19]

Europe and North America

Ballet developed first in Italy and then in France from lavish court spectacles that combined music, drama, poetry, song, costumes and dance. Members of the court nobility took part as performers. During the reign of Louis XIV, himself a dancer, dance became more codified. Professional dancers began to take the place of court amateurs, and ballet masters were licensed by the French government. The first ballet dance academy was the Académie Royale de Danse (Royal Dance Academy), opened in Paris in 1661. Shortly thereafter, the first institutionalized ballet troupe, associated with the Academy, was formed; this troupe began as an all-male ensemble but by 1681 opened to include women as well.[5]

20th century concert dance brought an explosion of innovation in dance style characterized by an exploration of freer technique. Early pioneers of what became known as modern dance include Loie Fuller, Isadora Duncan,Mary Wigman and Ruth St. Denis. The relationship of music to dance serves as the basis for Eurhythmics, devised by Emile Jaques-Dalcroze, which was influential to the development of Modern dance and modern ballet through artists such as Marie Rambert. Eurythmy, developed by Rudolf Steiner and Marie Steiner-von Sivers, combines formal elements reminiscent of traditional dance with the new freer style, and introduced a complex new vocabulary to dance. In the 1920s, important founders of the new style such as Martha Grahamand Doris Humphrey began their work. Since this time, a wide variety of dance styles have been developed.

Figure **13.10.6** - Street samba dancers perform in carnival parades and contests

African American dance developed in everyday spaces, rather than in dance studios, schools or companies. Tap dance, disco, jazz dance, swing dance, hip hop dance, the lindy hop with its relationship to rock and roll music and rock and roll dance have had a global influence.

Latin America

Dance is central to Latin American social life and culture. Brazilian Samba, Argentinian tango, and Cuban salsa are internationally popular partner dances, and other national dances—merengue, cueca, plena, jarabe, joropo, marinera, cumbia, and others—are important components of their respective countries' cultures.[20]Traditional Carnival festivals incorporate these and other dances in enormous celebrations.[21]

Dance has played an important role in forging a collective identity among the many cultural and ethnic groups of Latin America.[22] Dance served to unite the many African, European, and indigenous peoples of the region.[20] Certain dance genres, such as

capoeira, and body movements, especially the characteristic *quebrada* or pelvis swing, have been variously banned and celebrated throughout Latin American history.[22]

Notes

1. Many definitions of dance have been proposed. This definition is based on the following:"Dance is human movement created and expressed for an aesthetic purpose."[1]"Dance is a transient mode of expression performed in a given form and style by the human body moving in space. Dance occurs through purposefully selected and controlled rhythmic movements; the resulting phenomenon is recognized as dance both by the performer and the observing members of a given group."[2]"Dance is human behaviour composed (from the dancer's perspective, which is usually shared by the audience members of the dancer's culture) of purposeful (individual choice and social learning play a role), intentionally rhythmical, and culturally patterned sequences of nonverbal body movement mostly other than those performed in ordinary motor activities. The motion (in time, space, and with effort) has an inherent and aesthetic value (the notion of appropriateness and competency as viewed by the dancer's culture) and symbolic potential."[3]

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13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

Figure **13.11.1** - Susquehannock artifacts on display at the State Museum of Pennsylvania, 2007

The **Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act**(**NAGPRA**), Pub. L. 101-601, 25 U.S.C. 3001 et seq., 104 Stat. 3048, is a United States federal law enacted on 16 November 1990.

The Act requires federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funding[1] to return Native American "cultural items" to lineal descendants and culturally affiliated Indian tribes and Native Hawaiian organizations. **Cultural items** include human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony. A program of federal grants assists in the repatriation process and the Secretary of the Interior may assess civil penalties on museums that fail to comply.

NAGPRA also establishes procedures for the inadvertent discovery or planned excavation of Native American cultural items on federal or tribal lands. While these provisions do not apply to discoveries or excavations on private or state lands, the collection provisions of the Act may apply to Native American cultural items if they come under the control of an institution that receives federal funding.

Lastly, NAGPRA makes it a criminal offense to traffic in Native American human remains without right of possession or in Native American cultural items obtained in violation of the Act. Penalties for a first offense may reach 12 months imprisonment and a $100,000 fine.

The intent of the NAGPRA legislation is to address long-standing claims by federally recognized tribes for the return of human remains and cultural objects unlawfully obtained from prehistoric, historic, former, and current Native American homelands. Interpretation of human and indigenous rights, prehistoric presence, cultural affiliation with antiquities, and the return of remains and objects can be controversial and contested. It includes provisions that delineate the legal processes by which museums and federal agencies are required to return certain Native American cultural items—human remains, gravesite materials, and other objects of cultural patrimony—to proven lineal descendants, culturally related Native American tribes, and Native Hawaiian groups. Specifically, these types of items which are found and scientifically dated to a time prior to 1492 C.E. are to be turned over to Native American tribes. This would include any future discovery of Viking burials, such as those from Leif Ericson's lost colony (which is thought to be similar to L'Anse aux Meadows).

Outcomes of NAGPRA repatriation efforts are slow and cumbersome, leading many tribes to spend considerable effort documenting their requests; collections' holders are obliged to inform and engage with tribes whose materials they may possess. NAGPRA was enacted primarily at the insistence and by the direction of members of Native American nations.[2]

Tribal Concerns

Tribes had many reasons based in law that made legislation concerning tribal grave protection and repatriation necessary.

- State Statutory Law: Historically, states only regulated and protected marked graves. Native American graves were often unmarked and did not receive the protection provided by these statutes.
- Common Law: The colonizing population formed much of the legal system that developed over the course of settling the United States. This law did not often take into account the unique Native American practices concerning graves and other burial practices. It did not account for government actions against Native Americans, such as removal, the relationship that Native Americans as different peoples maintain with their dead, and sacred ideas and myths related to the possession of graves.
- Equal Protection: Native Americans, as well as others, often found that the remains of Native American graves were treated differently from the dead of other races.
- First Amendment: As in most racial and social groups, Native American burial practices relate strongly to their religious beliefs and practices. They held that when tribal dead were desecrated, disturbed, or withheld from burial, their religious beliefs and practices are being infringed upon. Religious beliefs and practices are protected by the first amendment.

- Sovereignty Rights: Native Americans hold unique rights as sovereign bodies, leading to their relations to be controlled by their own laws and customs. The relationship between the people and their dead is an internal relationship, to be understood as under the sovereign jurisdiction of the tribe.
- Treaty: From the beginning of the U.S. government and tribe relations, the tribe maintained rights unless specifically divested to the U.S. government in a treaty. The U.S. government does not have the right to disturb Native American graves or their dead, because it has not been granted by any treaty.

Description

The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act is a law that establishes the ownership of cultural items excavated or discovered on federal or tribal land after November 16, 1990. The act also applies to land transferred by the federal government to the states under the Water Resources Department Act.[3] However, the provisions of the legislation do not apply to private lands. The Act states that Native American remains and associated funerary objects belong to lineal descendants. If lineal descendants cannot be identified, then those remains and objects, along with associated funerary and sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony belong to the tribe on whose lands the remains were found or the tribe having the closest known relationship to them.[3] Tribes find the burden of proof is on them, if it becomes necessary to demonstrate a cultural relationship that may not be well-documented or understood. Nowhere has this issue been more pronounced than in California, where many small bands were extinguished before they could be recognized, and only a handful, even today, have obtained federal recognition as Native Americans and descendants of Native American bands.

Congress attempted to “strike a balance between the interest in scientific examination of skeletal remains and the recognition that Native Americans, like people from every culture around the world, have a religious and spiritual reverence for the remains of their ancestors.”[4]

The act also requires each federal agency, museum, or institution that receives federal funds to prepare an inventory of remains and funerary objects and a summary of sacred objects, cultural patrimony objects, and unassociated funerary objects. The act provides for repatriation of these items when requested by the appropriate descendant of the tribe. This applies to remains or objects discovered at any time, even before November 16, 1990.[5]

Since the legislation passed, the human remains of approximately 32,000 individuals have been returned to their respective tribes. Nearly 670,000 funerary objects, 120,000 unassociated funerary objects, and 3,500 sacred objects have been returned.[5] NAGPRA serves as a limitation, sometimes restricting excavation of American Indian remains and cultural objects, thereby potentially limiting the possible study of these objects.[6]

Figure **13.11.2** - Map of Native American reservations

The statute attempts to mediate a significant tension that exists between the tribes’ communal interests in the respectful treatment of their deceased ancestors and related cultural items and the scientists’ individual interests in the study of those same human remains and items. The act divides the treatment of American Indian human remains, funerary objects, sacred objects, and objects of cultural patrimony into two basic categories. Under the inadvertent discovery and planned excavation component of the act and regulations, if federal officials anticipate that activities on federal and tribal lands after November 16, 1990 might have an effect on American Indian burials—or if burials are discovered during such activities—they must consult with potential lineal descendants or American Indian tribal officials as part of their compliance responsibilities. For planned excavations, consultation must occur during the planning phase of the project. For inadvertent discoveries, the regulations delineate a set of short deadlines for initiating and completing consultation. The repatriation provision, unlike the ownership provision, applies to remains or objects discovered at any time, even before the effective date of the act, whether or not discovered on tribal or federal land. The act allows archaeological

teams a short time for analysis before the remains must be returned. Once it is determined that human remains are American Indian, analysis can occur only through documented consultation (on federal lands) or consent (on tribal lands).

A criminal provision of the Act prohibits trafficking in Native American human remains, or in Native American "cultural items." Under the inventory and notification provision of the act, federal agencies and institutions that receive federal funds are required to summarize their collections that may contain items subject to NAGPRA. Additionally, federal agencies and institutions must prepare inventories of human remains and funerary objects. Under the act, funerary objects are considered "associated" if they were buried as part of a burial ceremony with a set of human remains still in possession of the federal agency or other institution. "Unassociated" funerary objects are artifacts where human remains were not initially collected by—or were subsequently destroyed, lost, or no longer in possession of—the agency or institution. Consequently, this legislation also applies to many Native American artifacts, especially burial items and religious artifacts. It has necessitated massive cataloguing of the Native American collections in order to identify the living heirs, culturally affiliated Indian tribes, and Native Hawaiian organizations of remains and artifacts. NAGPRA has had a dramatic effect on the day-to-day practice of archaeology and physical anthropology in the United States. In many cases, NAGPRA helped stimulate interactions of archaeologists and museum professionals with Native Americans that were felt to be constructive by all parties.

History

Background

The late 19th century was one of the most difficult periods in Native American history in regards to the loss of cultural artifacts and land. With the founding of museums and scholarly studies of Native American peoples increasing with the growth of anthropology and archaeology as disciplines, private collectors and museums competed to acquire artifacts, which many Native Americans considered ancestral assets, but others sold. This competition existed not only between museums such as the Smithsonian Institution (founded in 1846) and museums associated with universities, but also between museums in the United States and museums in Europe. In the 1880s and 1890s, collecting was done by untrained adventurers. As of the year 1990, federal agencies reported having the remains of 14,500 deceased Natives in their possession, which had accumulated since the late 19th century. Many institutions said they used the remains of Native Americans for anthropological research, to gain more information about humans. At one time, in since discredited comparative racial studies, institutions such as the Army Medical Museum sought to demonstrate racial characteristics to prove the inferiority of Native Americans.[7]

Maria Pearson

Maria Pearson is often credited with being the earliest catalyst for the passage of NAGPRA legislation; she has been called "the Founding Mother of modern Indian repatriation movement" and the "Rosa Parks of NAGPRA".[8] In the early 1970s, Pearson was appalled that the skeletal remains of Native Americans were treated differently from white remains. Her husband, an engineer with the Iowa Department of Transportation, told her that both Native American and white remains were uncovered during road construction in Glenwood, Iowa. While the remains of 26 white burials were quickly reburied, the remains of a Native American mother and child were sent to a lab for study instead. Pearson protested to Governor Robert D. Ray, finally gaining an audience with him after sitting outside his office in traditional attire. "You can give me back my people's bones and you can quit digging them up", she responded when the governor asked what he could do for her. The ensuing controversy led to the passage of the Iowa Burials Protection Act of 1976, the first legislative act in the United States that specifically protected Native American remains.

Emboldened by her success, Pearson went on to lobby national leaders, and her efforts, combined with the work of many other activists, led to the creation of NAGPRA.[8][9] Pearson and other activists were featured in the 1995 BBC documentary *Bones of Contention*.[10]

Slack Farm and Disckson Mounts

The 1987 looting of a 500-year-old burial mound at the Slack Farm in Kentucky, in which human remains were tossed to the side while relics were stolen, made national news and helped to galvanize popular support for protection of Native American graves.[11] [12]Likewise, several protests at the Dickson Mounds site in Illinois, where numerous Indian skeletons were exposed on display, also increased national awareness of the issue.[13]

Return to the Earth Project

Return to the Earth is an inter-religious project whose goal is to inter unidentified remains in regional burial sites.[14] Over 110,000 remains that cannot be associated with a particular tribe are held in institutions across the United States, as of 2006.[15] The project seeks to enable a process of reconciliation between Native and non-Native peoples, construct cedar burial boxes, produce burial cloths and fund the repatriation of remains. The first of the burial sites is near the Cheyenne Cultural Center in Clinton, Oklahoma.[15][16]

Controversial Issues

Archaeologists are concerned that they are being prevented from studying ancient remains which cannot be traced to any historic tribe. Many of the tribes migrated to their territories at the time of European encounter within 100–500 years from other locations, so their ancestors were not located in the historic territories.[17] Such controversies have repeatedly stalled archaeological investigations, such as in the case of the Spirit Cave mummy; fears have been voiced that an anti-scientific sentiment could well have permeated politics to an extent that scientists might find their work to be continuously barred by Native Americans rights activists.[18]

Kennewick Man

Compliance with the legislation can be complicated. One example of controversy is that of Kennewick Man, a skeleton found on July 28, 1996 near Kennewick, Washington. The federally recognized Umatilla, Colville, Yakima, and Nez Perce tribes had each claimed Kennewick Man as their ancestor, and sought permission to rebury him. Kennewick, Washington is classified as part of the ancestral land of the Umatilla.

Archaeologists said that because of Kennewick Man's great age, there was insufficient evidence to connect him to modern tribes. The great age of the remains makes this discovery scientifically valuable.[19] As archaeologists, forensic specialists, and linguists differed about whether the adult male was of indigenous origin, the standing law, if conclusively found by a preponderance of evidence to be Native American, would give the tribe of the geographic area where he was found a claim to the remains.[20] New evidence could still emerge in defense of tribal claims to ancestry, but emergent evidence may require more sophisticated and precise methods of determining genetic descent, given that there was no cultural evidence accompanying the remains.

One tribe claiming ancestry to Kennewick Man offered up a DNA test, and in 2015 it was found that the Kennewick man is "more closely related to modern Native Americans than any other living population." However, the remains still have not been released.[21]

International Policies

Fiigure **13.11.3** *- Distinctive Marking of Cultural Property, Hague Convention*

The issues of such resources are being addressed by international groups dealing with indigenous rights. For example, in 1995 the United States signed an agreement with El Salvador in order to protect all pre-Columbian artifacts from leaving the region. Soon after, it signed similar agreements with Canada, Peru, Guatemala, and Mali and demonstrated leadership in implementing the 1970 UNESCO Convention. The UNESCO convention had membership increase to 86 countries by 1997, and 193 by 2007. UNESCO appears to be reducing the illicit antiquities trade. It is not an easy business to track, but the scholar Phyllis Messenger notes that some antiquities traders have written articles denouncing the agreements, which suggests that it is reducing items sold to them.[22]

An international predecessor of the UNESCO Convention and NAGPRA is the 1954 Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict.[23] The Hague Convention was the first international convention to focus on preserving cultural heritage from the devastation of war. Looting and destruction of other civilizations have been characteristics of war recorded from the first accounts of all cultures.

Figure **13.11.4** - Minik Wallace (Kalaallit) in New York, 1897

On September 30, 1897, Lieutenant Robert Peary brought six Inuit people from Greenland to the American Museum of Natural History in New York, at the request of the anthropologist Franz Boas, in order to "obtain leisurely certain information which will be of the greatest scientific importance" regarding Inuit culture.[24] About two weeks after arrival at the museum, all six of the Inuit people became sick with colds and fever. They began to perform their tribal healing process and were mocked for their bizarre behavior. These people became a form of entertainment for the Americans. By November 1, 1897, they were admitted to the Bellevue Hospital Center with tuberculosis, which they likely had contracted before their trip. In February, the first Inuit died and shortly after that two more followed. By the time the sickness had run its course, two men survived. *Minik* was adopted by a superintendent of the museum, while *Uissakassak*returned to his homeland in Greenland. Later, after being lied to and being told that his father Qisuk had received a proper Inuit burial, Minik was shocked to find his father's skeleton on display in the museum.

In 1993 the museum finally agreed to return the four Inuit skeletons to Greenland for proper burial. Representatives of the Museum went to Greenland that year to participate. In contrast to peoples in other areas, some local Inuit thought that the burial was more desired by the Christian representatives of the museum, and that the remains could have just as appropriately been kept in New York.[25] David Hurst Thomas' study of the case shows the complexity of reburial and repatriation cases, and the need for individual approaches to each case by all affected parties.[25]

Protecting Cultural Property

In the United States, the Archaeological Resources Protection Act (ARPA) protects archaeological sites on federally owned lands. Privately owned sites are controlled by the owners. In some areas, archaeological foundations or similar organizations buy archaeological sites to conserve associated the cultural property.

Other countries may use three basic types of laws to protect cultural remains:

- Selective export control laws control the trade of the most important artifacts while still allowing some free trade. Countries that use these laws include Canada, Japan, and the United Kingdom.
- Total export restriction laws are used by some countries to enact an embargo and completely shut off export of cultural property. Many Latin American and Mediterranean countries use these laws.
- Other countries, such as Mexico, use national ownership laws to declare national ownership for all cultural artifacts. These laws cover control of artifacts that have not been discovered, to try to prevent looting of potential sites before exploration.

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CHAPTER OVERVIEW

14: Globalization

Learning Objectives

By the end of the chapter, you should be able to answer the following questions:

- What is globalization?
- How did the modern era of globalization develop?
- What is the relationship between culture and globalization?

We will skim the surface of globalization with a particular emphasis of the history of modern era of globalization and its effects on indigenous peoples. Modern economic and political development is driven by the assumption that modernization and development will be beneficial for all people; however, cultural differences are not taken into consideration, often leading to the destruction of indigenous cultures. Understanding the context of modern development enables us to understand our own place in an increasingly interconnected world.

14.1: Introduction to Globalization
14.2: Globalization
14.3: Modernization
14.4: Development
14.5: GNI Per Capita, Atlas Method (Current US $)
14.6: Technology
14.7: The Global Digital Divide
14.8: Global Life Expectancy and Mortality Statistics
14.9: Global Warming
14.10: Indigenous People
14.11: Cultural Survival
14.12: Multiculturalism

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14.1: Introduction to Globalization

"We talk about globalization today as if it's some great big new thing that we've all just discovered. But there's really nothing new about it." - Jacqueline Winspear

In this section, we will skim the surface of globalization with a particular emphasis of the history of modern era of globalization and its effects on indigenous peoples. Modern economic and political development is driven by the assumption that modernization and development will be beneficial for all people; however, cultural differences are not taken into consideration, often leading to the destruction of indigenous cultures. Understanding the context of modern development enables us to understand our own place in an increasingly interconnected world.

Figure **14.1.1** - Mall culture in Jakarta

Start with this TedTalk video of Wade Davis, anthropologist in residence at the National Geographic Society, speaking about endangered cultures [run time: 22.04].

References

- Cultural Anthropology · History of Anthropological Theory

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14.2: Globalization

What is Globalization?

The answer to this question is not a simple one. There are various definitions of globalization depending on the perspective with which the topic is approached. Many think of globalization as processes that cause changes that make people more interconnected and interdependent. Others think of it as "…a reorganization of time and space in which many movements of peoples, things, and ideas throughout much of the world have become increasingly faster and effortless (Morris 2010: 865). Still others focus on the interaction and integration promoted by international trade, investment, and information technology (The Levin Institute 2015).

Figure **14.2.1**: English and Hebrew Coke labels. (CC BY-SA 3.0 unported; Yoninah).

Anthropologists acknowledge that all of these definitions are relevant to the study of globalization and use long-term ethnographic studies to understand the dynamics of globalization. One of the things that make anthropological research on globalization important is that it remains focused on the impact of these global processes on individuals and cultures. Anthropologists do not assume that globalization is "natural and unavoidable" as that approach is steeped in Social Darwinist ideology and obscures how power and privilege are constructed and maintained (Morris 2010). It is an experiential process, meaning that it is different for each person. In an anthropological sense, **globalization** is "…an intensification of global interconnectedness, suggesting a world full of movement and mixture, contact and linkages, and persistent cultural interaction and exchange" (Inda and Rosaldo 2002: 2).

Enmeshed in the concept of globalization are modernization, development, and the legacy of European colonialism.

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14.3: Modernization

What it means to be modern is a concept that has changed over time. In the 5th century AD, Roman converts to Christianity used term to differentiate themselves from “barbarians.” Barbarians were non-Christian peoples, particularly people of the Jewish faith. During the Renaissance to be modern one had to cultivate a lifestyle based on classical Greek and Roman civilizations, while in the Enlightenment period rationalism, science-based knowledge, and the pursuit of “progress” was the hallmark of modernity. What all of these definitions have in common is that the people in power defined what it meant to be modern. This practice continues today with “modern” being synonymous with the Western industrial world led by the United States. Time must be reckoned in a linear manner; scientific knowledge and legal-rational institutions reign supreme. Technology, a capitalist economy, and a democratic political system are considered characteristics of modernity. **Modernization** then is a process of cultural and socio-economic change whereby less developed countries (LDCs) acquire characteristics of western, industrialized societies. It should be noted that this definition is used primarily by European-derived cultures. Modernization implies that other societies should be more like “us;” otherwise, that society is inferior. This is the legacy of European colonialism.

Legacy of Colonialism

In a broad view, colonialism, like globalization, is not new. Since the first hominins left Africa some 1.8 million years ago, people have been colonizing the earth. Sometimes that movement across the globe involved people encroaching on areas already inhabited by other humans. Archaeologists have been documenting the movement of peoples throughout prehistory and history, using a variety of data to reconstruct what those interactions may have looked like. **Colonialism** refers to the domination of one culture, society, or nation over another. In the context of modern globalization and to oversimplify, colonialism specifically refers to Western European domination over much of the world starting in the fifteenth century, but the origins of that movement is in the Asian overland-trade routes previously established. In the remainder of this article, any reference to colonialism refers specifically to Western European colonialism.

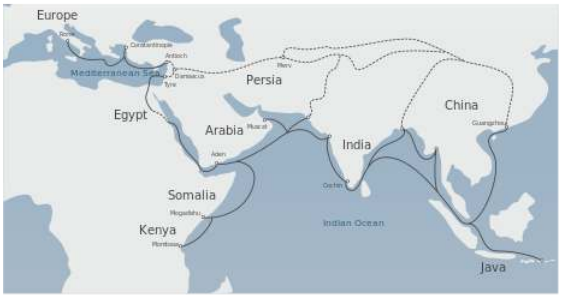

Figure **14.3.1** - Map of the Silk Road.

The process of colonialism left a legacy that infuses modern globalization. As Western European nations overtook control of various areas, leaders and merchants moved many indigenous peoples from their homelands to solve labor shortages faced by the colonial powers. The African slave trade is the example that comes to mind for most people, but other peoples were also enslaved, e.g., Chinese and Indian. The slave trade was possible because there was a belief that anyone not living in the manner of Western Europeans was inherently backward or lesser than white Europeans. This **dehumanization**, or denial of humanness, was essential to colonial practices as it provided a justification for aggressive and morally questionable practices (Haslam et al. 2007). We can still see the effects of this ideology today in various social movements such as Occupy and the green movement.

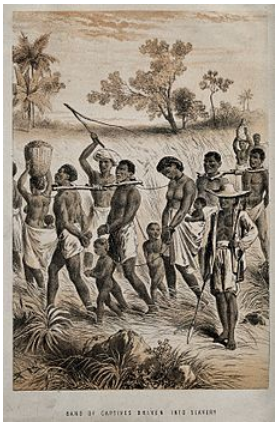

Figure **14.3.2** - Group of men and women being taken to a slave market.

Under European colonial rule, political and economic systems were reorganized. High-status Europeans were in charge of the colonies. By the end of the nineteenth century, colonial administrations were self-financing systems. Local indigenous leaders were bribed with titles, land, and tax breaks. This created an atmosphere of privilege that would create problems after decolonization. Local leaders then helped colonial administrators to force the local population into a capitalist economic system. **Primary commodity production**, or the production of raw materials, became the enforced norm, undermining traditional crafts and mixed farming systems. Following the pattern of the forced-enclosure movement in Europe where communal lands were enclosed and used privately for the production of market-based agriculture, farmers were forced into growing cash-crops instead of growing crops for personal use. A culture of **export monoculture** where a country produces one or more primary commodity became established, a practice that is still at the heart of international trade today. South Africa became known for gold and diamonds, Mexico for corn, and, India for cotton, tea, peanuts, and sugar cane. As a result of this reorganization, many indigenous farmers lost their land to commercial agricultural production. Men were frequently removed from their homes to work on these industrial farms in order to meet the growing demands for goods of European urban populations. The families left behind struggled to make ends meet. Malnutrition and social unrest grew among indigenous groups.

Colonial administrators rarely acknowledged traditional female gender roles if they did not mirror the female gender role in Europe, which stated that women were the property of men, either fathers or husbands. In areas where women had property rights, they were ignored by the colonial powers. In Kenya, Kikuyu women had rights to inherit land. After European domination, men were removed to work on European-owned farms and the land assumed to be owned by those men confiscated. Women lost control of the ability to grow sufficient food for their families and lost their status, wealth, and authority.

Figure **14.3.3** - Frontispiece from the book Saint-Domingue, ou Histoire de Ses Révolutions. ca. 1815.

The loss of self-governance and status, disruption of gender roles and family, and the loss of resources led to social unrest as large segments of indigenous populations were enslaved, killed, or died due to disease. Decolonization movements began in Haiti in 1791. The Haitian revolt was started by slaves on sugar plantations and was the only slave revolt to result in the founding of a state. Independence movements gained momentum over time, spreading to Latin America, Asia, and Africa even as late as the 1990s (South Africa). After the end of World War II, colonial subjects who had fought in the war returned with the ideologies of freedom and self-determination. As colonies gained their independence, new leaders were expected to operate on the global stage in the same manner as and with their former colonial rulers in order to be considered legitimate. Frequently, people had some power in

the colonial administration due to bribery or having some relationship to the former powers gained power in the newly independent states. Many newly emerged states required economic stimulation that came in the form proscribed by the only nation that had economic growth during WWII, the United States. This model of economic development is sometimes referred to as **neocolonialism**; in other words, the new states were closely tied to former colonial powers economically.

We still see the lingering effects of colonial **cultural imperialism**, or expansion of one culture at the expense of others, in the languages, customs, and worldviews of former colonies. In Haiti, French is the national language; in Brazil, Portuguese. Spanish is spoken in most South and Central American countries, English in a wide-geographic distribution resulting from that nation's imperialist expansion.

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14.4: Development

In this context, **development** refers to “change directed toward improving human welfare” (Miller 2011: 260). What this definition fails to mention is that the change is based on a model developed by former colonial powers the result of which is “dislocated cultural space” (Inda and Rosaldo 2002:25). While western culture has historically taken precedence through the process of colonialism in more recent years that dominance has been challenged resulting in interconnected cultural space (Inda and Rosaldo 2002:26).

Post WWII, development focused on rebuilding countries devastated by the global conflict. Impacting the course of development were two polarizing social ideologies: communism and democracy. Much of the economic and political development pursued by the United States was geared toward stopping the spread of communism. The goal was to help underdeveloped countries, or countries that did not economically use all their available resources to the degree deemed appropriate by the former colonial powers, become modern. The assumption was that all countries were on a universal path to modernity, an idea straight out of eighteenth century philosophies like social evolution (see theories section from the beginning of the quarter) and Social Darwinism. Several institutions were started to aid in development, particularly on the economic level: **United Nations (UN), World Bank (WB),** and **International Monetary Fund (IMF)**.

The UN was chartered in 1945 with fifty-one countries as original members. The UN and its family of organizations work to promote respect for human rights, protect the environment, fight disease, foster development, and reduce poverty. It oversees progress and works to foster cooperation among nations. The UN has also become a “neutral” peacekeeper in more recent years, but it is totally dependent upon member nations to provide military and financial resources to fulfill its mission. The UN currently has 193 member states each of which has a single vote in the General Assembly. The UN Security Council, which is responsible for overseeing international peace and security, has fifteen members: five permanent members (China, France, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, and United States) and ten non-permanent members who are elected for a term of two-years by the General Assembly. Any nation can take part in discussions of the Security Council, but only the fifteen members have a vote. A student of history might recognize that the five permanent members of the Security Council were allies during WWII and represent the two post-WWII social ideologies mentioned above.

Figure 14.4.1 - United Nations building, New York City.

At the same time that the UN was being organized, it was decided that an international banking system was integral to reconstruct the post-war world economy. In July 1944 at Bretton Woods, NH, a conference of forty-four financial ministers from Allied nations met to discuss the rebuilding of the world economy. The United States encouraged the foundation of the “twin sisters” – the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. The WB focused on making loans to governments in order to rebuild railroads, highways, bridges, ports, and other infrastructures. Its initial focus would be on rebuilding Western Europe and Japan, and then the focus would shift to the underdeveloped world. In 2015, the WB had 188 member countries, or shareholders, each of which is required to be a member of the IMF as well. Those members with the largest shares tend to have more influence in both institutions. The IMF’s initial goal was to stabilize international currency exchange. In 2012, the IMF’s mandate was modified to include economic and financial issues related to global stability.

The WB and IMF come under harsh criticism for their lending practices. In order to borrow money from the IMF or WB, debtor countries must agree to implement structural adjustment policies “…ensure open market access for corporations while cutting social spending on programs such as education, health care, and production credits for poor farmers” (Global Exchange 2011).

Debtor countries must also privatize publicly owned utilities and industries. Critics claim that the institutions are setting social and economic policy without representation by elected representatives.

Why was all this control deemed necessary? Walt Rostow, a preeminent development economist remarked in 1956 that the natural resources located in underdeveloped nations should be kept safe from Communist control in order for the United States, Western Europe, and Japan to maintain their way of life.

Development Models

Since the end of WWII, models of development have changed based on political, economic, and social needs. The earliest development models were developed using several assumptions:

1. The model works anywhere; it can be universally applied without regard to specific cultural patterns – this is referred to **underdifferentiation**, or the failure to recognize that cultural norms vary.
2. Non-monetary systems are "backward." Any economic exchange that did not rely on the market system was inherently inferior. Modernization = monetization. Traditional lifeways were viewed as an impediment to development because wealth was often community based and not individually based.
3. There is a common destiny of society and the common good arises out of the pursuit of individual self-interests.
4. Living standards can be quantified with a monetary index, e.g., Gross National Product (GNP) and life expectancy. Basically, they assumed that wealth is equal to happiness.

***Modernization Model**:* This model is focused on change through economic growth. It is the basic model outlined above in the background information on the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. Material progress through industrialization, market expansion, and technological innovation are key components as is a democratic political system with consolidated power vested in the state. Material progress would result in better lives for the citizenry even if the environment and society suffered. Critics of this cookie-cutter approach to development claim that it is not sustainable because of the high consumption levels of resources. Anthropological research indicates that this model is detrimental to indigenous peoples as their land and resources are subsumed by the state and sold or leased to corporations for resource extraction, leading to destruction of their cultures. This model also encourages reduction in both cultural and bio-diversity (Miller 2011). See Optional: Further Reading for information on specific studies.

***Growth-Oriented Development Model**:* Drawing on the modernization model and Rostow's stages of growth theory (see Rostow's Theory of Modernization Development https://www.academia.edu/3596310/Rostows_theory_of_modernization_development), the growth-oriented development model proposes that a trickle-down effect will occur when there is investment in economic growth. As wealth increases for those investing in economic growth, some of the wealth will make its way down to those less well off thereby positively impacting human welfare. Participation in the international market and industrialization of both agriculture and manufacturing are key elements. Privatization of public services is also imperative. This may be familiar as these ideas are incorporated in the World Bank and IMF structural adjustment policies (Miller 2011). One of the criticisms of this model is that it ignores the fact that "underdeveloped nations" did not have a history of development. Such is not the case. Many indigenous societies had well-established trade with other groups both close by and long distance. There were also lucrative indigenous industries such as the Indian textile industry mentioned previously. This model concentrates resources into the hands of the few, creating marked inequality in society. Recent research and criticism focuses on the unsustainability of this model of development.

***Distributional Development Model**:* Growing out of criticism of the trickle-down effect, the distributional development model is concerned with social equity. The distributional development model claims that no development program will work without ensuring that there is equitable access to resources for all (Miller 2011).

***Human Development Model**:* In this model, the focus is on investment in human welfare, better education, health care, security, and safety, with the belief that it will lead to economic growth (Miller 2011).

***Sustainable Development Model**:* Probably the most recent development model, sustainable development focuses on the conservation of non-renewable resources and, in some cases, survival of indigenous peoples. This model also proposes investment in development projects that are financially sustainable over time.

***Indigenous Development Model**:* Indigenous development models draw on local cultural practices to promote realistic change and not **overinnovation** (too much change in daily life).

Figure **14.4.2** - Traditional cultivation in Bangladesh.

What is clear is that the development projects that work best are socially compatible and recognize that the economy is part of a culture and not a separate entity. **Culture fit** or the practice of "…taking the local culture into account in project design" (Miller 2011: 369) is at the heart of a development project failure in rural Bangladesh. A farming cooperative program with support from the government was begun with adult males, ignoring the traditional role of women in farming practices (male bias in development is common) and requiring the use of crop seeds, fertilizers and pesticides. Over time, the pesticides entered the food chain through seepage into local rivers and streams, which then were absorbed by fish and eventually people, causing an increase in birth defects. The local people noticed that their livestock became sick and died after the increased use of pesticides for farming. The people rejected the development program after some years and returned to their traditional ways of organic farming, sparking a "new agricultural" movement, Nayakrishi, with the help of the Center for Development Alternatives, a non-governmental organization based in Dhaka, the capital of Bangladesh (McKibben 2001). Since the Nayakrishi began over 300,000 Bengali families have returned to organic farming and development projects focused on culture fit like that of Hunger Free World (www.hungerfree.net/english/wh...desh/lcbd.html) have been successful.

Figure **14.4.3** - Pastoralists, Lake Turkana, 1979.

In East Africa, the World Bank sponsored an irrigation and settlement project geared to transform local pastoralists into small-scale sedentary farmers. Pastoralists were expected to simply abandon their traditional way of life and their territory turned over to new commercial farms. While this would have benefitted the commercial farmers it required the pastoralists to work "…three times harder growing rice and picking cotton for the bosses," a case of overinnovation (Kottak 1990: 725). This project failed and was canceled and redesigned. World Bank projects in South Asia, South America, the Middle East, and West Africa also failed when culture fit was not considered. Unfortunately, there are numerous development projects that result in the loss of land and resources for local, indigenous populations; from hydroelectric dams and logging (Kayapo, Amazon rainforest) to fish-processing factories in pastoral areas of Kenya and international trade agreements like the North American Free Trade Agreement – NAFTA (Zapatista, Mexico), traditional lifeways are at risk due to **development aggression**, the "imposition of development projects and policies without the free, prior, and informed consent of the affected people (Miller 2011: 377).

Anthropology and Development

Anthropologists specializing in development studies may call themselves applied anthropologists, economic anthropologists, environmental anthropologists, ecological anthropologists, or development anthropologists. Anthropological approaches to development are important because,

> *…[anthropology provides] the analytical means to understand the heterogeneity of loca/ actors and their interests, to see the multiple links in their social lives and appreciate their everyday strategies, to tap into local understandings and comprehend resistance to perceived outside interference (Sillitoe 2007: 154 quoted in O'Driscoll 2009: 17).*

While anthropology might not have a monopoly on insight into multidisciplinary approaches or insight into the benefits of including indigenous knowledge, it is at the forefront of anthropological approaches. Involvement in development projects may create an ethical dilemma for anthropologists, as the tenet that is drilled into every anthropology student's head is not to change the cultures we study and to do no harm. As outlined above there are development projects that do not help people in the way that the planners envision. Frankly, it is not uncommon for the interests of development planners and local peoples to conflict. Some argue that it is imperative for anthropologist to be involved in development discourse to work with local people to help them assess their needs and ideas for change or to even advocate for localized, community-specific initiatives. Some anthropologists suggest that we should not be involved with international development agencies, but only with indigenous rights movements. Still others suggest that anthropologists study both small and large development institutions in order to better understand the development system. Anthropological data can help development projects maximize social and economic benefits by ensuring projects are a cultural fit, respond to local needs, involve the appropriate local social actors and organizations in the project, and are flexible (Gezen and Kottak 2014).

Optional: Further Reading

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14.5: GNI Per Capita, Atlas Method (Current US $)

GNI per capita (formerly GNP per capita) is the **gross national income**, converted to U.S. dollars using the World Bank Atlas method, divided by the midyear population. GNI is the sum of value added by all resident producers plus any product taxes (less subsidies) not included in the valuation of output plus net receipts of primary income (compensation of employees and property income) from abroad. GNI, calculated in national currency, is usually converted to U.S. dollars at official exchange rates for comparisons across economies, although an alternative rate is used when the official exchange rate is judged to diverge by an exceptionally large margin from the rate actually applied in international transactions. To smooth fluctuations in prices and exchange rates, a special Atlas method of conversion is used by the World Bank. This applies a conversion factor that averages the exchange rate for a given year and the two preceding years, adjusted for differences in rates of inflation between the country, and through 2000, the G-5 countries (France, Germany, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States). From 2001, these countries include the Euro area, Japan, the United Kingdom, and the United States.

1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001-2005	2006-2010	2011-2015

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Malawi	370	320	280	250
Burundi	220	240	250	270
Central African Republic	480	480	310	320
Liberia	320	340	370	370
Congo, Dem. Rep.	310	350	370	380
Niger	360	390	400	410
Madagascar	420	430	440	440
Gambia, The	520	520	500	460
Guinea	400	430	450	470
Guinea-Bissau	590	580	570	550

Figure **14.5.1** - Ten Poorest Nations in 2014. GNI Per Capita According to the World Bank.

1981-1985	1986-1990	1991-1995	1996-2000	2001-2005	2006-2010	2011-2015

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Norway	90,270	99,100	104,010	103,620
Qatar	71,850	80,340	89,210	92,200
Switzerland	79,290	84,590	88,120	84,720
Macao SAR, China	55,400	61,920	71,130	76,270
Luxembourg	75,650	73,980	73,510	75,960
Australia	50,130	59,810	65,500	64,600
Sweden	56,090	58,680	61,340	61,570
Denmark	61,490	60,680	61,740	61,330
United States	50,450	52,530	53,720	55,230
Singapore	48,330	51,390	54,580	55,150

Figure **14.5.2** - Ten Richest Nations in 2014. GNI Per Capita According to the World Bank.

Alphabetical List of Countries GNI Per Capita

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Afghanistan	570	720	730	680
Albania	4,390	4,360	4,480	4,450
Algeria	4,590	5,200	5,510	5,490
American Samoa				
Andorra	40,580	41,010	43,270	
Angola				
Antigua and Barbuda	12,370	12,850	13,030	13,300
Argentina	11,840	13,060	14,110	13,480
Armenia	3,420	3,760	3,930	4,020
Aruba				
Australia	50,130	59,810	65,500	64,600
Austria	50,310	49,830	50,600	49,600
Azerbaijan	5,530	6,290	7,350	7,600
Bahamas, The	21,290	21,430	21,190	20,980
Bahrain	17,860	19,470	21,060	
Bangladesh	870	950	1,010	1,080
Barbados	15,740	15,310		
Belarus	6,130	6,400	6,790	7,340
Belgium	47,010	47,090	47,240	47,240
Belize	4,140	4,260	4,350	
Benin	770	790	860	890
Bermuda	107,530	106,080	106,140	
Bhutan	2,170	2,320	2,340	2,370
Bolivia	2,010	2,280	2,620	2,870
Bosnia and Herzegovina	4,780	4,700	4,870	4,840
Botswana	6,510	7,190	7,370	7,240
Brazil	11,010	12,020	12,180	11,790
Brunei Darussalam		37,320		
Bulgaria	7,080	7,270	7,500	7,620
Burkina Faso	610	640	690	700
Burundi	220	240	250	270
Cabo Verde	3,540	3,470	3,530	3,450

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Cambodia	810	880	960	1,020
Cameroon	1,210	1,230	1,290	1,350
Canada	47,090	51,030	52,570	51,630
Cayman Islands				
Central African Republic	480	480	310	320
Chad	890	960	980	980
Chile	12,350	14,350	15,270	14,910
China	5,000	5,870	6,710	7,400
Colombia	6,180	7,140	7,770	7,970
Comoros	770	770	790	790
Congo, Dem. Rep.	310	350	370	380
Congo, Rep.	2,230	2,510	2,620	2,720
Costa Rica	7,980	9,040	9,780	10,120
Cote d'Ivoire	1,150	1,260	1,360	1,450
Croatia	14,050	13,460	13,460	12,980
Cuba	5,880			
Curacao				
Cyprus	31,490	28,890	27,520	26,370
Czech Republic	19,400	19,270	19,170	18,350
Denmark	61,490	60,680	61,740	61,330
Djibouti				
Dominica	6,890	6,760	6,710	6,930
Dominican Republic	5,430	5,680	5,860	6,040
Ecuador	4,900	5,410	5,810	6,090
Egypt, Arab Rep.	2,590	2,850	3,040	3,210
El Salvador	3,600	3,730	3,850	3,920
Equatorial Guinea	9,710	12,460	11,890	10,210
Eritrea	480			
Estonia	15,880	17,040	18,390	19,010
Ethiopia	390	410	470	550
Faroe Islands				
Fiji	3,610	4,020	4,660	4,870
Finland	49,910	48,670	49,050	48,440

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
France	44,220	43,030	43,530	42,950
French Polynesia				
Gabon	8,890	9,460	9,910	9,720
Gambia, The	520	520	500	460
Georgia	3,300	3,860	4,230	4,490
Germany	46,480	46,680	46,390	47,590
Ghana	1,410	1,570	1,740	1,590
Greece	25,020	23,860	22,810	
Greenland				
Grenada	7,180	7,160	7,450	7,910
Guam				
Guatemala	2,830	3,070	3,290	3,430
Guinea	400	430	450	470
Guinea-Bissau	590	580	570	550
Guyana	3,190	3,600	3,940	
Haiti	700	750	800	820
Honduras	2,090	2,200	2,250	2,270
Hong Kong SAR, China	35,690	36,320	38,520	40,320
Hungary	13,050	12,850	13,350	13,340
Iceland	37,590	40,530	46,350	
India	1,410	1,500	1,530	1,570
Indonesia	3,010	3,580	3,740	3,630
Iran, Islamic Rep.	6,730	7,010	7,120	
Iraq	4,800	6,130	6,900	6,530
Ireland	43,100	42,160	44,450	46,520
Isle of Man				
Israel	31,190	32,470	34,310	35,320
Italy	37,690	36,000	35,370	34,580
Jamaica	4,790	5,200	5,250	5,150
Japan	45,190	47,830	46,330	42,000
Jordan	4,370	4,660	4,940	5,160
Kazakhstan	8,190	9,780	11,560	11,850
Kenya	1,040	1,090	1,180	1,290

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Kiribati	1,940	2,420	2,710	2,950
Korea, Dem. People's Rep.				
Korea, Rep.	22,620	24,640	25,870	27,090
Kuwait	42,860	49,600	52,060	49,300
Kyrgyz Republic	880	1,040	1,220	1,250
Lao PDR	1,120	1,300	1,490	1,660
Latvia	13,140	13,790	14,930	15,250
Lebanon	9,070	9,410	9,610	10,030
Lesotho	1,370	1,460	1,550	1,330
Liberia	320	340	370	370
Libya	4,660	10,860	10,520	7,820
Liechtenstein				
Lithuania	13,020	13,950	15,140	15,410
Luxembourg	75,650	73,980	73,510	75,960
Macao SAR, China	55,400	61,920	71,130	76,270
Macedonia, FYR	4,820	4,760	4,980	5,150
Madagascar	420	430	440	440
Malawi	370	320	280	250
Malaysia	9,080	10,200	10,850	11,120
Maldives	5,850	5,930	5,980	6,410
Mali	610	600	620	650
Malta	20,100	20,000	21,000	
Marshall Islands	3,880	3,940	4,250	4,390
Mauritania	1,200	1,290	1,330	1,270
Mauritius	8,320	9,010	9,580	9,630
Mexico	8,870	9,560	9,720	9,870
Micronesia, Fed. Sts.	3,050	3,220	3,280	3,200
Moldova	1,990	2,140	2,470	2,560
Monaco				
Mongolia	2,600	3,670	4,360	4,280
Montenegro	7,240	7,000	7,330	7,320
Morocco	2,980	2,960	3,080	3,070

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Mozambique	480	520	590	600
Myanmar				1,270
Namibia	4,970	5,450	5,740	5,630
Nepal	610	690	730	730
Netherlands	54,120	52,500	52,470	51,860
New Caledonia				
New Zealand	31,890	36,320	39,340	41,070
Nicaragua	1,600	1,700	1,790	1,870
Niger	360	390	400	410
Nigeria	1,720	2,470	2,700	2,970
Northern Mariana Islands				
Norway	90,270	99,100	104,010	103,620
Oman	15,160	16,640	16,870	
Pakistan	1,150	1,260	1,360	1,400
Palau	9,530	9,920	10,000	11,110
Panama	8,240	9,170	10,860	11,130
Papua New Guinea	1,520	1,820	2,040	2,240
Paraguay	3,250	3,430	4,190	4,400
Peru	4,870	5,650	6,230	6,360
Philippines	2,640	3,000	3,340	3,500
Poland	12,940	13,290	13,490	13,680
Portugal	22,660	21,150	21,340	21,360
Puerto Rico	17,320	18,420	19,310	
Qatar	71,850	80,340	89,210	92,200
Romania	8,610	8,750	9,270	9,520
Russian Federation	10,820	12,730	13,810	13,220
Rwanda	590	640	670	700
Samoa	3,590	3,860	3,960	4,060
San Marino				
Sao Tome and Principe	1,260	1,360	1,540	1,670
Saudi Arabia	20,450	23,690	25,140	
Senegal	1,030	1,040	1,040	1,050

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Serbia	5,910	5,700	6,050	5,820
Seychelles	11,060	12,200	13,540	14,120
Sierra Leone	500	520	680	700
Singapore	48,330	51,390	54,580	55,150
Sint Maarten (Dutch part)				
Slovak Republic	17,210	17,450	17,910	17,750
Slovenia	24,590	23,300	23,190	23,580
Solomon Islands	1,120	1,520	1,830	1,830
Somalia				
South Africa	7,050	7,640	7,410	6,800
South Sudan	910	820	970	970
Spain	31,140	29,850	29,540	29,390
Sri Lanka	2,520	2,910	3,150	3,440
St. Kitts and Nevis	13,010	13,070	14,000	14,920
St. Lucia	6,900	6,960	7,110	7,260
St. Martin (French part)				
St. Vincent and the Grenadines	6,070	6,350	6,540	6,610
Sudan	1,410	1,650	1,670	1,710
Suriname	8,430	9,070	9,650	9,950
Swaziland	3,010	3,460	3,680	3,550
Sweden	56,090	58,680	61,340	61,570
Switzerland	79,290	84,590	88,120	84,720
Syrian Arab Republic				
Tajikistan	790	890	1,000	1,080
Tanzania	740	780	850	920
Thailand	5,000	5,610	5,840	5,780
Timor-Leste	3,630	3,940	3,680	2,680
Togo	460	490	520	570
Tonga	3,830	4,210	4,300	4,260
Trinidad and Tobago	14,160	15,390	16,920	20,070
Tunisia	4,000	4,120	4,200	4,230

Country name	2011	2012	2013	2014
Turkey	10,490	10,800	10,970	10,830
Turkmenistan	4,660	5,410	6,880	8,020
Turks and Caicos Islands				
Tuvalu	5,080	5,650	5,840	5,720
Uganda	610	630	630	670
Ukraine	3,110	3,500	3,760	3,560
United Arab Emirates	35,250	40,130	43,440	44,600
United Kingdom	40,190	41,010	42,040	43,390
United States	50,450	52,530	53,720	55,230
Uruguay	12,010	13,910	15,640	16,350
Uzbekistan	1,510	1,730	1,940	2,090
Vanuatu	2,860	2,950	3,200	3,160
Venezuela, RB	11,790	12,500		
Vietnam	1,390	1,550	1,740	1,890
Virgin Islands (U.S.)				
West Bank and Gaza	2,560	3,070	3,060	3,060
Yemen, Rep.	1,060	1,180	1,300	
Zambia	1,400	1,650	1,700	1,680
Zimbabwe	690	770	820	840

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14.6: Technology

Technology is an important aspect of Cultural Anthropology. Anthropologists have studied the examples of material life established in different human civilizations. Some examples of these universal differences are in shelter, attire, tools and methods for acquiring food and producing material goods. Some anthropologists focus their main concern on studying technology in diverse societies or the progression of technology. Individuals concerned with material life also illustrate the primary environment for which technologies have been revolutionized. In Anthropology, technology is often studied in relationship to the natural environment that it was developed in.

Different cultures use technology in different ways. Western technology that is used in non-Western cultures are being used in new and creative ways. Although some of the new uses for the technology are unexpected, it makes sense in the context of the different cultures. An example would be the ipod in the African country of Benin in which predominantly students of higher education, who speak French as well as their native language and go to a Private University. The Ipods are shipped from England, France, and the United States. The country of Benin is sometimes referred to as “little America” because the country has a good economic system and isn’t involved in wars, ethnic cleansing, or starvation like other countries. Students here try to imitate students from European and American schools. This trend is not concurrent throughout Africa, due to political differences.

Figure **14.6.1**

Some anthropologists analyze the ways in which technologies and settings shape each other, and others analyze the way non-Western civilizations have reacted in regards to political and economic strife of colonialism and capitalist industrialized technology. With globalization, all people increasingly consume material goods and technologies manufactured beyond their own culture. Anthropologists have proven that non-Western inhabitants do not mindlessly imitate Western customs for the use of technology; instead they utilize Western technologies in creative ways, which are often unforeseen and can be adaptive or maladaptive. A cargo cult could be considered an example of the creative use of new technology.

An example of differences in culture can also be found within the same culture. For example, the differences between generations in the American culture. For the adult generation it is much harder to do the simple tasks that young adults do daily with technology. This is because they were not raised with the technology constantly surrounding them like this generation has been. Today teenagers rarely go a day without using either their cell phone, laptop, ipod, or a television.

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14.7: The Global Digital Divide

The **global digital divide** describes global disparities, primarily between developed and developing countries, in regards to access to computing and information resources such as the Internet and the opportunities derived from such access.[64] As with a smaller unit of analysis, this gap describes an inequality that exists, referencing a global scale.

The Internet is expanding very quickly, and not all countries—especially developing countries—are able to keep up with the constant changes. The term "digital divide" doesn't necessarily mean that someone doesn't have technology; it could mean that there is simply a difference in technology. These differences can refer to, for example, high-quality computers, fast Internet, technical assistance, or telephone services. The difference between all of these is also considered a gap.

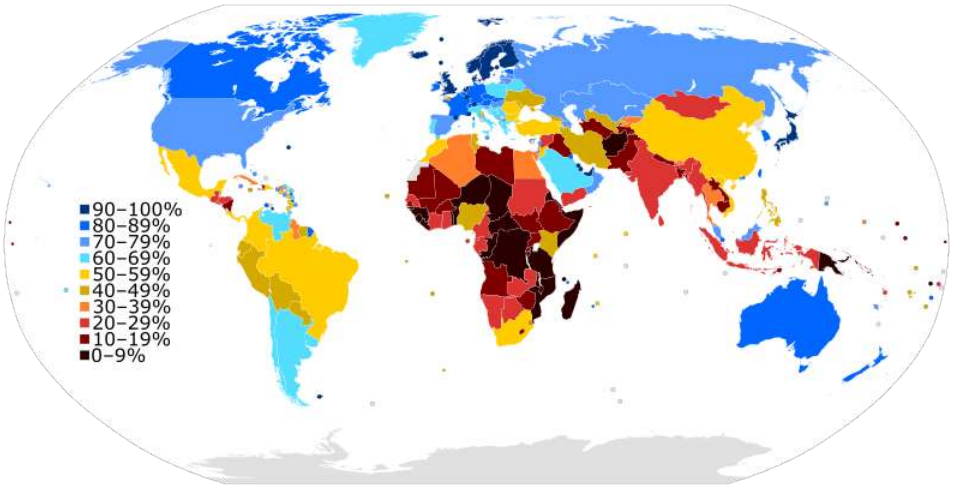

Figure **14.7.1** - Internet users in 2012 as a percentage of a country's population. Source: International Telecommunications Union.[4]

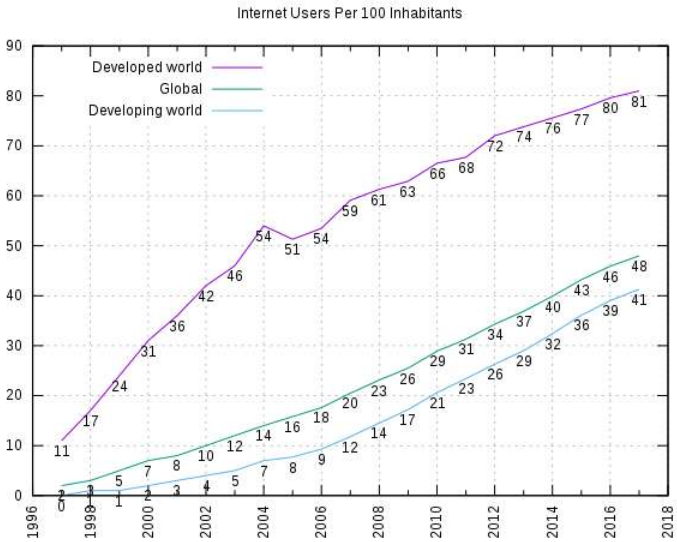

Figure **14.7.2** - Internet users per 100 inhabitants. Source: International Telecommunications Union.[58][59]

Worldwide Internet users

	2005	2010	2014[a]
World population[60]	6.5 billion	6.9 billion	7.2 billion
Not using the Internet	84%	70%	60%
Using the Internet	16%	30%	40%
Users in the developing world	8%	21%	32%
Users in the developed world	51%	67%	78%

[a] Estimate.

Source: International Telecommunications Union.[61]

Internet users by region

	2005	2010	2014[a]
Africa	2%	10%	19%
Americas	36%	49%	65%
Arab States	8%	26%	41%
Asia and Pacific	9%	23%	32%
Commonwealth of Independent States	10%	34%	56%
Europe	46%	67%	75%

[a] Estimate.

Source: International Telecommunications Union.[61]

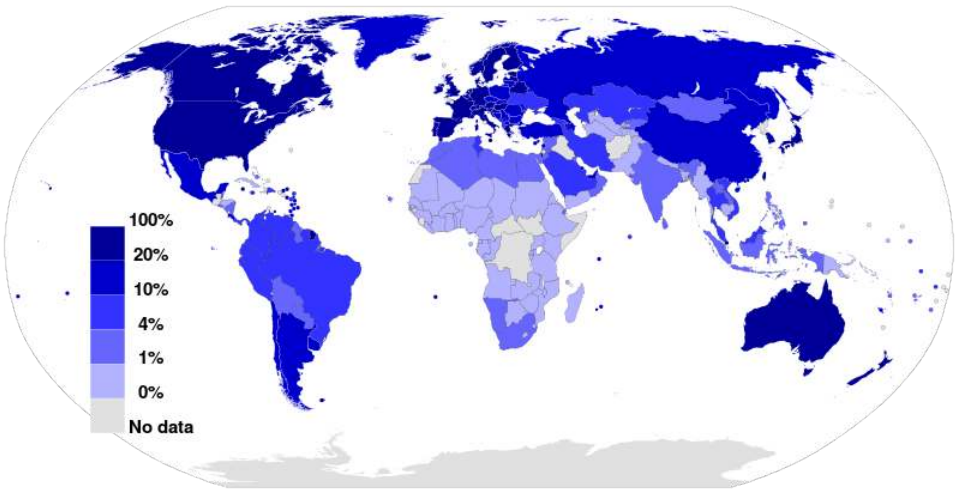

Figure **14.7.3** - Fixed broadband Internet subscriptions in 2012 as a percentage of a country's population. Source: International Telecommunications Union.[62]

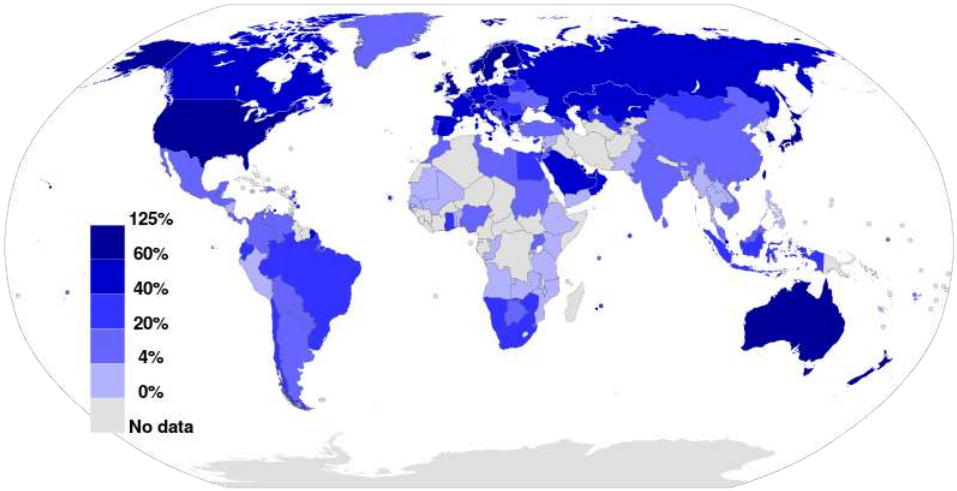

Figure **14.7.4** - Mobile broadband Internet subscriptions in 2012 as a percentage of a country's population. Source: International Telecommunications Union.[63]

Worldwide broadband subscriptions

	2007	**2010**	**2014**[a]
World population[60]	6.6 billion	6.9 billion	7.2 billion
Fixed broadband	5%	8%	10%
Developing world	2%	4%	6%
Developed world	18%	24%	27%
Mobile broadband	4%	11%	32%
Developing world	1%	4%	21%
Developed world	19%	43%	84%

[a] Estimate.

Source: International Telecommunications Union.[61]

Broadband subscriptions by region

Fixed subscriptions:	**2007**	**2010**	**2014**[a]
Africa	0.1%	0.2%	0.4%
Americas	11%	14%	17%
Arab States	1%	2%	3%
Asia and Pacific	3%	6%	8%
Commonwealth of Independent States	2%	8%	14%
Europe	18%	24%	28%
Mobile subscriptions:	**2007**	**2010**	**2014**[a]
Africa	0.2%	2%	19%
Americas	6%	23%	59%
Arab States	0.8%	5%	25%
Asia and Pacific	3%	7%	23%
Commonwealth of Independent States	0.2%	22%	49%
Europe	15%	29%	64%

[a] Estimate.

Source: International Telecommunications Union.[61]

Thhe Global Digital Divide versus the Digital Divide

The global digital divide is a special case of the digital divide, the focus is set on the fact that "Internet has developed unevenly throughout the world" [28]:681 causing some countries to fall behind in technology, education, labor, democracy, and tourism. The concept of the digital divide was originally popularized in regard to the disparity in Internet access between rural and urban areas of the United States of America; the *global* digital divide *mirrors this disparity on an international scale.*

The global digital divide also contributes to the inequality of access to goods and services available through technology. Computers and the Internet provide users with improved education, which can lead to higher wages; the people living in nations with limited access are therefore disadvantaged.[65] This global divide is often characterized as falling along what is sometimes called the north-south divide of "northern" wealthier nations and "southern" poorer ones.

Obstacles to Overcoming the Global Digital Divide

Some people argue that basic necessities need to be considered before achieving digital inclusion, such as an ample food supply and quality health care. Minimizing the global digital divide requires considering and addressing the following types of access:

Physical Access

Involves, "the distribution of ICT devices per capita…and land lines per thousands".[29]:306 Individuals need to obtain access to computers, landlines, and networks in order to access the Internet. This access barrier is also addressed in Article 21 of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities by the United Nations.

Financial Access

The cost of ICT devices, traffic, applications, technician and educator training, software, maintenance and infrastructures require ongoing financial means.[32]

Socio-demographic Access

Empirical tests have identified that several socio-demographic characteristics foster or limit ICT access and usage. Among different countries, educational levels and income are the most powerful explanatory variables, with age being a third one.[32][35] Others, like gender, don't seem to have much of an independent effect.[33]

Cognitive Access

In order to use computer technology, a certain level of information literacy is needed. Further challenges include information overload and the ability to find and use reliable information.

Design Access

Computers need to be accessible to individuals with different learning and physical abilities including complying with Section 508 of the Rehabilitation Act as amended by the Workforce Investment Act of 1998 in the United States.[66]

Institutional Access

In illustrating institutional access, Wilson states "the numbers of users are greatly affected by whether access is offered only through individual homes or whether it is offered through schools, community centers, religious institutions, cybercafés, or post offices, especially in poor countries where computer access at work or home is highly limited".[29]:303

Political Access

Guillen & Suarez argue that that "democratic political regimes enable a faster growth of the Internet than authoritarian or totalitarian regimes".[28]:687 The Internet is considered a form of e-democracy and attempting to control what citizens can or cannot view is in contradiction to this. Recently situations in Iran and China have denied people the ability to access certain website and disseminate information. Iran has also prohibited the use of high-speed Internet in the country and has removed many satellite dishes in order to prevent the influence of western culture, such as music and television.[67]

Cultural Access

Many experts claim that bridging the digital divide is not sufficient and that the images and language needed to be conveyed in a language and images that can be read across different cultural lines.[30]

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14.8: Global Life Expectancy and Mortality Statistics

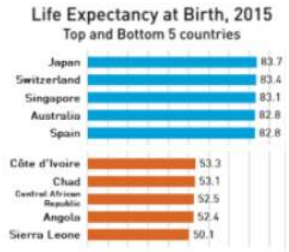

Figure **14.8.1** - Life Expectancy at Birth, 2015. Top and Bottom 5 Countries. Source: World Health Organization (WHO) World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication

Table 3.1
Countries with the highest and lowest life expectancy at birth (in years), by sex, 2015

Male		Female	
Country	Years	Country	Years
Highest		**Highest**	
Switzerland	81.3	Japan	86.8
Iceland	81.2	Singapore	86.1
Australia	80.9	Spain	85.5
Sweden	80.7	Republic of Korea	85.5
Israel	80.6	France	85.4
Japan	80.5	Switzerland	85.3
Italy	80.5	Australia	84.8
Canada	80.2	Italy	84.8
Spain	80.1	Israel	84.3
Singapore	80.0	Iceland	84.1
Lowest		**Lowest**	
Lesotho	51.7	Chad	54.5
Chad	51.7	Côte d'Ivoire	54.4
Central African Republic	50.9	Central African Republic	54.1
Angola	50.9	Angola	54.0
Sierra Leone	49.3	Sierra Leone	50.8

Figure **14.8.2** - Countries with the highest and lowest life expectancy at birth (in years), by sex, 2015. Source: World Health Organization (WHO) World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication

Global Life Expectancy

Global life expectancy in 2015 was 71.4 years. On average, women live longer than men. Female life expectancy is 73.8 years. Male life expectancy is 69.1 years.

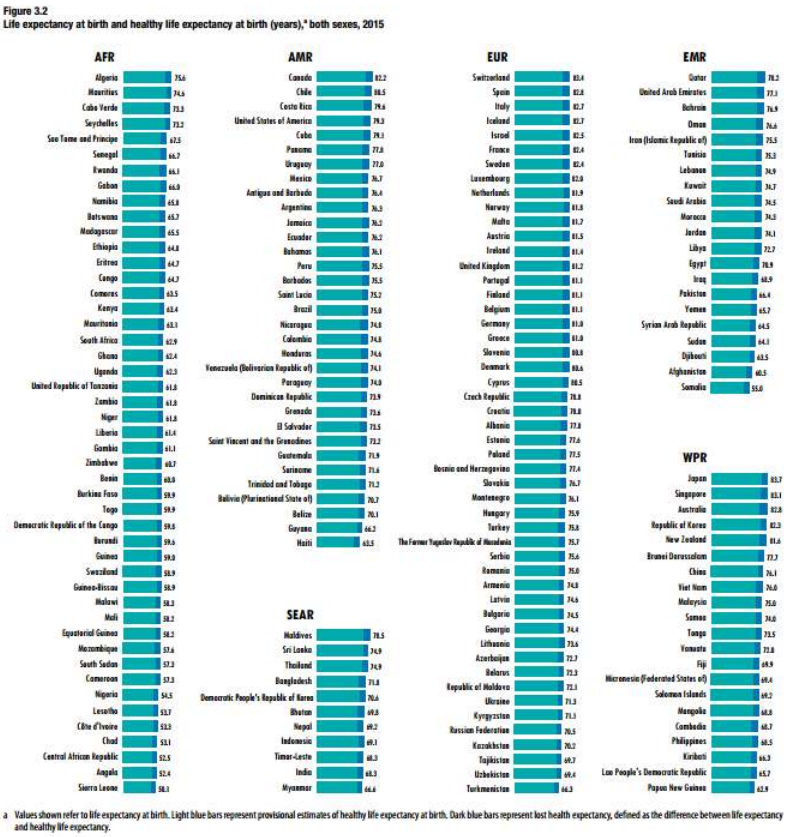

Figure **14.8.3** - Life expectancy at birth and healthy life expectancy at birth (years), both sexes, 2015. Source: World Health Organization (WHO) World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication

Maternal Mortality

Mothers are more likely to die in Africa due to complications from childbirth and pregnancy.

- Hemorrhage, hypertension, and infection are most likely causes of death.
- Most of these deaths are preventable.

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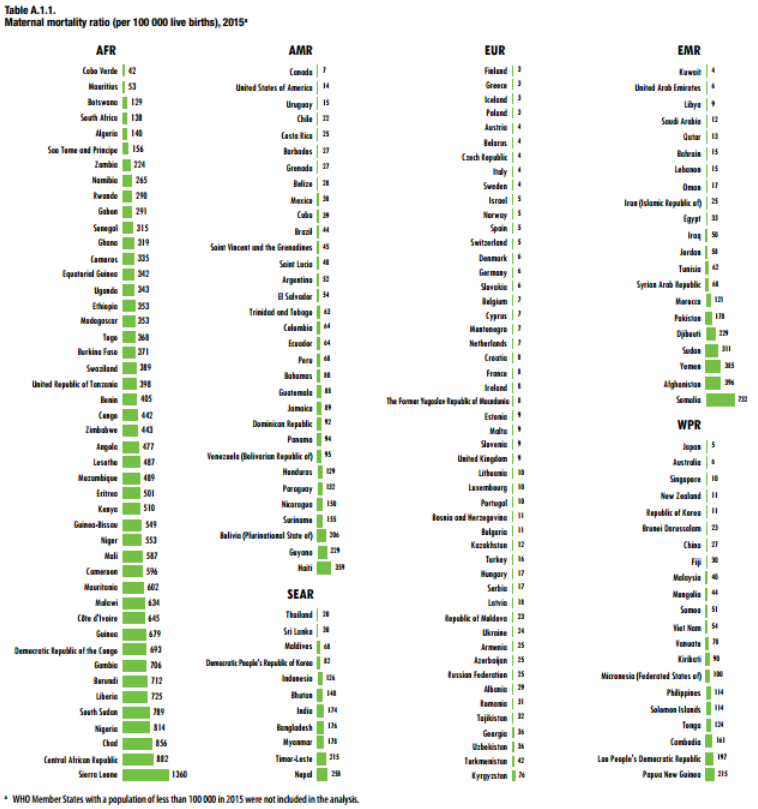

Figure **14.8.4** - Maternal mortality ratio (per 100 000 live births), 2015: Source World Health Organization (WHO) World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication

Under-Five Mortality and Neonatal Mortality

In 2015, 45% of deaths that occurred to children under-five were newborn. Main causes of neonatal deaths are prematurity, sepsis and birth-related complications.

- Main causes of post neonatal deaths are pneumonia, diarrhea, injuries and malaria.

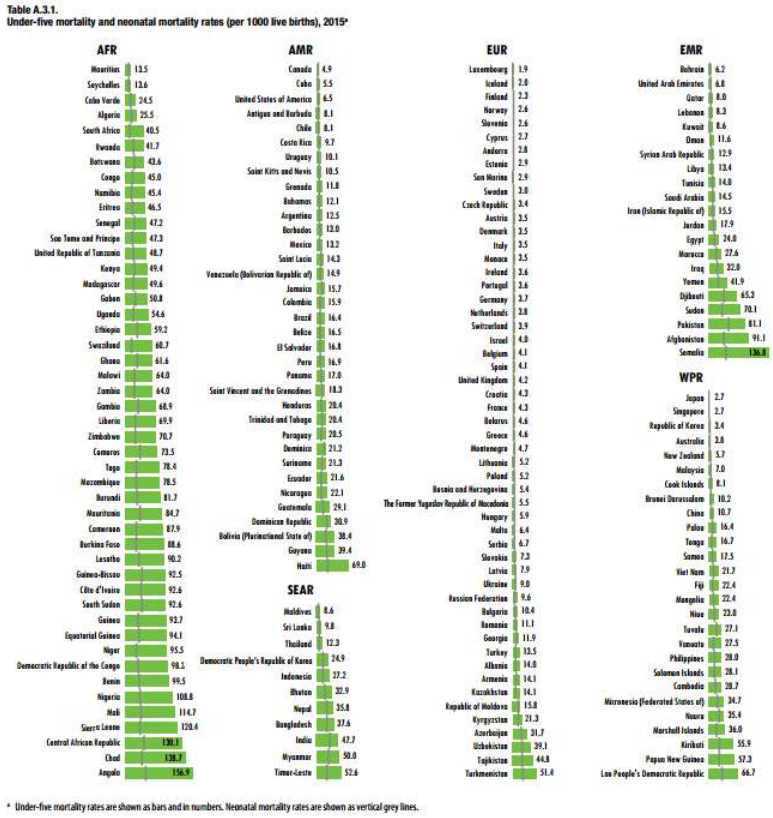

Figure **14.8.5** - Under-five mortality and neonatal mortality rates (per 1000 live births), 2015: Source World Health Organization (WHO) World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication

Reference of Material:

Cover Figure, Fig 3.2 (Page 8), Table 3.1 (Page 10), Table A.1.1 (Page 45), Table A.3.1 (Page 49)

World Health Statistics 2016: Monitoring health for the SDGs Publication
http://www.who.int/gho/publications/world_health_statistics/2016/en/

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14.9: Global Warming

Global warming and **climate change** are terms for the observed century-scale rise in the average temperature of the Earth's climate system and its related effects.[2] Multiple lines of scientific evidence show that the climate system is warming.[3][4][5] Although the increase of near-surface atmospheric temperature is the measure of global warming often reported in the popular press, most of the additional energy stored in the climate system since 1970 has gone into ocean warming. The remainder has melted ice and warmed the continents and atmosphere.[6][a] Many of the observed changes since the 1950s are unprecedented over tens to thousands of years.[7] On 12 November 2015, NASA scientists reported that human-made carbon dioxide (CO_2) continues to increase above levels not seen in hundreds of thousands of years: currently, about half of the carbon dioxide released from the burning of fossil fuels is not absorbed by vegetation and the oceans and remains in the atmosphere.[8][9][10][11]

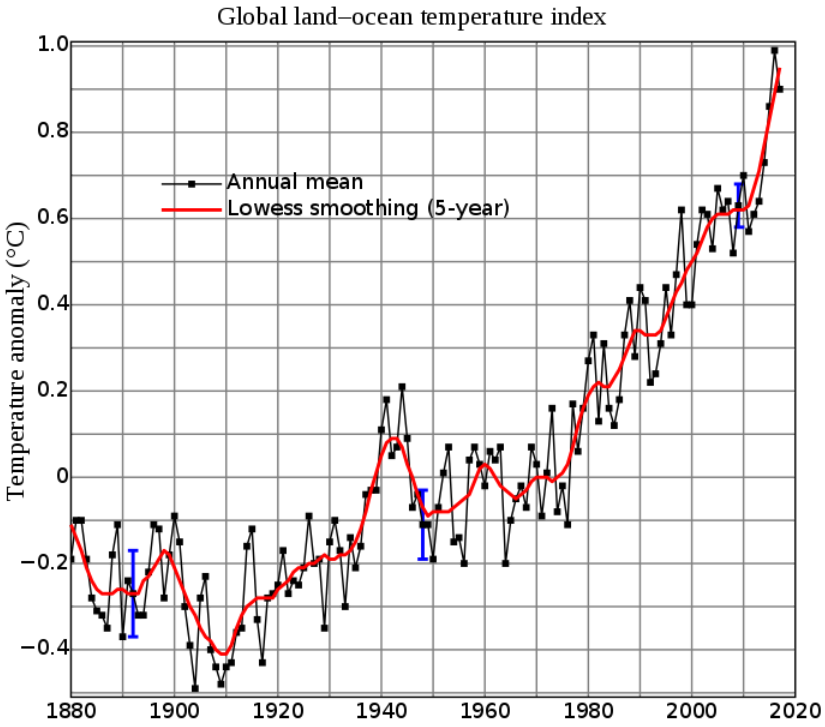

Figure **14.9.1** - Global mean surface temperature change from 1880 to 2015, relative to the 1951–1980 mean. The black line is the annual mean and the red line is the 5-year running mean. Source: NASA GISS.

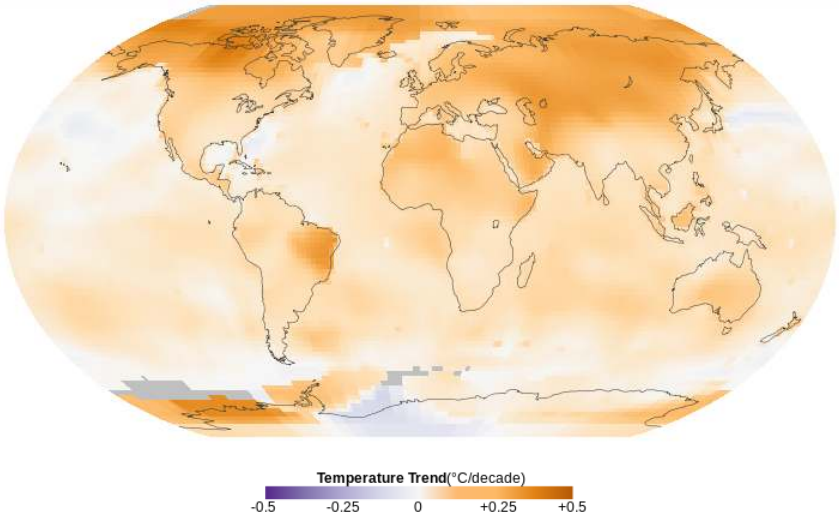

Figure **14.9.2** - World map showing surface temperature trends (°C per decade) between 1950 and 2014. Source: NASA GISS.[1]

Scientific understanding of global warming is increasing. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reported in 2014 that scientists were more than 95% certain that global warming is mostly being caused by increasing concentrations of greenhouse gases (GHG) and other human (**anthropogenic**) activities.[12][13][14] Climate model projections summarized in the report indicated that during the 21st century the global surface temperature is likely to rise a further 0.3 to 1.7 °C (0.5 to 3.1 °F) for their lowest emissions scenario using stringent mitigation and 2.6 to 4.8 °C (4.7 to 8.6 °F) for their highest.[15] These findings have been recognized by the national science academies of the major industrialized nations[16][b] and are not disputed by any scientific body of national or international standing.[18]

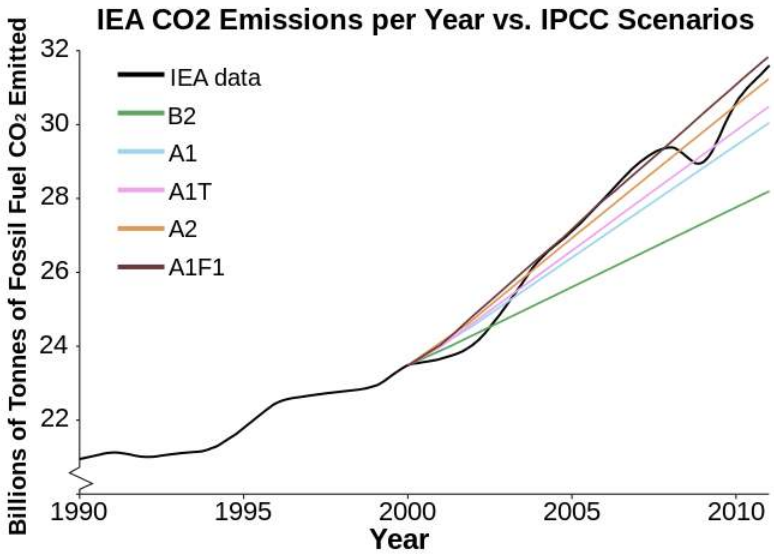

Figure **14.9.3** - Fossil fuel related carbon dioxide (CO2) emissions compared to five of the IPCC's "SRES" emissions scenarios, published in 2000. The dips are related to global recessions. Image source: Skeptical Science.

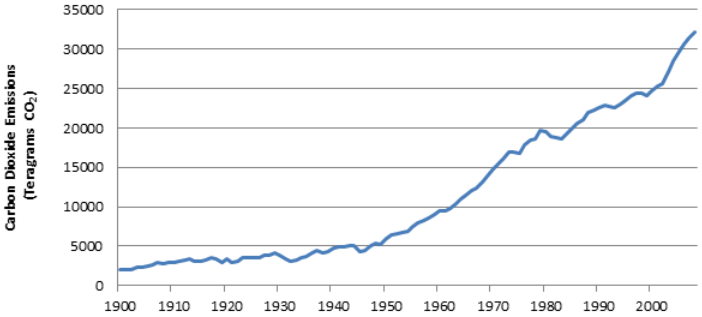

Figure **14.9.4** - Fossil fuel related carbon dioxide emissions over the 20th century. Image source: EPA.

Future climate change and associated impacts will differ from region to region around the globe.[19][20] Anticipated effects include warming global temperature, rising sea levels, changing precipitation, and expansion of deserts in the subtropics.[21] Warming is expected to be greater over land than over the oceans and greatest in the Arctic, with the continuing retreat of glaciers, permafrost and sea ice. Other likely changes include more frequent extreme weather events including heat waves, droughts, heavy rainfall with floods and heavy snowfall;[22] ocean acidification; and species extinctions due to shifting temperature regimes. Effects significant to humans include the threat to food security from decreasing crop yields and the abandonment of populated areas due to rising sea levels.[23][24] Because the climate system has a large inertia and CO_2 will stay in the athmosphere for a long time, many of these effects will not only exist for decades or centuries, but will persist for tens of thousands of years.[25]

Possible societal responses to global warming include mitigation by emissions reduction, adaptation to its effects, building systems resilient to its effects, and possible future climate engineering. Most countries are parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC),[26] whose ultimate objective is to prevent dangerous anthropogenic climate change.[27] The UNFCCC have adopted a range of policies designed to reduce greenhouse gas emissions[28][29][30][31] and to assist in adaptation to global warming.[28][31][32][33] Parties to the UNFCCC have agreed that deep cuts in emissions are required,[34] and that future global warming should be limited to below 2.0 °C (3.6 °F) relative to the pre-industrial level.[34][c]

Public reactions to global warming and general fears of its effects are also steadily on the rise, with a global 2015 Pew Research Center report showing a median of 54% who consider it “a very serious problem”. There are, however, significant regional differences. Notably, Americans and Chinese, whose economies are responsible for the greatest annual CO2 emissions, are among the least concerned.[36]

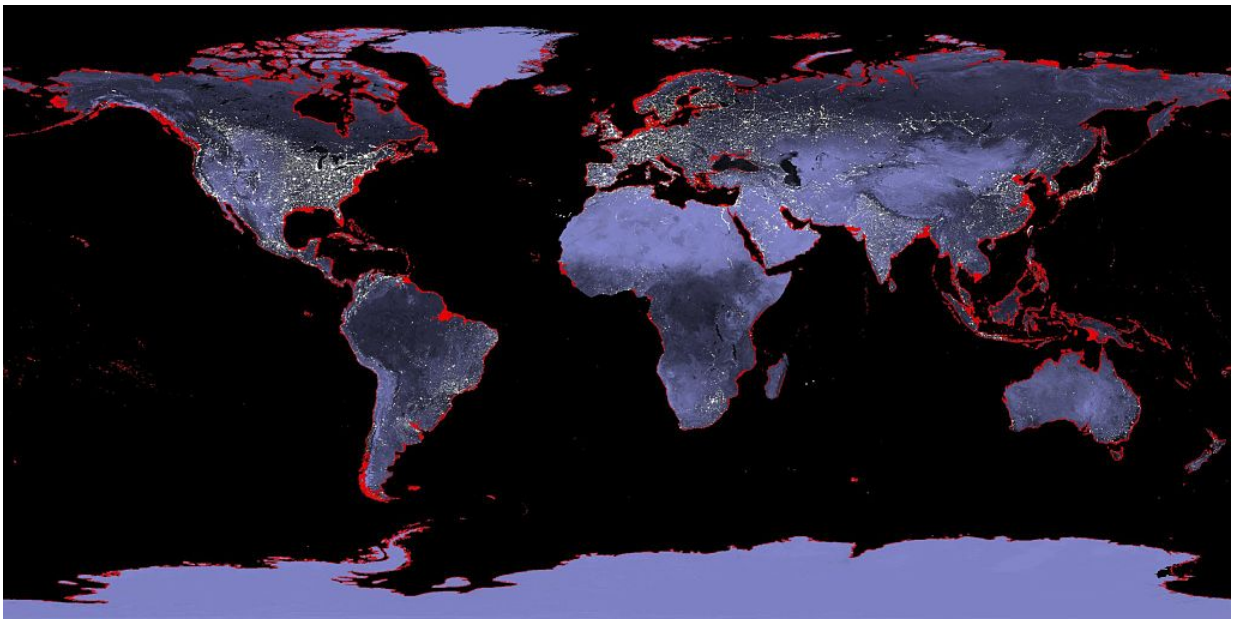

Figure **14.9.5** - Map of the Earth with a six-meter sea level rise represented in red. Credit: NASA Source: www.livescience.com/19212-sea...nt-future.html

Notes

1. Scientific journals use “global warming” to describe an increasing global average temperature just at earth’s surface, and most of these authorities further limit “global warming” to such increases caused by human activities or increasing greenhouse gases.
2. The 2001 joint statement was signed by the national academies of science of Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, the Caribbean, the People’s Republic of China, France, Germany, India, Indonesia, Ireland, Italy, Malaysia, New Zealand, Sweden, and the UK.[17] The 2005 statement added Japan, Russia, and the U.S. The 2007 statement added Mexico and South Africa. The Network of African Science Academies, and the Polish Academy of Sciences have issued separate statements. Professional scientific societies include American Astronomical Society, American Chemical Society, American Geophysical Union, American Institute of Physics, American Meteorological Society, American Physical Society, American Quaternary Association, Australian Meteorological and Oceanographic Society, Canadian Foundation for Climate and Atmospheric Sciences, Canadian Meteorological and Oceanographic Society, European Academy of Sciences and Arts, European Geosciences Union, European Science Foundation, Geological Society of America, Geological Society of Australia, Geological Society of London-Stratigraphy Commission,InterAcademy Council, International Union of Geodesy and Geophysics, International Union for Quaternary Research, National Association of Geoscience Teachers, National Research Council (US), Royal Meteorological Society, and World Meteorological Organization.
3. Earth has already experienced almost 1/2 of the 2.0 °C (3.6 °F) described in the Cancún Agreement. In the last 100 years, Earth’s average surface temperature increased by about 0.8 °C (1.4 °F) with about two thirds of the increase occurring over just the last three decades.[35]
4. The greenhouse effect produces an average worldwide temperature *increase* of about 33 °C (59 °F) compared to black body predictions without the greenhouse effect, not an average *surface temperature* of 33 °C (91 °F). The average worldwide surface temperature is about 14 °C (57 °F).
5. A rise in temperature from 10 °C to 20 °C is *not* a doubling of absolute temperature; a rise from (273 + 10) K = 283 K to (273 + 20) K = 293 K is an increase of (293 − 283)/283 = 3.5 %.

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being found to be wrong is vanishingly small. Such conclusions and theories are then regarded as settled facts. This is the case for the conclusions that the Earth system is warming and that much of this warming is very likely due to human activities."

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3."(…) deep cuts in global greenhouse gas emissions are required according to science, and as documented in the Fourth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, with a view to reducing global greenhouse gas emissions so as to hold the increase in global average temperature below 2 °C above preindustrial levels"

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14.10: Indigenous People

Figure **14.10.1** - A Navajo man on horseback in Monument valley, Arizona.

Figure **14.10.2** - Some Inuit people on a traditional qamutik (dog sled) in Cape Dorset,Nunavut, Canada.

Indigenous people, **aboriginal people**, or **native people**, are groups protected in international or national legislation as having a set of specific rights based on their linguistic and historical ties to a particular territory, their cultural and historical distinctiveness from other populations.[1] The legislation is based on the conclusion that certain indigenous people are vulnerable to exploitation, marginalization, oppression, forced assimilation, and genocide by nation states formed from colonizing populations or by politically dominant, different ethnic groups.

A special set of political rights in accordance with international law have been set forth by international organizations such as the United Nations, the International Labour Organization and the World Bank.[2] The United Nations has issued a Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoplesto guide member-state national policies to collective rights of indigenous people—such as culture,

identity, language, and access to employment, health, education, and natural resources. Estimates put the total population of indigenous peoples from 220 million to 350 million.[3]

A defining characteristic for an indigenous group is that it has preserved traditional ways of living, such as present or historical reliance upon subsistence-based production (based on pastoral, horticultural and/or hunting and gathering techniques), and a predominantly non-urbanized society. Not all indigenous groups share these characteristics. Indigenous societies may be either settled in a given locale/region or exhibit a nomadic lifestyle across a large territory, but are generally historically associated with a specific territory on which they depend. Indigenous societies are found in every inhabited climate zone and continent of the world. [2][4]

Indigenous peoples are increasingly faced with threats to their sovereignty, environment, and access to natural resources. Examples of this can be the deforestation of tropical rainforests where several of the native tribe's subsistence and their normal lifestyle are threatened. Assimilative colonial policies resulted in ongoing issues related to aboriginal child protection.

Indigenous Rights and Other Issues

Figure **14.10.3** - The New Zealand delegation endorses the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples in April 2010.

Indigenous peoples confront a diverse range of concerns associated with their status and interaction with other cultural groups, as well as changes in their inhabited environment. Some challenges are specific to particular groups; however, other challenges are commonly experienced.[38] These issues include cultural and linguistic preservation, land rights, ownership and exploitation of natural resources, political determination and autonomy, environmental degradation and incursion, poverty, health, and discrimination.

The interaction between indigenous and non-indigenous societies throughout history has been complex, ranging from outright conflict and subjugation to some degree of mutual benefit and cultural transfer. A particular aspect of anthropological study involves investigation into the ramifications of what is termed *first contact*, the study of what occurs when two cultures first encounter one another. The situation can be further confused when there is a complicated or contested history of migration and population of a given region, which can give rise to disputes about primacy and ownership of the land and resources.

Wherever indigenous cultural identity is asserted, common societal issues and concerns arise from the indigenous status. These concerns are often not unique to indigenous groups. Despite the diversity of Indigenous peoples, it may be noted that they share common problems and issues in dealing with the prevailing, or invading, society. They are generally concerned that the cultures of Indigenous peoples are being lost and that indigenous peoples suffer both discrimination and pressure to assimilate into their surrounding societies. This is borne out by the fact that the lands and cultures of nearly all of the peoples listed at the end of this article are under threat. Notable exceptions are the Sakha and Komi peoples (two of the northern indigenous peoples of Russia),

who now control their own autonomous republics within the Russian state, and the Canadian Inuit, who form a majority of the territory of Nunavut (created in 1999). In Australia, a landmark case, Mabo v Queensland (No 2),[39] saw the High Court of Australia reject the idea of terra nullius. This rejection ended up recognizing that there was a pre-existing system of law practiced by the Meriam people.

It is also sometimes argued that it is important for the human species as a whole to preserve a wide range of cultural diversity as possible, and that the protection of indigenous cultures is vital to this enterprise.

Human Rights Violations

The Bangladesh Government has stated that there are "no Indigenous Peoples in Bangladesh".[40] This has angered the Indigenous Peoples of Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh, collectively known as the Jumma.[41]Experts have protested against this move of the Bangladesh Government and have questioned the Government's definition of the term "Indigenous Peoples".[42][43] This move by the Bangladesh Government is seen by the Indigenous Peoples of Bangladesh as another step by the Government to further erode their already limited rights.[44]

Both Hindu and Chams have experienced religious and ethnic persecution and restrictions on their faith under the current Vietnamese government, with the Vietnamese state confisticating Cham property and forbidding Cham from observing their religious beliefs. Hindu temples were turned into tourist sites against the wishes of the Cham Hindus. In 2010 and 2013 several incidents occurred in Thành Tín and Phươc Nhơn villages where Cham were murdered by Vietnamese. In 2012, Vietnamese police in Chau Giang village stormed into a Cham Mosque, stole the electric generator, and also raped Cham girls.[45] Cham in the Mekong Delta have also been economically marginalised, with ethnic Vietnamese settling on land previously owned by Cham people with state support.[46]

The French, the Communist North Vietnamese, and the anti-Communist South Vietnamese all exploited and persecuted the Montagnards. North Vietnamese Communists forcibly recruited "comfort girls" from the indigenous Montagnard peoples of the Central Highlands and murdered those who didn't comply, inspired by Japan's use of comfort women.[47]The Vietnamese viewed and dealt with the indigenous Montagnards in the CIDG from the Central Highlands as "savages" and this caused a Montagnard uprising against the Vietnamese.[48] The Vietnamese were originally centered around the Red River Delta but engaged in conquest and seized new lands such as Champa, the Mekong Delta (from Cambodia) and the Central Highlands during Nam Tien, while the Vietnamese received strong Chinese influence in their culture and civilization and were Sinicized, and the Cambodians and Laotians were Indianized, the Montagnards in the Central Highlands maintained their own native culture without adopting external culture and were the true indigenous natives of the region, and to hinder encroachment on the Central Highlands by Vietnamese nationalists, the term *Pays Montagnard du Sud-Indochinois* PMSI emerged for the Central Highlands along with the natives being addressed by the name Montagnard.[49] The tremendous scale of Vietnamese Kinh colonists flooding into the Central Highlands has significantly altered the demographics of the region.[50] The anti-ethnic minority discriminatory policies by the Vietnamese, environmental degradation, deprivation of lands from the natives, and settlement of native lands by a massive amount of Vietnamese settlers led to massive protests and demonstrations by the Central Highland's indigenous native ethnic minorities against the Vietnamese in January–February 2001 and this event gave a tremendous blow to the claim often published by the Vietnamese government that in Vietnam *There has been no ethnic confrontation, no religious war, no ethnic conflict. And no elimination of one culture by another.*[51]

Health Issues

In December 1993, the United Nations General Assembly proclaimed the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People, and requested UN specialized agencies to consider with governments and indigenous people how they can contribute to the success of the Decade of Indigenous People, commencing in December 1994. As a consequence, the World Health Organization, at its Forty-seventh World Health Assembly established a core advisory group of indigenous representatives with special knowledge of the health needs and resources of their communities, thus beginning a long-term commitment to the issue of the health of indigenous peoples.[52]

The WHO notes that "Statistical data on the health status of indigenous peoples is scarce. This is especially notable for indigenous peoples in Africa, Asia and eastern Europe", but snapshots from various countries, where such statistics are available, show that indigenous people are in worse health than the general population, in advanced and developing countries alike: higher incidence of

diabetes in some regions of Australia;[53] higher prevalence of poor sanitation and lack of safe water among Twa households in Rwanda;[54]a greater prevalence of childbirths without prenatal care among ethnic minorities in Vietnam;[55] suicide rates among Inuit youth in Canada are eleven times higher than the national average;[56]infant mortality rates are higher for indigenous peoples everywhere.[57]

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14.11: Cultural Survival

Cultural Survival (founded 1972) is a nonprofit group based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, US, which is dedicated to defending the human rights of indigenous peoples.

History

Cultural Survival was founded by anthropologist David Maybury-Lewis and his wife, Pia,[1] in response to the opening up of the Amazonian and South American hinterlands during the 1960s, and the drastic effects this had on Indigenous inhabitants. It has since worked with Indigenous communities in Asia, Africa, South America, North America, and Australia, becoming the leading US-based organization defending the rights of Indigenous Peoples around the world. Headquartered in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Cultural Survival also has a satellite office for the Guatemala Radio Project in Guatemala. As of 2012, Cultural Survival had a four-star rating from Charity Navigator.[2]

Goals

- To increase global understanding of indigenous peoples' rights, cultures, and concerns
- To empower indigenous peoples to be better self-advocates, and to partner with them to advocate for their human rights.

Publications

- *Cultural Survival Quarterly* magazine has covered indigenous rights issues for nearly 30 years. Each issue includes feature articles focused on themes of concern to indigenous peoples, as well as news pieces, interviews, and book reviews. All of the authors are indigenous or are professionals who work closely with indigenous peoples.

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External Links

- Official website

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14.12: Multiculturalism

Figure **14.12.1** - The Monument to Multiculturalism by Francesco Perilli in Toronto, Ontario, Canada. Four identical sculptures are located in Buffalo City, South Africa; Changchun, China; Sarajevo, Bosnia and Sydney, Australia.

Multiculturalism describes the existence, acceptance, or promotion of multiple cultural traditions within a single jurisdiction, usually considered in terms of the culture associated with an ethnic group. This can happen when a jurisdiction is created or expanded by amalgamating areas with two or more different cultures (e.g. French Canada and English Canada) or through immigration from different jurisdictions around the world (e.g. Australia, Canada,United States, United Kingdom, and many other countries).

Multicultural ideologies and policies vary widely,[1] ranging from the advocacy of equal respect to the various cultures in a society, to a policy of promoting the maintenance of cultural diversity, to policies in which people of various ethnic and religious groups are addressed by the authorities as defined by the group to which they belong.[2][3]

Multiculturalism that promotes maintaining the distinctiveness of multiple cultures is often contrasted to other settlement policies such as social integration, cultural assimilation and racial segregation. Multiculturalism has been described as a “salad bowl” and “cultural mosaic”.[4]

Two different and seemingly inconsistent strategies have developed through different government policies and strategies. The first focuses on interaction and communication between different cultures; this approach is also often known as interculturalism. The second centers on diversity and cultural uniqueness which can sometimes result in intercultural competition over jobs among other things and may lead to ethnic conflict.[5][6] Cultural isolation can protect the uniqueness of the local culture of a nation or area and also contribute to global cultural diversity.[7][8] A common aspect of many policies following the second approach is that they avoid presenting any specific ethnic, religious, or cultural community values as central.[9]

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Index

A

Allen's rule
6.2: Human Adaptations
Animatism
12.4: Aspects of Religion
animism
12.4: Aspects of Religion

B

berdache
10.7: Two-Spirit
Bergmann's rule
6.2: Human Adaptations
bilateral descent
8.2: Descent Rules
Breast Ironing
10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)

C

call system
5.2: Language
caste system
11.7: Indian Caste System
cognatic descent
8.2: Descent Rules
colonialism
14.3: Modernization
communication system
5.2: Language
corporate descent
8.2: Descent Rules
cultural ecology
3.5: Cultural Ecology
Cultural materialism
3.7: Cultural Materialism
culture
1.4: What is Culture?

D

Double Burden
10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)

E

ethics
4.4: Ethics
ethnocentrism
1.5: Ethnocentrism
export monoculture
14.3: Modernization

F

Female genital mutilation
10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3)
Feminist anthropology
3.10: Feminist Anthropology
fieldwork
4.3: Fieldwork
foraging
7.2: Foraging
Friedrich Engels
3.7: Cultural Materialism
functionalism
3.3: Functionalism

G

gender
10: Sex and Gender
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
Gender ideology
10.11: Double Burden (Part 1)
gender inequality
10.10: Gender Inequality
gender role
10.6: Gender Role
genocide
11.9: Genocide
Glass Ceiling
10.13: Gender and Employment
Global Gender Gap Report
10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report
globalization
14: Globalization
14.2: Globalization

H

Henotheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief
Herbert Spencer
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
hijra
10.8: Hijra
Historical Particularism
3.2: Historical Particularism
Human trafficking
10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2)

I

Inis Beag
10.3: Inis Beag
Interpretive Anthropology
3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology

K

Karl Marx
3.7: Cultural Materialism
Kennewick Man
13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

L

language
5.2: Language
Lascaux Cave
13.4: Paleolithic Art
linguistic anthropology
5.1: Linguistic Anthropology

M

Margaret Mead
10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies
Mediums
12.6: Religious Practitioners
missing women of Asia
10.18: Missing Women of Asia
modernization
14.3: Modernization
Monotheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief

N

Native American Grave Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA)
13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act

P

Paleolithic Art
13.4: Paleolithic Art
pastoralism
7.3: Pastoralists
Polytheism
12.5: Patterns of Belief
postmodernism
3.9: Postmodernism
Priest
12.6: Religious Practitioners

Q

qualitative data
4.3: Fieldwork
quantitative data
4.3: Fieldwork

R

race
6: Deconstructing Race
religion
12: Supernatural Belief Systems
12.1: Introduction to Religion
Rite of Passage
12.9: Rite of Passage

S

Sambia
10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia
sexual dimorphism
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
sexual orientation
10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction
10.2: Sexual Orientation
sexuality
10: Sex and Gender
Shaman
12.6: Religious Practitioners

skin color
6.3: Skin Color and UV Index
social evolution
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory
Structural Anthropology
3.6: Structural Anthropology
structural functionalism
3.3: Functionalism
survival of the fittest
3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory

Symbolic Anthropology
3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology

U

untouchables
11.7: Indian Caste System

V

Venus of Willendorf
13.4: Paleolithic Art
violence against women
10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1)
vision quest
12.10: Vision Quest

W

Wiccan
12.6: Religious Practitioners

Glossary

Acculturation | loss of a minority group's cultural distinctiveness in relation to the dominant culture.

Adaptive | Traits that increase the capacity of individuals to survive and reproduce.

Affinal | family relationships created through marriage.

Age grades | groups of men who are close to one another in age and share similar duties or responsibilities.

Age sets | named categories to which men of a certain age are assigned at birth.

Agency | An individual's ability to make independent choices and act upon his/her will.

Agriculture | the cultivation of domesticated plants and animals using technologies that allow for intensive use of the land.

Amalgamation | interactions between members of distinct ethnic and cultural groups that reduce barriers between the groups over time.

Androgyny | cultural definitions of gender that recognize some gender differentiation, but also accept "gender bending" and role-crossing according to individual capacities and preferences.

Animatism | a religious system organized around a belief in an impersonal supernatural force.

Animism | a religious system organized around a belief that plants, animals, inanimate objects, or natural phenomena have a spiritual or supernatural element.

Anthropocene | a term proposed to describe the current moment (or epoch) in geological time in which the effects of human activities have altered the fundamental geochemical cycles of the earth. There is some disagreement about when the Anthropocene period began—most likely, it began with industrialization.

Anthropogenic | environments and pollutants produced by human activities.

Anthropomorphic | an object or being that has human characteristics.

Arbitrariness | the relationship between a symbol and its referent (meaning), in which there is no obvious connection between them.

Area studies | a way of organizing research and academic programs around world regions such as Africa, the Middle East, East Asia, China, Latin America, and Europe.

Armchair anthropology | an early and discredited method of anthropological research that did not involve direct contact with the people studied.

Assimilation | pressure placed on minority groups to adopt the customs and traditions of the dominant culture.

Avunculocal | married individuals live with or near an uncle.

Balanced reciprocity | the exchange of something with the expectation that something of equal value will be returned within a specific time period.

Band | the smallest unit of political organization, consisting of only a few families and no formal leadership positions.

Big man | a form of temporary or situational leadership; influence results from acquiring followers.

Bilateral cross-cousin marriage | a man marries a woman who is both his mother's brother's daughter and his father's sister's daughter.

Bilateral descent | kinship (family) systems that recognize both the mother's and the father's "sides" of the family.

Binary model of gender | cultural definitions of gender that include only two identities–male and female.

Biocultural evolution | Describes the interactions between biology and culture that have influenced human evolution.

Biologic sex | refers to male and female identity based on internal and external sex organs and chromosomes. While male and female are the most common biologic sexes, a percentage of the human population is intersex with ambiguous or mixed biological sex characteristics.

Biological determinism | a theory that biological differences between males and females leads to fundamentally different capacities, preferences, and gendered behaviors. This scientifically unsupported view suggests that gender roles are rooted in biology, not culture.

Biomedical | An approach to medicine that is based on the application of insights from science, particularly biology and chemistry.

Bound morpheme | a unit of meaning that cannot stand alone; it must be attached to another morpheme.

Bridewealth | payments made to the bride's family by the groom's family before marriage.

Broad spectrum diet | a diet based on a wide range of food resources.

Built environment | spaces that are human-made, including cultivated land as well as buildings.

Cargo cult | a term sometimes used to describe rituals that seek to attract material prosperity. The term is generally not preferred by anthropologists.

Carrying capacity | a measurement of the number of calories that can be extracted from a particular unit of land in order to support a human population.

Caste system | the division of society into hierarchical levels; one's position is determined by birth and remains fixed for life.

Chiefdom | large political units in which the chief, who usually is determined by heredity, holds a formal position of power.

Circumscription | the enclosure of an area by a geographic feature such as mountain ranges or desert or by the boundaries of a state.

Cisgender | a term used to describe those who identify with the sex and gender they were assigned at birth

Clan | a group of people who have a general notion of common descent that is not attached to a specific biological ancestor.

Cline | differences in the traits that occur in populations across a geographical area. In a cline, a trait may be more common in one geographical area than another, but the variation is gradual and continuous, with no sharp breaks.

Closed system | a form of communication that cannot create new meanings or messages; it can only convey pre-programmed (innate) messages.

Code-switching | using two or more language varieties in a particular interaction.

Codified law | formal legal systems in which damages, crimes, remedies, and punishments are specified.

Coercive harmony | an approach to dispute resolution that emphasizes compromise and consensus rather than confrontation and results in the marginalization of dissent (harmony ideology) and the repression of demands for justice.

Collective effervescence | the passion or energy that arises when groups of people share the same thoughts and emotions.

Commodity chain | the series of steps a food takes from location where it is produced to the store where it is sold to consumers.

Communal healing | An approach to healing that directs the combined efforts of the community toward treating illness.

Community of practice | A group of people who engaged in a shared activity or vocation, such as dance or medicine.

Consumption | the process of buying, eating, or using a resource, food, commodity, or service.

Contested identity | a dispute within a group about the collective identity or identities of the group.

Cosmology | an explanation for the origin or history of the world.

Creole | a language that develops from a pidgin when the pidgin becomes so widely used that children acquire it as one of their first languages. Creoles are more fully complex than creoles.

Critical age range hypothesis | research suggesting that a child will gradually lose the ability to acquire language naturally and without effort if he or she is not exposed to other people speaking a language until past the age of puberty. This applies to the acquisition of a second language as well.

Cultural appropriation | the act of copying an idea from another culture and in the process distorting its meaning.

Cultural determinism | the idea that behavioral differences are a result of cultural, not racial or genetic causes.

Cultural ecology | a subfield of cultural anthropology that explores the relationship between human cultural beliefs and practice and the ecosystems in which those beliefs and practices occur.

Cultural evolutionism | a discredited theory popular in nineteenth century anthropology suggesting that societies evolved through stages from simple to advanced.

Cultural imperialism | Attempts to impose unequal and unfair relationships between members of different societies.

Cultural infrastructure | The values and beliefs of communities, states, and/or societies that make the imagining of a particular type of network possible.

Cultural Performance | A performance such as a concert or a play.

Cultural relativism | the idea that we should seek to understand another person's beliefs and behaviors from the perspective of their own culture and not our own.

Cultural transmission | the need for some aspects of the system to be learned; a feature of some species' communication systems.

Culture | a set of beliefs, practices, and symbols that are learned and shared. Together, they form an all-encompassing, integrated whole that binds people together and shapes their worldview and lifeways.

Culture-bound syndrome | An illness recognized only within a specific culture.

Deductive | reasoning from the general to the specific; the inverse of inductive reasoning. Deductive research is more common in the natural sciences than in anthropology. In a deductive approach, the researcher creates a hypothesis and then designs a study to prove or disprove the hypothesis. The results of deductive research can be generalizable to other settings.

Delayed return system | techniques for obtaining food that require an investment of work over a period of time before the food becomes available for consumption. Farming is a delayed return system due to the passage of time between planting and harvest. The opposite is an immediate return system in which the food acquired can be immediately consumed. Foraging is an immediate return system.

Descent groups | relationships that provide members with a sense of identity and social support based on ties of shared ancestry.

Design features | descriptive characteristics of the communication systems of all species, including that of humans, proposed by linguist Charles Hockett to serve as a definition of human language.

Dialect | a variety of speech. The term is often applied to a subordinate variety of a language. Speakers of two dialects of the same language do not necessarily always understand each other.

Diaspora | the scattering of a group of people who have left their original homeland and now live in various locations. Examples of people living in the diaspora are Salvadorian immigrants in the United States and Europe, Somalian refugees in various countries, and Jewish people living around the world.

Discourse | Widely circulated knowledge within a community.

Discreteness | a feature of human speech that they can be isolated from others.

Displacement | the ability to communicate about things that are outside of the here and now.

Domestic economy | the work associated with obtaining food for a family or household.

Domestic group | a term that can be used to describe a group of people who live together even if members do not consider themselves to be family.

Dowry | payments made to the groom's family by the bride's family before marriage.

Duality of patterning | at the first level of patterning, meaningless discrete sounds of speech are combined to form words and parts of words that carry meaning. In the second level of patterning, those units of meaning are recombined to form an infinite possible number of longer messages such as phrases and sentences.

Dyads | two people in a socially approved pairing. One example is a married couple.

Eco-justice | a movement to recognize and remedy the adverse relationship between social inequality and the harms and risks that come from environmental destruction and pollutants.

Ecocide | destruction of an environment, especially when done intentionally by humans.

Egalitarian | societies in which there is no great difference in status or power between individuals and there are as many valued status positions in the societies as there are persons able to fill them.

Emic | a description of the studied culture from the perspective of a member of the culture or insider.

Emotionalistic explanation | Suggests that illnesses are caused by strong emotions such as fright, anger, or grief; this is an example of a naturalistic ethno-etiology.

Enculturation | the process of learning the characteristics and expectations of a culture or group.

Endogamy | a term describing expectations that individuals must marry within a particular group.

Epidemiological transition | The sharp drop in mortality rates, particularly among children, that occurs in a society as a result of improved sanitation and access to healthcare.

Ethnic group | people in a society who claim a distinct identity for themselves based on shared cultural characteristics and ancestry.

Ethnicity | the degree to which a person identifies with and feels an attachment to a particular ethnic group.

Ethno-etiology | Cultural explanations about the underlying causes of health problems.

Ethnocentrism | the tendency to view one's own culture as most important and correct and as the stick by which to measure all other cultures.

Ethnocide | destruction of a culture, often intentionally, through destruction of or removal from their territory, forced assimilation, or acculturation.

Ethnoecology | the relationships between cultural beliefs and practices and the local environment. Components include ethnobiology, ethnobotany, and ethnozoology.

Ethnogenesis | gradual emergence of new ethnicities in response to changing social circumstances.

Ethnography | the in-depth study of the everyday practices and lives of a people.

Ethnomedicine | The comparative study of cultural ideas about wellness, illness, and healing.

Ethnoscape | the flow of people across boundaries.

Etic | a description of the studied culture from the perspective of an observer or outsider.

Exogamy | a term describing expectations that individuals must marry outside a particular group.

Extended family | a family of at least three-generations sharing a household.

Extractive reserves | community-managed protected areas designed to allow for sustainable extraction of certain natural resources (such as fish, rubber, Brazil nuts, and rattan) while maintaining key ecosystems in place.

Exurban | migration of generally affluent people from urban areas to rural areas for the amenities of nature, recreation, and scenic beauty associated with rural areas.

Fabrication | A technique for reporting on research data that involves mixing information provided by various people into a narrative account that demonstrates the point of focus for researchers.

Family | the smallest group of individuals who see themselves as connected to one another.

Family of orientation | the family in which an individual is raised.

Family of procreation | a new household formed for the purpose of conceiving and raising children.

Feuds | disputes of long duration characterized by a state of recurring hostilities between families, lineages, or other kin groups.

Filial piety | a tradition requiring that the young provide care for the elderly and in some cases ancestral spirits.

Financescape | the flow of money across political borders.

Food taboos | Cultural rules against the preparation and/or consumption of certain foods.

Foodways | the cultural norms and attitudes surrounding food and eating.

Foraging | a subsistence system that relies on wild plant and animal food resources. This system is sometimes called "hunting and gathering."

Functionalism | an approach to anthropology developed in British anthropology that emphasized the way that parts of a society work together to support the functioning of the whole.

Functionalist | an approach developed in British anthropology that emphasized the ways that the parts of a society work together to support the functioning of the whole.

Gender | the set of culturally and historically invented beliefs and expectations about gender that one learns and performs. Gender is an "identity" one can choose in some societies, but there is pressure in all societies to conform to expected gender roles and identities.

Gender ideology | a complex set of beliefs about gender and gendered capacities, propensities, preferences, identities and socially expected behaviors and interactions that apply to males, females, and other gender categories. Gender ideology can differ among cultures and is acquired through enculturation. Also known as a cultural model of gender.

General purpose money | a medium of exchange that can be used in all economic transactions.

Generalized reciprocity | giving without expecting a specific thing in return.

Gesture-call system | a system of non-verbal communication using varying combinations of sound, body language, scent, facial expression, and touch, typical of great apes and other primates, as well as humans.

Global North | refers to the wealthier countries of the world. The definition includes countries that are sometimes called "First World" or "Highly Developed Economies."

Global South | refers to the poorest countries of the world. The definition includes countries that are sometimes called "Third World" or "Least Developed Economies."

Glocalization | the adaptation of global ideas into locally palatable forms.

Going native | becoming fully integrated into a cultural group through acts such as taking a leadership position, assuming key roles in society, entering into marriage, or other behaviors that incorporate an anthropologist into the society he or she is studying.

Habitus | the dispositions, attitudes, or preferences that are the learned basis for personal "taste" and lifestyles.

Harmful traditional practices | Behaviors that are viewed as ordinary and acceptable by members of a local community, but appear to be destructive or even criminal to outsiders.

Hegemonic discourses | Situations in which thoughts and actions are dictated by those in authority.

Hegemony | Power so pervasive that it is rarely acknowledged or even recognized, yet informs everyday actions.

Heteronormativity | a term coined by French philosopher Michel Foucault to refer to the often-unnoticed system of rights and privileges that accompany normative sexual choices and family formation.

Historical ecology | the study of how human cultures have developed over time as a result of interactions with the environment.

Historical linguistics | the study of how languages change.

Historical particularism | the theory that every culture develops in a unique way due to its history, including the interaction of people with the natural environment.

Holism | taking a broad view of the historical, environmental, and cultural foundations of behavior.

Homeostasis | the movement of a particular system (a human body, an ecosystem) towards equilibrium. In ecology this is associated with the idea that ecosystems should remain at a climax ecosystem associated with an area.

Hominin | Humans (Homo sapiens) and their close relatives and immediate ancestors.

Homo economicus | a term used to describe a person who would make rational decisions in ways predicted by economic theories.

Horticulture | a subsistence system based on the small-scale cultivation of crops intended primarily for the direct consumption of the household or immediate community.

Household | family members who reside together.

Humoral healing | An approach to healing that seeks to treat medical ailments by achieving a balance between the forces, or elements, of the body.

Hypodescent | a racial classification system that assigns a person with mixed racial heritage to the racial category that is considered least privileged.

Ideologies | ideas designed to reinforce the right of powerholders to rule.

Ideoscape | the global flow of ideas.

Indigenous | people who have continually lived in a particular location for a long period of time (prior to the arrival of others) or who have historical ties to a location and who are culturally distinct from the dominant population surrounding them. Other terms used to refer to indigenous people are aboriginal, native, original, first nation, and first people. Some examples of indigenous people are Native Americans of North America, Australian Aborigines, and the Berber (or Amazigh) of North Africa.

Indigenous media | Media produced by and for indigenous communities often outside of the commercial mainstream.

Inductive | a type of reasoning that uses specific information to draw general conclusions. In an inductive approach, the researcher seeks to collect evidence without trying to definitively prove or disprove a hypothesis. The researcher usually first spends time in the field to become familiar with the people before identifying a hypothesis or research question. Inductive research usually is not generalizable to other settings.

Interchangeability | the ability of all individuals of the species to both send and receive messages; a feature of some species' communication systems.

Jim Crow | a term used to describe laws passed by state and local governments in the United States during the early twentieth century to enforce racial segregation of public and private places.

Joint family | a very large extended family that includes multiple generations.

Key Informants | individuals who are more knowledgeable about their culture than others and who are particularly helpful to the anthropologist.

Kinesics | the study of all forms of human body language.

Kinship | blood ties, common ancestry, and social relationships that form families within human groups.

Kinship diagrams | charts used by anthropologists to visually represent relationships between members of a kinship group.

Kinship system | the pattern of culturally recognized relationships between family members.

Kinship terminology | the terms used in a language to describe relatives.

Land tenure | how property rights to land are allocated within societies, including how permissions are granted to access, use, control, and transfer land.

Language | an idealized form of speech, usually referred to as the standard variety.

Language death | the total extinction of a language.

Language shift | when a community stops using their old language and adopts a new one.

Language universals | characteristics shared by all linguists.

Larynx | the voice box, containing the vocal bands that produce the voice.

Legitimacy | the perception that an individual has a valid right to leadership.

Legitimizing ideologies | a set of complex belief systems, often developed by those in power, to rationalize, explain, and perpetuate systems of inequality.

Levirate | the practice of a woman marrying one of her deceased husband's brothers.

Lexicon | the vocabulary of a language.

Lineage | individuals who can trace or demonstrate their descent through a line of males or females back to a founding ancestor.

Linguistic relativity | the idea that the structures and words of a language influence how its speakers think, how they behave, and ultimately the culture itself (also known as the Whorf Hypothesis).

Magic | practices intended to bring supernatural forces under one's personal control.

Maladaptive | Traits that decrease the capacity of individuals to survive and reproduce.

Mass communication | One-to-many communication that privileges the sender and/or owner of the technology that transmits the media.

Materialism | a Marxist theory emphasizing the ways in which human social and cultural practices are influenced by basic subsistence (economic) needs.

Matriarchal | a society in which women have authority to make decisions.

Matrifocal | groups of related females (e.g. mother-her sisters-their offspring) form the core of the family and constitute the family's most central and enduring social and emotional ties.

Matrilateral cross-cousinmarriage | a man marries a woman who is his mother's brother's daughter.

Matrilineal | societies where descent or kinship group membership is transmitted through women, from mothers to their children (male and female), and then through daughters, to their children, and so forth.

Matrilineal descent | a kinship group created through the maternal line (mothers and their children).

Matrilocal | a woman-centered kinship group where living arrangements after marriage often center around households containing related women.

Matrilocal residence | married individuals live with or near the wife's mother's family.

Means of production | the resources used to produce goods in a society such as land for farming or factories.

Mechanical infrastructure | The apparatuses that bring networks of technology into existence.

Media | A word that used to describe a set of technologies that connect multiple people at one time to shared content.

Media practices | The habits or behaviors of the people who produce media, the audiences who interact with media, and everyone in between.

Mediascape | the flow of media across borders.

Medical anthropology | A distinct sub-specialty within the discipline of anthropology that investigates human health and health care systems in comparative perspective.

Middle English | the form of the English language spoken from 1066 AD until about 1500 AD.

Millenarians | people who believe that major transformations of the world are imminent.

Minimal response | the vocal indications that one is listening to a speaker.

Mode of production | the social relations through which human labor is used to transform energy from nature using tools, skills, organization, and knowledge.

Modern English | the form of the English language spoken from about 1500 AD to the present.

Modes of subsistence | the techniques used by the members of a society to obtain food. Anthropologists classify subsistence into four broad categories: foraging, pastoralism, horticulture, and agriculture.

Mono-cropping | the reliance on a single plant species as a food source. Mono-cropping leads to decreased dietary diversity and carries the risk of malnutrition compared to a more diverse diet.

Monotheistic | religious systems that recognize a single supreme God.

Morphemes | the basic meaningful units in a language.

Morphology | the study of the morphemes of language.

Multiculturalism | maintenance of multiple cultural traditions in a single society.

Multispecies ethnographies | an ethnographic approach in which anthropologists include non-human species as active participants in a society or culture and study their influence and actions.

Nation | an ethnic population

Naturalistic ethno-etiology | Views disease as the result of natural forces such as cold, heat, winds, or an upset in the balance of the basic body elements.

Negative reciprocity | an attempt to get something for nothing; exchange in which both parties try to take advantage of the other.

Negative reinforcements | punishments for noncompliance through fines, imprisonment, and death sentences.

Neoliberalism | the ideology of free-market capitalism emphasizing privatization and unregulated markets.

Neolithic Revolution | a period of rapid innovation in subsistence technologies that began 10,000 years ago and led to the emergence of agriculture. Neolithic means "new stone age," a name referring to the stone tools produced during this time period.

Neolocal residence | newly married individuals establish a household separate from other family members.

Noble savage | an inaccurate way of portraying indigenous groups or minority cultures as innocent, childlike, or uncorrupted by the negative characteristics of "civilization."

Nonconcordant | genetic traits that are inherited independently rather than as a package.

Nuclear family | a parent or parents who are in a culturally-recognized relationship, such as marriage, along with minor or dependent children.

Oaths | the practice of calling on a deity to bear witness to the truth of what one says.

Old English | English language from its beginnings to about 1066 AD.

One-drop rule | the practice of excluding a person with any non-white ancestry from the white racial category

Open system | a form of communication that can create an infinite number of new messages; a feature of human language only.

Oralist approach | an approach to the education of deaf children that emphasizes lip reading and speaking orally while discouraging use of signed language.

Ordeal | a test used to determine guilt or innocence by submitting the accused to dangerous, painful, or risky tests believed to be controlled by supernatural forces.

Palate | the roof of the mouth.

Paleoanthropologist | biological anthropologists who study ancient human relatives.

Paralanguage | those characteristics of speech beyond the actual words spoken, such as pitch, loudness, tempo.

Participant-observation | a type of observation in which the anthropologist observes while participating in the same activities in which her informants are engaged

Pastoralism | a subsistence system in which people raise herds of domesticated livestock.

Patriarchy | describes a society with a male-dominated political and authority structure and an ideology that privileges males over females in domestic and public spheres

Patrifocal | groups of related males (e.g. a father-his brothers) and their male offspring form the core of the family and constitute the family's most central and enduring social and emotional ties.

Patrilateral cousin marriage | the practice of marrying a male or female cousin on the father's side of the family.

Patrilineal | societies where descent or kinship group membership is transmitted through men, from men to their children (male and female), and then through sons, to their children, and so forth.

Patrilineal descent | a kinship group created through the paternal line (fathers and their children).

Patrilocal | a male-centered kinship group where living arrangements after marriage often center around households containing related men.

Patrilocal residence | married individuals live with or near the husband's father's family.

Peasants | residents of a state who earn a living through farming.

Performativity | Words or actions that cause something to happen.

Performing culture | Everyday words and actions that reflect cultural ideas and can be studied by anthropologists as a means of understanding a culture.

Personal front | Aspects of one's clothing, physical characteristics, comportment, and facial expressions that communicate an impression to others.

Personalistic ethno-etiology | Views disease as the result of the actions of human or supernatural beings.

Pharynx | the throat cavity, located above the larynx.

Phonemes | the basic meaningless sounds of a language.

Phonology | the study of the sounds of language.

Photovoice | A research method that puts cameras into people's hands so they can make their own representations of their lives and the activities.

Pidgin | a simplified language that springs up out of a situation in which people who do not share a language must spend extended amounts of time together.

Pigmentocracy | a society characterized by strong correlation between a person's skin color and his or her social class.

Placebo effect | A response to treatment that occurs because the person receiving the treatment believes it will work, not because the treatment itself is effective.

Plasticity | refers to the human capacity to learn any language or culture.

Political ecology | an interdisciplinary field of research that emphasizes the political and economic dimensions of environmental concerns.

Political economy | an approach in anthropology that investigates the historical evolution of economic relationships as well as the contemporary political processes and social structures that contribute to differences in income and wealth.

Polyandry | marriages with one wife and multiple husbands.

Polygamous | families based on plural marriages in which there are multiple wives or, in rarer cases, multiple husbands.

Polygyny | marriages in which there is one husband and multiple wives.

Polysemy | Settings, situations, and symbols that convey multiple meanings.

Polytheistic | religious systems that recognize several gods.

Poro and sande | secret societies for men and women, respectively, found in the Mande-speaking peoples of West Africa, particularly in Liberia, Sierra Leone, the Ivory Coast, and Guinea.

Positive reinforcements | rewards for compliance; examples include medals, financial incentives, and other forms of public recognition.

Pragmatic function | the useful purpose of a communication. Usefulness is a feature of all species' communication systems.

Pragmatics | how social context contributes to meaning in an interaction.

Presentation of self | The management of the impressions others have of us.

Priests | full-time religious practitioners.

Processual archaeology | a shift in archaeological studies toward scientific methods, testing of hypotheses, quantitative analysis, and theory-driven approaches and away from an earlier emphasis on typologies and descriptive analysis.

Productivity/creativity | the ability to produce and understand messages that have never been expressed before.

Profane | objects or ideas are ordinary and can be treated with disregard or contempt.

Proletarianization | a process through which farmers are removed from the land and forced to take wage labor employment.

Prophet | a person who claims to have direct communication with the supernatural realm and who can communicate divine messages to others.

Protected areas | lands set aside for conservation of the environment for their scenic beauty, biodiversity, recreational value, and other reasons.

Proxemics | the study of the social use of space, including the amount of space an individual tries to maintain around himself in his interactions with others.

Qualitative | anthropological research designed to gain an in-depth, contextualized understanding of human behavior.

Quantitative | anthropological research that uses statistical, mathematical, and/or numerical data to study human behavior.

Race | an attempt to categorize humans based on observed physical differences.

Racial formation | the process of defining and redefining racial categories in a society.

Raids | short-term uses of physical force organized and planned to achieve a limited objective.

Ranked | societies in which there are substantial differences in the wealth and social status of individuals; there are a limited number of positions of power or status, and only a few can occupy them.

Redistribution | the accumulation of goods or labor by a particular person or institution for the purpose of dispersal at a later date.

Reflexivity | Awareness of how one's own position and perspective impact what is observed and how it is evaluated.

Register | a style of speech that varies depending on who is speaking to whom and in what context.

Reified | the process by which an inaccurate concept or idea is accepted as "truth."

Reincarnation | the idea that a living being can begin another life in a new body after death.

Religion | the extension of human society and culture to include the supernatural.

Remittances | money that migrants laboring outside of the region or country send back to their hometowns and families. In Mexico, remittances make up a substantial share of the total income of some towns' populations.

Restricted exchange | a marriage system in which only two extended families can engage in this exchange.

Reverse dominance | societies in which people reject attempts by any individual to exercise power.

Revitalization rituals | attempts to resolve serious problems, such as war, famine or poverty through a spiritual or supernatural intervention.

Rite of intensification | actions designed to bring a community together, often following a period of crisis.

Rite of passage | a ceremony designed to transition individuals between life stages.

Role | the set of behaviors expected of an individual who occupies a particular status.

Sacred | objects or ideas are set apart from the ordinary and treated with great respect or care.

Segmentary lineage | a hierarchy of lineages that contains both close and relatively distant family members.

Semanticity | the meaning of signs in a communication system; a feature of all species' communication systems.

Semantics | how meaning is conveyed at the word and phrase level.

Serial monogamy | marriage to a succession of spouses one after the other

Shaman | a part time religious practitioner who carries out religious rituals when needed, but also participates in the normal work of the community.

Social classes | the division of society into groups based on wealth and status.

Socially constructed | a concept developed by society that is maintained over time through social interactions that make the idea seem "real."

Sodality | a system used to encourage solidarity or feelings of connectedness between people who are not related by family ties.

Somatic | Symptoms that are physical manifestations of emotional pain.

Sorcerer | an individual who seeks to use magic for his or her own purposes.

Sororate marriage | the practice of a man marrying the sister of his deceased wife.

Speech act | the intention or goal of an utterance; the intention may be different from the dictionary definitions of the words involved.

Standard | the variant of any language that has been given special prestige in the community.

Staple crops | foods that form the backbone of the subsistence system by providing the majority of the calories a society consumes.

State | the most complex form of political organization characterized by a central government that has a monopoly over legitimate uses of physical force, a sizeable bureaucracy, a system of formal laws, and a standing military force.

Status | any culturally-designated position a person occupies in a particular setting.

Stem family | a version of an extended family that includes an older couple and one of their adult children with a spouse (or spouses) and children.

Stratified | societies in which there are large differences in the wealth, status, and power of individuals based on unequal access to resources and positions of power.

Structural violence | a form of violence in which a social structure or institution harms people by preventing them from meeting their basic needs.

Structural-Functionalism | an approach to anthropology that focuses on the ways in which the customs or social institutions in a culture contribute to the organization of society and the maintenance of social order.

Subsistence farmers | people who raise plants and animals for their own consumption, but not for sale to others.

Subsistence system | the set of skills, practices, and technologies used by members of a society to acquire and distribute food.

Succession | changes in types of species in an area over time. For example, it would describe the different ecosystems that gradually replace one other after a forest fire.

Sumptuary rules | norms that permit persons of higher rank to enjoy greater social status by wearing distinctive clothing, jewelry, and/or decorations denied those of lower rank.

Supernatural | describes entities or forces not governed by natural laws.

Sustainable development | development that can meet present needs without damaging the environment or limiting the potential for future generations.

Swidden | an agricultural practice, also called shifting cultivation and slash-and-burn, in which fields are cleared, burned, and planted for several seasons before being returned to fallow for an extended period.

Symbol | anything that serves to refer to something else.

Symbolic ethnicity | limited or occasional displays of ethnic pride and identity that are primarily for public display.

Syncretism | the combination of different beliefs, even those that are seemingly contradictory, into a new, harmonious whole.

Syntax | the rules by which a language combines morphemes into larger units.

Taxonomies | a system of classification.

Taxonomy | a system of classification.

Technoscape | the global flows of technology.

The Other | is a term that has been used to describe people whose customs, beliefs, or behaviors are "different" from one's own

Thick description | a term coined by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his 1973 book The Interpretation of Cultures to describe a detailed description of the studied group that not only explains the behavior or cultural event in question but also the context in which it occurs and anthropological interpretations of it.

Third gender | a gender identity that exists in non-binary gender systems offering one or more gender roles separate from male or female.

Transgender | a category for people who identify as a different gender than the one that was assigned to them at birth. This may entail a social transition or a physical one, using a number of methods

Tribe | political units organized around family ties that have fluid or shifting systems of temporary leadership.

Unbound morpheme | a morpheme that can stand alone as a separate word.

Undocumented | the preferred term for immigrants who live in a country without formal authorization from the state. Undocumented refers to the fact that these people lack the official documents that would legally permit them to reside in the country. Other terms such as illegal immigrant and illegal alien are often used to refer to this population. Anthropologists consider those terms to be discriminatory and dehumanizing. The word undocumented acknowledges the human dignity and cultural and political ties immigrants have developed in their country of residence despite their inability to establish formal residence permissions.

Unilineal | descent is recognized through only one line or side of the family.

Unilineal descent | kinship (family) systems that recognize only one sex-based "side" of the family.

Universal grammar (UG) | a theory developed by linguist Noam Chomsky suggesting that a basic template for all human languages is embedded in our genes.

Vernaculars | non-standard varieties of a language, which are usually distinguished from the standard by their inclusion of stigmatized forms.

Wilderness | a natural area that is untouched or unchanged by human activities and often seen as a cultural construct of the American West.

World system | a complex economic system through which goods circulate around the globe. The world system for food is characterized by a separation of the producers of goods from the consumers.

World Systems Theory | an approach to social science and history that involves examination of the development and functioning of the world economic system.

Zoomorphic | an object or being that has animal characteristics.

Zoonotic | Diseases that have origins in animals and are transmitted to humans.

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Overview

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By Page

- Cultural Anthropology (Evans) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - Front Matter - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - TitlePage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - InfoPage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - Table of Contents - *Undeclared*
    - Licensing - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 1: What is Anthropology? - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.1: Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.2: Holism in Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.3: Biocultural Approach - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.4: What is Culture? - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.5: Ethnocentrism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 1.6: Cultural Relativism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 2: Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.1: Antropological Culture Concept - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.2: Levels of Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.3: Micro or Subculture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.4: Familial Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.5: Enculturation - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.6: Cultural Universals - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.7: Culture Change - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.8: Culture Shock - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.9: Values and Norms - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.10: Two Views of Culture: ETIC and EMIC - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.11: Symbols and Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 2.12: Explore: Learn More about the Anthropologists - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 3: Anthropological Theory - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - Front Matter - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
      - TitlePage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
      - InfoPage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.1: Social Evolution of Anthropological Theory - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.2: Historical Particularism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.3: Functionalism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.4: Culture and Personality - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.5: Cultural Ecology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.6: Structural Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.7: Cultural Materialism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.8: Symbolic and Interpretive Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.9: Postmodernism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.10: Feminist Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 3.S: Anthropological Theory (Summary) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - Back Matter - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
      - Index - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 4: Methods - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.1: Methodology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.2: Ethnography and Ethnology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.3: Fieldwork - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.4: Ethics - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.5: Structured Interview - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 4.6: Unstructured Interview - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 5: Language - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.1: Linguistic Anthropology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.2: Language - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.3: Focal Vocabularies - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.4: Non-verbal Communication - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.5: Models of Language and Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 5.6: Human Language Families Map - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 6: Deconstructing Race - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.1: Deconstructing Race and Racism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.2: Human Adaptations - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.3: Skin Color and UV Index - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.4: Ethnicity and Race - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.5: Social Constructions of Race - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 6.6: Eugenics in the United States - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
  - 7: Economic Organization - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 7.1: Subsistence Strategies - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
    - 7.2: Foraging - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 7.3: Pastoralists - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 7.4: Horticulturists - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 7.5: Intensive Agriculture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 7.6: Neolithic Revolution - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 7.7: Distribution - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

8: Kinship - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 8.1: Kinship Diagrams - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 8.2: Descent Rules - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 8.3: Descent Groups - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 8.4: Kinship Terminology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

9: Marriage and Family - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 9.1: Functions of Marriage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.2: Forms of Marriage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.3: Rules for Marriage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.4: Economic Aspects of Marriage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.5: Types of Families - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.6: Postmarital Residence Patterns - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 9.7: Residence Patterns - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

10: Sex and Gender - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 10.1: Sex and Gender Distinction - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.2: Sexual Orientation - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.3: Inis Beag - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.4: Ritual Homosexuality of the Sambia - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.5: Margaret Mead's Gender Studies - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.6: Gender Role - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.7: Two-Spirit - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.8: Hijra - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.9: Gender and Language - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.10: Gender Inequality - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.11: Double Burden (Part 1) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.12: Double Burden (Part 2) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.13: Gender and Employment - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.14: The Global Gender Gap Report - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.15: Violence Against Women (Part 1) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.16: Violence Against Women (Part 2) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.17: Violence Against Women (Part 3) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 10.18: Missing Women of Asia - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

11: Politics and Culture - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 11.1: Political Systems - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.2: Bands - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.3: Tribes - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.4: Chiefdoms - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.5: States - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.6: Social Stratification - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.7: Indian Caste System - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.8: Social Control - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 11.9: Genocide - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

12: Supernatural Belief Systems - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 12.1: Introduction to Religion - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.2: Definitions of Religions - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.3: The Function of Religion - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.4: Aspects of Religion - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.5: Patterns of Belief - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.6: Religious Practitioners - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.7: Religious Change - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.8: Four Categories of Religion - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.9: Rite of Passage - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.10: Vision Quest - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.11: Religious Demographics - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 12.12: Health and Illness - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

13: Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 13.1: Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.2: Anthropology of Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.3: Purpose of Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.4: Paleolithic Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.5: Tribal Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.6: Folk Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.7: Indigenous Australian Art - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.8: Sandpainting - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.9: Ethnomusicology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.10: Dance - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 13.11: Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

14: Globalization - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- 14.1: Introduction to Globalization - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.2: Globalization - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.3: Modernization - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.4: Development - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.5: GNI Per Capita, Atlas Method (Current US $) - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.6: Technology - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.7: The Global Digital Divide - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.8: Global Life Expectancy and Mortality Statistics - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.9: Global Warming - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.10: Indigenous People - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.11: Cultural Survival - *CC BY-SA 4.0*
- 14.12: Multiculturalism - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

Back Matter - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

- Index - *CC BY-SA 4.0*

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