

A History of Anthropology

Thomas Hylland Eriksen & Finn Sivert Nielsen

Inhoudsopgave

1	Beginnings.....	4
1.1	Herodotus and other Greeks.....	4
1.2	After Antiquity.....	4
1.3	The impact of the European Conquests.....	4
1.4	Why all this is not quite Anthropology yet.....	5
1.5	The Enlightenment.....	5
1.6	Romanticism.....	6
2	Victorians, Germans and a Frenchman.....	6
2.1	Biological and social evolutionism – Morgan.....	7
2.2	Bastian, Tylor and other Victorians.....	8
2.3	The Golden Bough and the Torres Expedition.....	8
2.4	Diffusionism.....	9
2.5	The New Sociology.....	9
2.6	Durkheim.....	9
2.7	Max Weber.....	10
3	Four founding fathers.....	10
3.1	Boas and historical particularism.....	11
3.2	Malinowski and the Trobriand Islanders.....	11
3.3	Radcliffe-Brown's 'natural science of society'.....	11
3.4	Mauss and the search for social phenomena.....	12
3.5	Anthropology in 1930: Parallels and divergences.....	12
4	Expansion and institutionalisation.....	13
4.1	A marginal discipline?.....	13
4.2	Oxford and the isle, Columbia and Chicago.....	13
4.3	The Dakar-Djibouti Expedition.....	14
4.4	Culture and personality.....	14
4.5	Cultural History.....	15
4.6	Ethnolinguistics.....	15
4.7	The Chicago School.....	15

4.8	'Kinshipology'	16
4.9	Functionalism's last stand	17
4.10	Some British outsiders	17
5	Forms of change	17
5.1	Neo-Evolutionism and cultural ecology	17
5.2	Formalism and Substantivism	18
5.3	Meanwhile in Britain: the Manchester School	18
5.4	Methodological individualism at Cambridge	19
5.5	Role analysis and system theory	20
6	The Power of Symbols	20
6.1	From function to meaning	21
6.2	Ethnoscience and symbolic Anthropology	21
6.3	Geertz and Schneider	22
6.4	Lévi-Strauss and Structuralism	22
6.5	Early impact	23
6.6	The State of the Art in 1968	23
7	Questioning Authority	23
7.1	The Return of Marxism	23
7.1.1	Structural Marxism	23
7.1.2	The not-quite-Marxists	24
7.1.3	Political Economy and the capitalist world system	24
7.2	Feminism – and the birth of reflexive fieldwork	25
7.3	Ethnicity	26
7.4	Practice Theory	26
7.5	The sociobiology debate and Samoa	27
8	The end of modernism?	27
8.1	The end of modernism?	27
8.2	The Postcolonial world	28
8.3	A new departure or a new return to Boas?	29
8.4	Other voices	29
9	Reconstruction	30
9.1	Biology and Culture	31
9.2	Globalisation and the production of locality	31
9.3	Postscript	32

1 Beginnings

It is unclear where we can fix the starting point of Anthropology. What we are sure about, is that anthropology as the science of humanity originated in 'the West' and more particular France, Great Britain, USA and until WW2 also Germany. Historically speaking, anthropology is a European discipline.

1.1 Herodotus and other Greeks

- **Herodotus of Halicarnassus** (c. 484-425 v.C.):
Greek historian, described peoples that the Greeks maintained contacts with and whom he met on his travels.
important anthropological problem of how we should relate to 'the others'? (paradox of universalism¹ versus relativism²)
- **Socrates'** faith in universal reason (in Plato's Dialogues) vs. the relativist view of the **Sophists** that truth will always vary with experience and culture.
- Cross-cultural encounters were part of everyday life in the city-states.
"Barbarian" = 'foreigner' (they were perceived as only able to say 'bar-bar')
- **Aristotle** (384-322 v.C): reason, wisdom and morality are only human faculties.
Humans are fundamentally social by nature. (universalistic style of thought)

1.2 After Antiquity

- spreading of the Greek urban culture (o.a. through Alexander the Great) created a complex, multinational society
- mid-fourth century: Christianity was established as state religion and the Roman Empire started falling apart. → Europe fell apart, Church held continent together.
Throughout the Middle Ages, Europe was a periphery.
Marco Polo's writings (1254-1323) about his expedition to China
- **Ibn Khaldun** (1332-1406): developed one of the first non-religious social theories, he stresses the importance of kinship and religion in creating and maintaining a sense of solidarity and mutual commitment among the members of a group.

1.3 The impact of the European Conquests

- **travelogues** reached wide audiences due to the young printing press. They were full of factual errors (e.g. **Amerigo Vespucci**: uses Eurocentric description of 'Indians' to promote absolutist monarchy and papal power). There is always a large distinction between the Others and the existing order in Europe.
- Conquest of America stimulated in Europe
 - o the ongoing secularisation of European intellectual life
 - o the liberation of science from the authority of the Church

¹ to identify commonalities and similarities (universals) between different societies.

² Emphasise the uniqueness and particularity of each society or culture.

- the relativisation of concepts of morality and personhood.
 - → possible to ask questions about development of humanity → embryonic notions of progress and development
- **Michel de Montaigne** (1533-92): cultural relativist avant la lettre; coined the term 'le bon sauvage'
- **Empiricists:**
 - John Locke** (1632-1704): combined a universalistic principle with a relativistic principle in his view that we are born as a blank paper, that can be written on through experience
 - Thomas Hobbes** (1588-1679): the natural law is implicit in the biological needs of the individual (by being human one has rights)
- **Continental Rationalists:**
 - René Descartes:** we see the world through a filter of ideas, the only thing we can be sure about is what we think. → ° attitude of methodological doubt

1.4 Why all this is not quite Anthropology yet.

- because all the work mentioned so far belongs to either travel writing or social philosophy
- because all writers mentioned are influenced by their times and their society. (is still the case, but anthropology makes no sense outside a modern context)

1.5 The Enlightenment

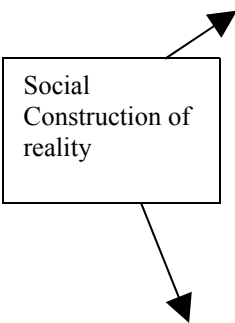
- the idea of progress seemed to be confirmed by the development of technology
- first attempts to create an anthropological science were made:
 - **Giambattista Vico** (17de E): *La Scienza nuova*
A synthesis of ethnography, history of religion, philosophy and natural science. His theory of social development specified a number of transitional stages, not linear but through cycles of degeneration and growth
 - **Baron de Montesquieu** (17de E): *De l'esprit des loix*
A comparative, cross-cultural study of legislative systems. Cultural phenomena like polygamy, cannibalism and slavery can be explained by the function they have in society as a whole.
Persian Letters criticises France by emphasizing the exoticness of the Persians.
→ home blindness³ in contemporary anthropology
 - **The Encyclopaedists Denis Diderot and d'Alembert** (18de E):
tried to collect, classify and systematise as much knowledge as possible. They criticised the Church, some material was at that time controversial because they made descriptions of 'ordinary life'
Marquis de Condorcet wrote systematic comparisons between different social systems.
Jean-Jacques Rousseau: development is not progressive but degenerative.

³ Our inability to see our own culture objectively or from the outside

The natural state is the ideal, through society we perish. Thus he made a significant step to cultural relativism (though his ideas were polarized: either free and rational or unfree and corrupted)

1.6 Romanticism

- attention goes to the group (i.s.o. the individual like in the enlightenment) and to emotion (i.s.o. reason). Basically in Germany
- **Johann Gottfried von Herder** (18de E):
attack on the French universalism; primacy of emotions and language; defined society as a deep-seated, mythical community. Every 'Volk' has its 'Volksgeist'.
- **Immanuel Kant** (18de E): true knowledge is derived from sense impressions (as Lock and Hume also said), but moreover sensory data are filtered and shaped by the faculties of the mind. Acquisition of knowledge is thus a creative process. Man is in a sense unable to know the world as it is in itself (Ding an Sich), but he gains access to the world as it represents itself to him (Ding für Mich).
principle of methodological individualism⁴
- **G. W. F. Hegel** (einde 18de, begin 19de E): the individual is also a part and a result of the process of knowing. The individual participates in a communicative fellowship with other people. World of knowing is therefore fundamentally collective.
principle of methodological collectivism⁵
Weltgeist: a world-spirit that evolves independently of individuals but manifests itself through them.
→ possible to envision the world as a more or less systematic pattern of communication between persons.
- First ethnographic museums were built. First specialised ethnographic museums were established in German-speaking areas (Vienna, Munich and Berlin). German academics had begun to carry out empirical studies of the customs of 'the people'. (Volkskunde statt Völkerkunde)



2 Victorians, Germans and a Frenchman

Context: Between the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) and WO I, there is a rise of modern Europe due to the Industrial Revolution. Production was increased and therefore Europe could feed more people. Consequence: population grew. These changes provoked protest (eg. French Revolution, Chartist Revolt). A new socialist ideology comes into being. Workers diffuse over the world (to South Africa, Siberia, Argentina, USA, ...), as a consequence new power relations arise. An internationalised science emerged, prototype of the global researcher is Charles Darwin. Anthropology arose as an (academic) discipline at this time.

2.1 Biological and social evolutionism- Morgan

- Leading a-ists based in Britain or USA

⁴ The individual person as the starting point

⁵ The notion that society is more fundamental than the individual.

- evolutionism:
 - built on ideas of development from the 18th century
 - bolstered by the experience of colonialism
 - starts in the 1860s by the influence of Darwin and Spencer
- leading idea in A-y in that time: the psychic unity of mankind
- Continental sociologists: followed the lead of Kant and Hegel (e.g. Karl Marx - 1818-1883)
 - Shared idea of sociologists: society is an autonomous reality that must be studied on its own terms, not with methods of natural science.
 - Difference with A-y: concerned with the internal dynamics of Western, industrial society
- **L. H. Morgan:**
 - Worked with Native Americans (Iroquois) and on the rights of Native Americans.
 - ‘urgent anthropologists’: wanted to document the culture of the Indians before it was too late.
 - Pioneering work on kinship: large-scale comparative study of Native American kinship +first typology of kinship systems (difference between classificatory⁶ and descriptive⁷ kinship). Kinship was for Morgan primarily a point of entry to the study of social evolution.
 - In his grand synthesis Ancient society, he distinguished three major stages of cultural evolution: savagery, barbarism and civilisation
- **K. Marx:**
 - Tried to reconcile an idealist impulse from German philosophy (particularly Hegel) with a materialist world-view
 - Society= infrastructure (conditions for existence) + superstructure (ideational systems)
 - Primary contradiction in society is in the infrastructure between the relations of production (that organise labour and property) and the forces of production (e.g. technology or land).
 - Objective interest of the working class is overthrowing the ruling class through revolution. But the working class is just partly aware of this interest because the true power relations are concealed by an ideology that justifies the existing order.
 - Problem: class model applicable to non-Western societies?

⁶ does not differentiate the categories kinsmen of the direct ascending line and kinsmen ‘to the side’

⁷ Descriptive systems differentiate kinsmen of the direct ascending or descending line from kinsmen ‘to the side’

2.2 Bastian, Tylor and other Victorians

- **Adolf Bastian** (1826-1905):
continued the German tradition of research on *Volkskultur* that had been inspired by Herder. He sharply criticised the simplistic schemes of evolutionism. He believed that all cultures have a common origin, from which they have branched off in various directions (anticipated diffusionism) and that all humans share certain elementary patterns of thought, *Elementargedanken* (anticipated structuralism)
- **Henry Maine** (1822-88): *Ancient Law*
Inquiry how changes in legislation reflect wider social changes. Distinguished traditional societies based on status from modern societies based on contract.
- **Johann Jakob Bachofen** (1815-87)
launched a theory of original matriarchy. He argued in favour of an evolutionary theory that moved from an initial stage of general promiscuity to the first organised form of social life (matriarchy). This idea implies that humanity progressed as female leaders were replaced by males.
- **E.B. Tylor** (1832-1917):
 - o First British professor of A-y at University of Oxford.
 - o Evolutionist
 - o Developed a theory of cultural survivals⁸
 - o Used a trait-by-trait comparative method
 - o Definition of culture. Culture = civilisation = matter of degree = what unites mankind
 - o ↔ Bastian and Herderian notion of ‘Volk’
- Still uncommon to do fieldwork as an anthropologist (exception was Nicolai Nicolaievich Miklukho-Maklai)
- Importance of kinship in this phase of the evolution of anthropology

2.3 The Golden Bough and the Torres Expedition

- after 1860s-70s, there was a quiet period in sociology and anthropology
- first institutionalisation of the discipline in Britain, Germany, France and the USA and crystallisation of independent national traditions
- A research programme called **Diffusionism** was established. It studied the origin and dissemination of cultural traits.
- There was a lack of accurate and detailed data, therefore first publications on anthropological field method. (*Notes and Queries on Anthropology*)

⁸ Cultural traits that had lost their original functions in society, but had continued, for no particular reason, to survive

- **J.G. Frazer:** Last great Victorian evolutionist, was a student of Tyler and became known for his work 'The Golden Bough'. Frazer presented a 3-step model of cultural evolution (magical stage/religious stage/scientific stage). His main concern was to identify patterns and universal traits in mythical thought.
- **The Torres Expedition:** (1898) from University of Cambridge to the Torres Straits (between Australia and New Guinea) to collect detailed data about the traditional population of the islands. Academics joining were A.C. Haddon (zoologist), W.H.R. Rivers (psychologist) and C.G. Seligman (doctor). They can be seen as the 'first true fieldworkers'. Seligman became later a central figure in British anthropology and moved the focus from the Pacific Islands to Africa (he did lots of work in Sudan)

2.4 Diffusionism

- Studied the geographical distribution and migration of cultural traits, and posited that cultures were patchworks of traits with various origins and histories. Therefore all parts of a culture are not necessarily linked into a larger whole (↔ evolutionists: societies are coherent and functional systems).
- It emphasised detailed empirical knowledge and systematic comparison.
- Was chiefly a Germanic specialization, with centres in Berlin and Vienna. It had little direct influence on British and French anthropology.
- Diffusionists developed complex classifications of *Kulturkreise* and surveyed their possible dissemination from an original centre.
- It wasn't a total break with evolutionism, but they objected to its unilineal and deterministic character
- Diffusionism was important for Russian anthropology (Jochelson, Bogoraz, Shternberg)

2.5 The New Sociology

- British Anthropology was influenced by continental sociology
- 'classical sociology': refers to the oeuvre of some theorists between the 1850s and WO I. (e.g. Marx, Comte, Spencer)
 - 1st generation: Marx, Comte and Spencer
 - 2nd generation: Tönnies, Durkheim (most important for anthropology), Simmel and Weber

2.6 Durkheim

- *De la division du travail social*, *Le suicide* and *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse* are his major works. He founded *l'Année sociologique*
- important for Anthropology is the work *Classification Primitive*, on the social origins of knowledge systems (with data mainly from Australia), which he wrote together with his intellectual successor Marcel Mauss

- concerned with 'synchronic' explanations
- society as a social organism: it is a logical, integrated system, in which all parts are dependent on each other and work together to maintain the whole.
- Solidarity keeps society together (mechanical solidarity⁹, organic solidarity¹⁰) and arises from collective representations¹¹. In religion are the emotional attachment of individuals to collective representations established and strengthened. This attachment is formed by rituals, they create a rupture between the profane and the sacred.
- Could be seen as the founder of structural-functionalism

2.7 Max Weber

- *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus* → methodological individualism¹²
- Power = the ability to get someone to do something that he would not otherwise have done.
 - Legitimate power = power based on a minimum of physical coercion and violence, that has been accepted as a legal, moral, natural or God-given fact of life by a populace that has been taught to believe that this is so.
 - 3 ideal types of legitimate power: traditional authority, bureaucratic authority, charismatic authority
- society is a more individual and less collective endeavour than for Marx or Durkheim. It is an ad hoc order, that is generated when different people with different interests and values meet and try to convince one another and arrive at some kind of agreement.
- Influence on anthropologists after WO II: e.g. Clifford Geertz and Frederik Barth

3 Four founding fathers

- turbulent period of decay and renewal after WO I → optimism begun to falter.
- Symbolic points of entry into modernity are Freud's theory of dreams and the subconscious and Einstein's theory of general relativity
- in this period anthropology was transformed into a modern social science.
- 4 founding fathers had no shared programme, they effected a near-total renovation of 3 of the 4 national traditions (the American, the British and the French – the Germanic tradition was dominated by diffusionism)

⁹People support the existing social order and each other because they share the same everyday life, carry out the same tasks and perceive each other as similar

¹⁰Society and mutual commitment are maintained by people's perception of each other as different, with complementary roles.

¹¹Symbolic images or models of social life that are shared by a group

¹²Domain of interest is the motivations of people for their actions

3.1 Boas and historical particularism

- stationed in New York (in US, anthropology became 'cultural' anthropology after Tylor's definition of culture)
- had received his training from German scholars who were sceptical about evolutionism, he sympathized with diffusionism
- 4-field approach: divided anthropology into linguistics, physical anthropology, archaeology and cultural anthropology.
- Methodological strategy: fieldwork was often team-oriented, was long-term and repeated many times over the years. This was due to 'the field' which was close at hand in the US.
- 'Historical particularism' in stead of evolutionism: each culture contains its own values and its own unique history, which can, in some cases, be reconstructed by anthropologists. (intrinsic value in the plurality of cultural practices)
- Left no grand theory or monumental work due to his methodological individualism (he sought the particular instance rather than the general scheme)
- students of his were i.a. Ruth Benedict and Margaret Mead

3.2 Malinowski and the Trobriand Islanders

- studied under Seligman after having studied under the social psychologist Wilhelm Wundt
- spent nearly two years on the Trobriand Islands and wrote on this fieldwork *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* which became a revolutionary work in anthropology
- kula trade: circulating of symbolic values over a large area between the islands of Melanesia.
- Malinowski was the pioneer in 'participant observation'
- his work made clear the absurdity of a comparative project that compared single traits. → context and interconnections would from now on be essential qualities of any anthropological account
- the individual as the system's ultimate goal, and his needs as the prime motor of social stability and change. (methodological individualism)

3.3 Radcliffe-Brown's 'natural science of society'

- studied Anthropology in Cambridge
- fieldwork on the Andaman Islands (east of India). *Andaman Islanders* was written in Diffusionist style, later he would read Durkheim and become a Durkheimian Anthropologist
- **Structural functionalism**
Individual is chiefly a product of society. R-B tried to discover abstract structural principles and socially integrating mechanisms. Social structure exists independently of the individual actors who reproduce it and can be divided into discrete institutions

or subsystems, such as systems for conflict resolution, for socialisation,...). Kinship systems, as juridical systems of norms and rules, are at heart of the social structure.

- Students of Malinowski who later transferred to R-B: Evans-Pritchard, Fortes and Max Gluckman
'Malinowkians': Firth, A. Richards, E. Leach, I. Shapera
- during the interwar period there was an impressive institutional expansion of anthropology, in UK and in the colonies.

3.4 Mauss and the search for social phenomena

- nephew and student of Durkheim. Continued his work after Durkheim's death, took over *L'année sociologique*
- divided the study of society into three levels of inquiry:
 - ethnography: detailed study of customs, beliefs and social life
 - ethnology: the empirically based craft of regional comparison
 - anthropology: the philosophically informed theoretical endeavour to generalise about humanity and society on the basis of ethnography and ethnology
- *Essai sur le don*: gift exchange is a means of establishing social relations, it is morally binding, socially integrating, is regulated by firm, if implicit, rules, and has symbolic aspects
- other important French contemporaries: Arnold van Gennep (*Les rites de passage*) and the philosopher Lévy-Bruhl (*la mentalité primitive*)

3.5 Anthropology in 1930: Parallels and divergences

- common idea of the 4 founding fathers: cultural traits could no longer be studied in isolation (importance of context, anthropology as a holistic science)
- differences in methods, theory and institutional organization
- also systematic differences, :
 - American Anthropology as a discipline was larger and more established than in Europe
 - the French academic system was more centralized and therefore anthropology was the most elitist of the national traditions, but also the most open-minded (because the elite cooperated and discussed with each other)

4 Expansion and institutionalisation

After WO II, the colonial empires began to fade, but in these years anthropology developed into a mature discipline. After 1945 there came a new wave of radical reform.

4.1 A marginal discipline?

- the revolution in anthropology that had been going on since 1920, laid the methodological, theoretical and institutional foundations of the discipline. From the 1930s until the 1940s there came a period of consolidation (with Radcliffe-Brown, Benedict, Mead,...)
- the new anthropology had a marginal identity from the outset:
 - founding fathers were most of the time 'outsiders' (immigrants, women, Jews,...)
 - it placed the 'savages' on an equal footing with middle-class Westerners (anthropologists were often radicalist, politically speaking)
- it remains a discussion if anthropologists, the British in particular, submitted or even contributed passively to the colonial regime. (p56: « It has always been the case, and remains a fact that research agenda are constructed in particular historical contexts, and that they themselves bear the imprint of these contexts. »)

4.2 Oxford and the isle, Columbia and Chicago

- in 1930 only one academic centre of the new anthropology in Great Britain: London School of Economics, where Malinowski presided (taught nearly the entire next generation of British anthropologists: Firth, Evans-Pritchard, Powdermaker, Richards, Schapera, Fortes, Leach, Nadel, etc)
- in the mid-30s, Evans-Pritchard, and later Radcliffe-Brown, came to Oxford.
- Most important institutional development in Br. Anthropology in early 1930s: the founding of the **Rhodes-Livingstone Institute** in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia. (among the first research fellows was Max Gluckman)
- Radcliffe-Brown's stay in Chicago in the 30s stimulated the formation of a group of non-Boasian anthropologists
- undisputed centre of American anthropology in US was in NY at Columbia University, where Boas reigned.
 - First group of students (mainly European immigrants): Kroeber, Lowie, Goldenweiser, Sapir, Radin
 - 2nd group (born-and-bred Americans): Benedict, Herskovits, Mead
- non-Boasians: Redfield, L. A. White, Linton, Murdock, Parsons
- b/c of WO II, European scholars appeared in the USA; i.a. Gregory Bateson (linked structural-functionalism and the more psychologically oriented anthropology of Benedict and Mead)

4.3 The Dakar-Djibouti Expedition

- Some have the impression that French Ay between 'The Gift' and L-S's book on kinship, experienced an impasse. This impression is false.
- **Marcel Griaule** (first half of 20th century):

- student of Mauss
- did fieldwork in Abyssinia
- led the collective research project covering large areas of French Empire in Africa (**Dakar-Djibouti Expedition**)
 - aim: stimulating ethnographic research in the region
 - procuring objects for the ethnographic museum in Paris
 - inter alia study of Dogon people in Mali and their exceptionally complex cosmology
- French field method differed from the ideal of participant observation; they related in a more businesslike way to their informants than the British and Americans.
- Importance of film and photography: Griaule worked with **Jean Rouché**, who was the founder of the *cinéma vérité*¹³
- **Roger Caillois** (1913-78): famous for his studies of ritual, myth and the relationship between the sacred and the profane. He analysed this Durkheimian topic through taboos in societies
- **Michel Leiris** (1901-90): *L'Afrique Fantôme* is a philosophical and ethnographic travelogue that anticipated 'postmodernism' or 'the reflexive turn' in Ay by half a century
- **Maurice Leenhardt** (first half of 20th century): was famous for his study of the Kanak of New Caledonia (Melanesia). He had a successful career as a missionary, and got a post thanks to Lévy-Bruhl and Mauss at the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes.
- French Ay developed in near complete isolation from British and American traditions. Exceptions were Paul Rivet and Alfred Métraux

4.4 Culture and personality

- **Ruth Benedict** (1887-1948) and Margaret **Mead** (1901-78) were students of Boas and concentrated on the relationship between psychological factors and cultural conditions (culture and personality school). Main question is to what extent human mental characteristics are inborn, and to what extent they are acquired. They were rather culturalist in their orientation. Patterns of emotion could, so Benedict and Mead, also be shared and they were also parts of culture. This was a rather revolutionary idea. Despite the fact that they were criticised, they took the first effective steps towards establishing a psychological Ay.
- Benedict:
 - influence derives mainly from two books which are large-scale comparisons: *Patterns of Culture* and *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*
 - In *Patterns of Culture* she developed the idea that culture may be analysed as a macropsychological pattern.

¹³Filmgenre that integrates the anthropologist and the film crew into the film, in order to give a more objective depiction of the circumstances on the set

- In *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* she described the ethos¹⁴ of Japanese culture, based on existing literature
- Mead was a controversial woman, she was a political activist and feminist. She concludes that if culture shapes personality, then it is possible to change personality by changing culture.
 - *Coming of Age in Samoa*: she compared the 'free' style of socialisation in Samoa with the strict, authoritarian style of the American middle class.
 - Her work was said to be unscientific. Critiques were partly there just because she was a successful woman, but still one can say that here fieldwork was superficial and her substantial conclusions misleading.

4.5 Cultural History

- **Kroeber**, who was Boas' first student, had other interests from those of Benedict and Mead. He was interested in cultural history. The cultural whole is the superorganic¹⁵ and cannot be disassembled into their component parts without losing their meaning.
- He is considered as an extreme methodological collectivist, b/c he argues that cultures have their own, autonomous dynamics, independent of individuals.
- Reply of Boas: culture must not be reified, it is not an object independent of human beings.

4.6 Ethnolinguistics

- **Edward Sapir** made a synthesis of linguistics and Ay. His main work *Language* is still a standard work of anthropological linguistics
- the **Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis**: differences in languages' syntax, grammar, and vocabulary entail profound differences in the language users' way of perceiving and living in the world.
- Study of language and culture remained a purely American specialisation until the early 1960s when the Rationality Debate arose in British Ay
- Sapir regarded culture as less monolithic and integrated than his contemporaries. Culture is rather a basis for disagreement than a consensus.

4.7 The Chicago School

- continuation of Boas' ideas through a number of research projects. Some of them diverged radically from his own convictions, particularly the neo-evolutionist movement of the 1950s and 1960s
- Chicago group followed Boas and was founded by Park and Thomas in 1890s. Their urgent challenge was to understand ethnic relations in the melting pot of metropolitan Chicago.

¹⁴She referred to 'cultural personality' as *ethos*

¹⁵An integrated system that was more than biological, yet seemed to have its own innate dynamics.

- Chicago School is best known for its research on peasant societies in Latin America, Eastern Europe, and later in India. Peasant studies had its roots in previous studies of rural communities, by East European sociologists, historians and economists (inter alia Alexander Chayanov, Florian W. Znaniecki).
- **Robert Redfield** (1st half 20th century): was concerned with showing how the peasant way of life created a particular 'cultural character'
- Chicago was also the birthplace of **symbolic interactionism**: a peculiar microsociological tradition that focused on detailed analyses of person-to-person interaction in limited, often short-term settings
 - Erving Goffman
 - Raymond Birdwhistell

4.8 'Kinshipology'

- the British structural-functionalists described the structural principles underlying the lives of 'primitives' but in a respectful way
- Most of them were pupils of Malinowski or Radcliffe-Brown
- **Meyer Fortes** (1906-83): was a South African Jew, originally a psychologist. He broke with Malinowski. Fortes' speciality was kinship. *The Dynamics of Clanship among the Tallensi* was an important work for structural-functionalism
- the high point of structural-functionalism was in 1947-49, when R-B, Fortes, Gluckman and E-P were all gathered at Oxford.
 - R-B saw kinship as the engine driving primitive society, the glue that held it together and the moral universe in which it lived
 - this was confirmed by Fortes' studies
 - E-P first was committed to kinship studies but struck off later in a different direction
- E-P carried out his field studies in the Sudan during the 1930s under Seligman's supervision.
 - *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande*: on the one hand understands witchcraft as a 'safety valve' that redirects social conflicts into harmless channels (an integrating device in the best Durkheimian tradition), on the other hand, it is an attempt to make sense of an alien world of thought.
 - *The Nuer*: study of the political organization of a patrilineal pastoralist people, written in spirit of R-B. Conflicts are organised along kinship lines. Principle of segmentary organisation
- More interest for Africa in British Ay: publication of *African Political Systems* with contributions from British anthropologists. It distinguished three types of African societies: 1) egalitarian, small-scale societies, 2) state societies, 3) lineage-based segmentary society which is decentralised, but able to form large, cooperative groups for specific purposes.

4.9 Functionalism's last stand

- Firth secured the direct continuity of the Malinowskian programme. He was first of all an empirical researcher. Like Malinowski, he regarded interaction and the ongoing flow of social life as more fascinating than abstract structures. He was a methodological individualist. Firth assumed that society was an integrated, functional system.

4.10 Some British outsiders

- Hocart, Nadel, Forde
- **Gregory Bateson** (1940-80): his monograph *Naven* had little impact on contemporary Ay, but he anticipated several changes in the discipline. He married Mead and tried to close the gap between American and British Ay, which he regarded as unsuccessful.

5 Forms of change

In the decades following the war, Ay branched off in many directions, and it also became more tightly integrated than before. Mutual knowledge across national boundaries became more widespread. There was an emergent interest in material conditions.

5.1 Neo-Evolutionism and cultural ecology

- new thoughts in Boas' school: Lowie sympathised with evolutionism. He accepted that cultures, in some cases, evolve along the same general lines. He introduced multilinear evolution (evolution might proceed along different paths)
- neo-evolutionism was introduced in the US, thanks Steward and White.
- **Leslie White** (1900-75): rejected that cultural relativist idea that cultures should not be 'ranked' on a development scale, although he got rid of the moral connotations that the Victorian evolutionists had associated with such rankings.
 - Functionalist view: the function of society is to ensure the survival of the group. There are technological (which is the determining one), social and ideological aspects of culture.
 - Quantitative ambition: the level of cultural development is the amount of energy harnessed by each inhabitant, measured through production and consumption.
- **Steward**: opposed the cultural 'core' (technology and the division of labour) to 'the rest of culture'. 3 of his contribution have had a lasting impact on Ay.
 - He founded modern cultural ecology
 - He developed a theory of multilinear evolution, based on archaeological, historical, and ethnographic evidence
 - He was an important pioneer in peasant studies
- most important result of White's and Steward's theoretical efforts was their interest in the relationship between society and ecosystem.

- High points of cultural ecology:
 - Roy Rappaport's monograph *Pigs for the Ancestors*
 - the 'Man the Hunter' symposium at the University of Chicago in 1966 (culture was chiefly seen in terms of ecological adaptation)

5.2 Formalism and Substantivism

- From the 1940s onwards, economic anthropology was developed as a subdiscipline.
- **Formalism:** assumes that an economy might be described as a particular kind of action that individuals have everywhere and always engaged in – action in which the individual strives to achieve the maximal benefit for himself and/or his household. Maximisation = economy. Economy is a universal aspect of human social life.
 - **Raymond Firth**
 - strength of formalism: emphasis on the pragmatic choices of individuals
- **Substantivism:** Economy is not a universal form of action, but an 'institutional process'.
 - **Karl Polanyi:** argues that what we call 'the economy' does not exist in pre-capitalist societies at all, and that classical economic theory can therefore legitimately be applied only to capitalist economies. Described three main types of economy; reciprocity, redistribution and market exchange.
 - Strength of substantivism: its ability to describe economic systems as being of fundamentally different kinds and characterised by different economic rationalities.
- Bitter debate between both continued well into the 1970s and ended with the inconclusive realisation that the two schools were complementary.

5.3 Meanwhile in Britain: the Manchester School

- 1950s and 1960s: major changes in British anthropology. Intellectual lineage from Durkheim via Radcliffe-Brown and Evans-Prichard.
 - change in focus from structure to meaning (see next chapter)
 - research at Rhodes-Livingstone Institute (later at Manchester) was pioneering in its methods and subject matter and was responsible for the demolition of structural-functionalism.
 - Weaknesses of structural-functionalism: Due to its explicit assumption that societies tend to reproduce themselves, it could not account for change.
 - Rhodes-Livingstone Institute showed in long-term fieldwork that traditional social forms, such as kinship, might be maintained and even strengthened in situations of rapid change

- Methods of R-L I were innovative: experiments with quantitative methods (statistics, regression analysis); network analysis¹⁶; extended case method¹⁷
- an idea of change as fundamentally unpredictable, because it was a result of countless individual relations, each of which was reflexive and variable. ↔ idea of change as simple, rule-governed transformations between given social conditions from structural-functionalism
- **Gluckman**: indirect leader of Manchester School, researcher of R-L I. South-African Jew. Remained loyal to the broad framework of structural-functionalism. Interest in social conflict, which is ultimately integrating.
- **Wilson**: predicted that colonialism would ultimately result in massive cultural change and 'detrabalisation'.

5.4 Methodological individualism at Cambridge

- though the Manchester School headed towards a reorientation of British Ay, the metaphor of society as a functionally integrated organism remained implicit in most of their work.
- In Cambridge work of Malinowski was continued, but it was also a vital centre of innovation in the discipline (through Fortes and Goody).
- **Firth** (pupil of Malinowski):
 - the exceptional individual is a crucial agent of change.
 - Proposed a complementary concept to the notion of a stable social structure (which is static), namely *social organisation*¹⁸
 - mediated between British school and American Ay.
- **Edmund Leach** (1910-89): Student of Malinowski and Firth
 - *Political Systems of Highland Burma*: about tensions and conflicts in politics. It demonstrated that social life is intrinsically volatile, that cultural categories are contested and open to different interpretations, and stressed the legitimating functions of myth in politics.
- **Frederik Barth** (1928-):
 - *Political leadership among Swat Pathans*: the politics in Swat (Pakistan) as a process fuelled by individuals' interests and their strategies
 - *Models of Social Organisation*: argues that social structure is a product of 'transactions'¹⁹ → harshest attack on structural-functionalism

¹⁶Pioneered by John Barnes. It was designed to trace the changing relationships between people who were not firmly localised.

¹⁷Pioneered by Jaap van Velsen. A mode of inquiry where a single dramatic event or series of events was isolated and studied in successively wider and wider contexts

¹⁸The actual flow of social life, in which individual interests meet, conflicts and compromises develop, and the pragmatics of everyday life may deviate from the norm without destroying it. (dynamic)

¹⁹pragmatic-strategic exchanges between maximising individuals, which eventually generate a value consensus.

- his approach drew on the theory of games²⁰
 - tried to grasp the dynamic flow of a social field fissured by conflicting interests, was helped by progression of science of formalised modelling
 - Comparison with E-P's work shows the shift that took place in British Ay at the time. (E-P saw social structure as an overarching principle, while the principle of individual maximisation plays a similar part for Barth.
- other anthropologists associated with Cambridge in the 1950s: Audrey Richards, John Barnes, Frederick Bailey → accent on political Ay, part of the legacy from structural-functionalism

5.5 Role analysis and system theory

- study of social interaction was mainly a British mainstay. Though in the USA, there was the work of the Chicago school and the formalist economic anthropologists, and the psychologically oriented contributions of **Ralph Linton**.
- Distinction between status²¹ and role²².
 - Best known role theorist is **Erving Goffman**: focused on the actor, on his or her motivations, strategies and decisions.
- Another innovation of the early post-war years was **Cybernetics**
- the theory of complex, self-regulating systems
 - developed in 1940s by Norbert Wiener
 - focused on relationships of circular causation or feedback, where 'cause' and 'effect' mutually influence each other; and the flow of information in such circuits.
- Differences Britain – USA
- **USA**: move from the individual towards large-scale processes
 - **Britain**: attention moved from the collective towards the individual.

6 The Power of Symbols

- most important American symbolic anthropologists: Clifford Geertz and David Schneider (Boasian tradition)
- in Britain: study of meaning was associated with Frazer, it was tainted with evolutionism and was best avoided. Great exception = Evans-Pritchard.

²⁰Social life is a series of zero-sum games: one person's gain is another's loss

²¹Defined by moral norms, expectations from other individuals and a person's formal position in a system of relations (static)

²²The person's enactment of status in actual behaviour (dynamic)

6.1 From function to meaning

- interest in meaning was not entirely absent from the mainstream of Br. Social Ay. (eg. Jack Goody and Ian Watt: *The Consequences of Literacy*; concerned with social functions of meaning.
- **Evans-Pritchard**
 - Change in his own position was a movement from function to meaning.
 - rejected search for 'natural laws of society' of structural-functionalism, but wanted understand the meaning of particular social institutions.
 - eg. third volume of the Nuer trilogy is more interpretive than explanatory. Main ambition is to make sense of the Nuer world-view, not to explain it sociologically.
- **Peter Winch**, philosopher, *The idea of a social science and its relation to philosophy*: argues that it is impossible to establish objective, 'testable' knowledge about cultural phenomena, since their meaning is defined by the cultural universe of which they are a part.
- **Victor Turner** (1920-83):
 - during 1950s-1960s, he developed a perspective on symbols and social cohesion, which has become increasingly influential
 - concept of the social drama: some sort of rite of passage where underlying norms are given a symbolic expression, and the ritual thereby contributes to the integration of society.
 - Concept of liminality: the ritual is a process of transformation whereby a person moves from one defined state to another, with an intervening period of uncertainty and crisis. During this period (liminal stage), neither old nor new rules apply; it is thus both a critical and a creative stage of being.
 - Emphasises multivocality or multiple meanings of symbols.
- **Mary Douglas** (1921-):
 - student of E-P
 - links symbols to social institutions in the classic Durkheimian way
 - symbols are means of social classification. The order of the classificatory system reflects and symbolises the social order → intermediate, unclassifiable phenomena represent a threat to social stability
↔ Barth: an unorthodox, unclassifiable person is a potential entrepreneur.
(indicates difference between systemic and actor-centred perspectives)

6.2 Ethnoscience and symbolic Anthropology

- some of Sapir's successors developed ethnoscience in the 1950s.
 - it was concerned with describing 'cultural grammars', through identifying the building-blocks of semantic universes or systems of knowledge.

- Combined the culture and personality school's interest in socialisation, formal linguistics and the comparative study of classification
 - It died out in the 1960s but pursued later in cognitive Ay.
- The swing towards the study of meaning in USA was influenced by Parsons. Anthropologists should focus on the symbolic and meaningful aspects of social life, whereas the sociologists should focus on power, labour, and social organisation

6.3 Geertz and Schneider

- both Schneider and Geertz saw the division between sociology and Ay that Parsons proposed as a limitation. They promoted an idea of culture as an independent, self-sustaining system, which could perfectly well be studied without taking societal conditions into account.
- **Schneider** (1918-95): proposed a far broader view of kinship; it constitutes an entire cultural universe. He abandoned the idea of kinship as a biologically based model of human relations. Within the 'culture of kinship', each individual term derived its meaning from the integrated semantic network of which it was a part. → redefinition of kinship from social structure to culture.
- **Geertz** (1926 -):
 - 'thick description': anthropologists should seek to describe the world from the native's point of view.
 - Leaned on Durkheim, Weber, Schütz and Paul Ricoeur. Ricoeur had argued that society can be interpreted as a text, using the interpretive methods of hermeneutics²³ that were specifically evolved for this purpose.
 - Geertz introduced this notion of society as a text, that should be read. Social phenomena must be read not only by the anthropologists, but by the members of society themselves (individual as a reader). → this does away with the distinction between methodical individualism and collectivism

6.4 Lévi-Strauss and Structuralism

- **Lévi-Strauss** (1908-): part of intellectual circle around Sartre. He fled to NY during the war (he was a Jew) and was influenced by Boasian Ay and the linguist Roman Jakobson.
- *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté; Tristes Tropiques; Anthropologie structurale.*
- Established structuralism, which is a theory that attempts to grasp the general qualities of meaningful systems (in L-S's own work, of kinship and myths). Such systems consist of elements, but the elements themselves are relationships.
- Culture enters kinship through marriage. Meaningful relationships are formed between groups through the exchange of women.

²³Method of approaching a text that has its roots in medieval exegesis of texts

6.5 *Early impact*

- small impact of L-S on Anglo-Saxon Ay before the 1960s
- Leach was the first to be attracted by his theories
- **Rodney Needham**: early enthusiast for L-S (studied with Josselin de Jongh in Leiden)
- most Anglo-American anthropologists were deeply suspicious of structuralism, because it could not be tested empirically.
- **Louis Dumont** (1911-98): developed his own brand of structuralism, by combining impulses from L-S with classical European sociology into an influential theory of social integration and symbolic meaning.

6.6 *The State of the Art in 1968*

- Anthropology as a very diverse discipline, it had expanded demographically and was geographically dispersed.
- However, there was still little contact between the 3 dominant national traditions, partly because of language differences.

7 **Questioning Authority**

Problem with Marxism in Ay = it is essentially a theory of capitalist society, and its message about 'precapitalist societies' was couched in the language of unilineal evolutionism.

7.1 *The Return of Marxism*

- Steward, White and Gluckman were influenced by Marx but never referred to him. → ideological climate in '50s and '60s was neither congenial nor receptive to Marxists.
- During late '60s, Marxist theory entered the standard academic vocabulary
- several distinctive strands of Marxist Ay:
 - **structural Marxism**
 - **political economy**
 - cultural Marxism/superstructure studies (was established in Ay in the 80s, entered through Said's Orientalism and was inspired by Gramsci and Frankfurt School's critique of the commodification of culture)
 - sensual Marxism

7.1.1 **Structural Marxism**

- **Claude Meillassoux**:
 - first evidence of emerging French Marxist Ay
 - Marxist analysis of subsistence production in agricultural societies → it tried to map out the dynamics between the social relations of production and the technological and environmental means of production

- apply Marxist theory on African society (Guro of Ivory Coast): power rests on control over the means of human reproduction – over subsistence goods and wives - and not over the means of production (locating power was problem in Marxist Ay)
- **Louis Althusser:**
introduced a measure of flexibility in the infrastructure-superstructure relationship. Domination is determined by infrastructure.
- **Maurice Godelier:**
mix between Marxist Theory, Althusser and comparative ethnography and L-S. Comparative study of different economic systems. Kinship as part of both superstructure and infrastructure. Proposed a 'formalised Marxism' that looked for functions instead of particular institutions that took care of economy.

7.1.2 The not-quite-Marxists

- American Marxist anthropologists were not that politically active as their French colleagues, but their contributions had a more direct bearing on global injustice and essential political issues
- Marx. Ay in USA developed among Steward's, White's and Fried's students in the early postwar years, flourished in 70s and high point was in 80s.
- **Sahlins** engaged creatively with the Marxist debates about modes of production and forms of subsistence. His ideas went from cultural ecology via Marxism to a concern with symbolism.
- **Marvin Harris:** committed to Boasian Ay, later discovered White and Steward. He developed his own research programme, or paradigm, based on the notion that the material facts of economy and ecology determine culture directly.

7.1.3 Political Economy and the capitalist world system

- **Eric Wolf** (1923-99):
 - leading proponent of Marxist or Marxist-influenced American Ay
 - *Europe and the people without history*: inquiry into the complex economic, cultural and political effects of colonialism on the peoples studied by a-ists.
 - Worked on peasant issues in Mexico → *Peasants*: intertwining of the destinies of localities with large-scale processes; engine of these processes is mostly economic profit, result is capital accumulation in the centre and exploitation in the periphery.
 - Wolf wasn't alone with interest in world-system theory, imperialism and underdevelopment
 - **Immanuel Wallerstein**, *the Modern World System*
 - **Dependency theory:** (I.a. Andre Gunder Frank, Samir Amin) sought to demonstrate that exchange between rich and poor parts of the world amounted to capital accumulation in the north and deprivation in the south. (dependency theorists were mostly no a-ists) → this was due to

the problem of ay's relation to the issues of neo-colonialism and 3d World exploitation

- ✗ poor masses of the tropics were generally not considered worthy of sustained a-ical attention.
 - ✗ Single-people approach favoured by both the Boasians and the British, could not easily be reconciled with a concern with global political economy
 - ✗ historical relationship of ay to colonialism had been one of indifference (exception = Manchester school)
 - ✗ notion of 'development' was a difficult to swallow for a-ists who had been taught to be sceptical of ethnocentric notions of social evolution
- **Sidney Mintz**: regional focus on the Caribbean ('Backyard of USA')
 - Marxist political economy left lasting imprint on the profession: directed attention to the complex interweavings of local and global strands of inequality and power, resistance and survival; it gave attention to the imperative material conditions of life; grappled with historical change and with the relationship between 'development' and culture
 - **Eduardo Archetti**: 'crossover' A-ist between structural Marxism and political economy; was interested in the underlying logic of peasant societies and their relationship to the outside world.

7.2 *Feminism- and the birth of reflexive fieldwork*

- in 50s and 60s it was 'not done' to speak about personal aspects of fieldwork. After publication of Malinowski's diaries a debate opened up.
- Group of young American women a-ists responded practically to the issue (↔ Rationality Debate)
 - *Women in the Field: Anthropological Experiences* – Golde → ° idea of 'positioned' fieldwork²⁴
 - Q1: How should we act as reflexive fieldworkers?
 - ✗ Responded to with series of detailed, practical accounts of how concrete fieldwork situations had in fact been tackled
 - Q2: What role does gender play in social systems?
 - ✗ **Edwin Ardener**: *Belief and the problem of women*
problem of women = absence of female informants in ay (women are a muted group) → due to the distinction between private and public sphere. Women are mostly present in private sphere, man in public sphere.

²⁴Idea that by reflecting on her personal rôle in the field, the a-ist learns to understand exactly what kind of data she has received

- ✗ *Women, Culture and Society*, 1974, (Michelle Z. Rosaldo & Louise Lamphere)
 - women's efforts are confined to the immediate vicinity of the home, due to the physical constraints imposed by frequent childbirths
 - **Sherry Ortner**: *Is female to male as nature is to culture?* Describes the train of symbolic associations that connects the socially oppressed (women) to the non-social world

7.3 Ethnicity

- **George De Vos** and associates at Berkeley: crucial aspect of ethnicity is self-identification
- research on 'plural societies'²⁵: elaborated by **Michael G. Smith**. Debate = whether the ethnic groups that make up plural societies are in fact culturally discrete, since they have often been subjected to intensive cultural integration. Debate among Caribbeanists
- monographs by British Africanists on urbanisation and social change.
 - **Abner Cohen**: explicit focus on the dual, emotional and political, character of ethnic symbols
 - continuity with Manchester School
- **Barth's** edited collection *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (1969)
 - ethnicity is chiefly a social and political, rather than a cultural phenomenon; it is the relationship between groups, not the culture of groups, that gives them meaning → to a more processual concept of boundary maintenance

7.4 Practice Theory

- Sherry Ortner posted in 1984 that a new, overarching theoretical paradigm had been emerging in ay during the previous two decades → « practice theory »
- = an outgrowth of several dominant tendencies in the discipline, most prominently the old controversy between actor-oriented and structure-oriented approaches during the 1950s, and the Marxist and feminist work of the 1970s.
- Encompassed a variety of different research agendas, but common meta-theoretical interest → unifying methodological individualism and collectivism, and exploring the role of the human body situated in a material world as the main locus of social interaction.
- Term « practice » referred to Marx. Aim to unify actor-orientation and structure-orientation was not new.
 - **Anthony Giddens**: reiterates the contrast between agency and structure as a fundamental tension in social life. Conscious strategic actor, acting within the

²⁵Societies composed of multiple ethnic groups

structural constraints imposed by power on his body is nearly identical to Ortner's concept of practice

- **Pierre Bourdieu:**
 - Habitus: the permanent internalisation of the social order in the human body. It is a pervasive aesthetical style of action, which determines the actor in the manner of a dance – you cannot break out of it without loss of grace.
 - Distinction between doxa (what is taken for granted) and opinion (what can be discussed)
- **Michel Foucault:**
 - discipline: structure and power that have been impressed on the body, forming permanent dispositions.

7.5 The sociobiology debate and Samoa

- very hostile welcoming of sociobiology after Wilson's book 'Sociobiology'
- main point: culture is a biological adaptation
- **Derek Freeman**: Margaret Mead and Samoa: *the Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*
 - completely opposite findings as Mead's monograph from 1928
 - his critique provoked a lot of reactions, also because he wrote as a biologically inclined a-ist.
- With the sociobiology debate and related issues concerning nature vs nurture, the usual politeness of a-ical debate was discarded.

8 The end of modernism?

- 1980s: urban decay, competition, individualism, eclecticism, hybrids → age of doubt: affected the integrity of the various national tradition in the discipline; their century-old boundaries were beginning to blur.

8.1 The end of modernism?

- mid-1980s: crisis in a-y: how can a-ist describe or represent the people they study?
- Accusation within the discipline of 'exotifying the other' and maintaining the subject-object distinction between observer and observed
- postmodernism: different strains, main proponents held different views
- 'postmodern' first defined by Jean-François Lyotard: postmodern condition as a situation where there are no longer any overarching 'grand narratives' that could be invoked to make sense of the world as a whole. Different voices competing for attention, but never merging.

- Postmodernism as an ideology, an analytical perspective and an aesthetic that described the world as discontinuous and fragmented.
- In Ay postmodernism became associated with cultural relativism
- great importance of **Michel Foucault**:
 - showed how the taken-for-granted frameworks (« discours ») for understanding and acting upon the world changed historically.
 - Discours = a public exchange of ideas, in which certain questions, agendas and definitions evolved as the result of power struggles between the participants in the discourse, and imposed themselves on the sensual human body. Discours establishes a regime of knowledge
 - worked inspiring for a-ical work:
 - ethnographic studies of discursive power (eg. Abu-Lughod)
 - critiques of a-ical inquiry
- **Derrida**: 'deconstruction' → to deconstruct a text = to locate the centre of power in it, and then look for unnoticed, marginal expressions, which escape power, and allow the reader to interpret the text in new ways. → For Ay this means the end of ethnographic authority.

8.2 The Postcolonial world

- postcolonial movements in the arts and humanities challenged the right of metropolitan intellectuals to define who 'the natives' were and what they were like, and questioned the aesthetic and intellectual authority of metropolitan judgements.
- **Frantz Fanon**: *Black Skin, White Masks*
Hegelian analysis of the relationship between black and white man in the colonies. Psychological portrait of the sense of inferiority and humiliation
- **Vine Deloria**: *Custer Died for Your Sins*
Prof. In Native Am. Studies; the book was an attack on all kinds of liberal authorities who spoke about and on behalf of Native Americans, preventing them from speaking on their own terms
- postcolonial movement was launched in particular by **Edward Said**'s *Orientalism*
studies of the Orient from the West had created an essentialised or reified image of their way of life, based on a simplistic and misleading dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' and an ambivalent fascination and disgust at the 'irrational', 'sensuous' and 'mystical' East.
- **Chakravorty Spivak, Home K. Bhabha**:
Concern with suppressed voices, eg the illiterate, women, low castes, blacks.
Deconstruction of the hegemony of male, Western knowledge.
- **Johannes Fabian**: *Time and the Other*
- effects of postcolonialism on the discipline:
 - traditional cultural relativism (Boas) had become difficult position to maintain

- attention of a-ists drawn to the large-scale processes of global history
- debate stimulated attempts to conceptualise the specificity of A-ical writing about specific regions

8.3 *A new departure or a new return to Boas?*

- postmodernist movement in American Ay: James Clifford, Stephen Tyler, George Marcus, Michael Fischer, Renato Rosaldo, Paul Rabinow. Other associates: Johannes Fabian, Richard Handler, Lila Abu-Lughod, James Ferguson
- shared concerns
 - uncomfortable with the reified 'othering' and sought to redress this in various ways, often advocating participation of informants as equal partners in the production of knowledge (experimental ethnographies). Concerned with modes of representation and the power implied by particular styles of writing.
 - critical of Boasian (and Geertzian) idea of cultures as integrated wholes with deep historical roots
- **Marcus and Fischer:** *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*
importance of reflexivity; ay should engage in cultural criticism 'at home' by 'defamiliarisation' (creating a sense of strangeness)
- **Clifford and Marcus:** *Writing Culture*
different scholars distanced themselves from the idea of culture as an integrate whole, questioned the rhetorical devices of 'scientific' ay, and argued the merits of both 'dialogic' methods and historical contextualisation in the increasingly problematic art of a-ical representation. → postmodernism dealt with texts now → connection between American postmodernist ay and literary studies
 - however, break with Geertz: 1) problematising the S-O relationship between a-ist and informant and 2) they didn't see cultures as integrated wholes
 - criticisms in line with Geertz: Steven Sangren, Jonathan Spencer, Marvin Harris, Ernest Gellner → retreat from ay's mission; poorly defined concepts, slappy thinking, careerism,...
- newness of postmodernism:
 - reflexive emphasis on styles of writing
 - rejection of a neutral, non-positioned authorial voice
 - application of reflexivity to ay itself

8.4 *Other voices*

- at the fringes of modernism, there were many a-ists who sympathised with some views of postmodernism but incorporated them in established a-ical theory
- **Victor Turner:** Theory of Performance
- **Judith Okely and Helen Calloway:** *Anthropology and Autobiography*
looked critically at the juncture of knowledge production and personal experience

- **Marilyn Strathern: *The Gender of the Gift***
Melanesian culture has been seriously misread by Europeans imposing their own concepts and prejudices on it; classical theories of exchange and identity are defective in that they do not take gender into account
- **Roy Wagner: *The Invention of Culture***
cultures are purely symbolic constructions, with an inherent capacity for change, innovation and reflexivity
- **Tim Ingold: *Evolution and social life***
developed a framework for the study of humanity in its social, cultural, biological and environmental dimensions, without reducing on to the other; proposes to bring anthropology closer to other 'life sciences'
- Two research fields that sought the link between anthropology and natural sciences
 - **anthropology of development**
budget for developmental aid increased during 70s → ° peasant studies and economic anthropology
→ anthropologists were among the first to argue the need to orient aid work towards smaller-scale projects, towards women, and towards ecological awareness (this is now widely accepted)
 - **medical anthropology**
contributed an understanding of social context to standard medical work
Ronald Frankenberg (student of Gluckman)
Nancy Scheper-Hughes (University of California)
Arthur Kleinman
- Third research field: **study of nationalism**
inspired by 3 books: 1) *Nations and Nationalism* (Gellner) 2) *Imagined Communities* (Benedict Anderson) 3) *The Invention of Tradition* (Hobsbawm and Ranger)
- It is more in the margins of the postmodern movement, rather than among its most prominent spokesmen, that most lasting contributions of postmodernist debate must be sought.

9 Reconstruction

- 1990s: fragmentation of the discipline; disarray; increase in publications, conferences, academics, and members of associations; diversification; larger attention for non-metropolitan European anthropologies; hegemony of English language in discipline (→ power asymmetry + homogenisation/heterogenisation of discipline)
- continuities with the past:
 - intensive participant observation
 - the world is socially and culturally constructed
 - backing off from extreme postmodern positions towards a more balanced ethnographic 'realism'
- new features to the anthropology:

- any simple distinction between us and them, or observer and observed, has become difficult to defend → sharpening of awareness of ethical issues in ay
- any simple modern-traditional dichotomy has become nearly indefensible
- phenomenal growth in transnational connections of every kind → led to questioning of the taken-for-granted link between groups of people and bounded geographical localities to which they 'belong'.
- New interest in the physical territories occupied by people, whether they be traditional ecosystems, urban cityscapes, or virtual cyberscapes
- 1990s had finally and successfully discredited the old idea of 'a people' possessing 'a shared culture'. → long-term drift away from Durkheimian notions of society as an autonomous system

9.1 *Biology and Culture*

- revitalisation of the relationship between ay and several of the natural sciences; still, there are tensions and distrust between natural sciences and social sciences.
- Two broad families of a-ical approaches that engage more directly with the natural sciences
 - interdisciplinary field of **cognitive sciences**
suggest a tentative revival of universalism in ay and a reversal of the post-structuralist and postmodern trends, with their rejection of anything reminiscent of scientific pretensions in ay
 - evolutionary theory or **neo-Darwinism**
re-emerging of sociobiology in 1990s; a-ists have mostly rejected their ideas but the debate is less violent as it used to be
universalism
2 clusters of research:
 - evolutionary ay: takes as its point of departure advances in human genetics which seem to indicate that the degree of interpersonal solidarity is determined by kinship distance
 - evolutionary psychology: development of a theory of the human mind which saw it as composed of specific domains that had originally evolved as an adaptive response to the environment

9.2 *Globalisation and the production of locality*

- globalisation: any process that renders the geographical distance between locations irrelevant.
- Debate on newness of globalisation → Didn't it always exist?
Eriksen and Nielsen: beyond doubt that the speed and volume of modern flows of information, people and goods are unprecedented in human history; though long-distance networks of trade, kinship, ritual exchange and political conflict have probably existed- on a much smaller scale- as long as society itself.

- Distinction between globalisation and globalisation studies
- a globalising process has erased the barriers around the region, but a-ists are busy localising themselves in it and defining the 'ethnographic region'.
- Local effects of globalisation
- globalisation emerged after studies of ethnicity and nationalism; political economy; Marxian-Leninist theory of imperialism; peasant studies; modernisation studies
- Ulf Hannerz: study of American ghetto life in Chicago tradition
culture as a flow, process and partial integration rather than stable, bounded systems of meaning.
General global processes have specific local consequences. (→ glocalisation)
- new Q's → innovative theoretical formulations
 - actor-network theory; **Bruno Latour**
 - **Arjun Appadurai**: *The production of locality*:
any society must interact with this context → ay should seek to explain f.e. Rituals as instruments for 'producing locality'
 - **Marc Augé**: *Non-Lieux*
stability of 'place' can no longer be taken for granted in this disembedded world
- kinship between globalisation studies and postmodernist deconstructionism (Strathern; George Marcus)
- emergence of globalisation studies → final demise of the classical a-ical notions of 'culture' and 'society' caused mainly by fact that there is an empirical reality to be observed, where even the ideal type of the stable, isolated, 'authentic society' or culture, seems increasingly anachronistic
- criticisms:
 - globalisation as a merely fancy name for neo-imperialism, cleansed of political dimension
 - ay should continue to emphasise the local and the unique
 - prophets of globalisation exaggerated the reach of modernity

9.3 Postscript

- some of the classic tensions of ay are still intact
 - ay as a generalising science vs. ay as one of the humanities
 - a-ies of society focusing on agency, social structure, politics vs. a-ists of culture focusing on symbols, mental structures, meaning
 - approaches that primarily see society and culture s historical phenomena vs. approaches that primarily search for timeless, unchanging structures and patterns

- ...and others → it is only if these conflicts are made sufficiently explicit that the discipline can continue to thrive, can develop new perspectives and new knowledge.