

LECTURE OUTLINE AND STUDY GUIDE

I. Human Culture and Human Nature.

A. The Nature of Culture.

1. Human needs as primates: 1) capture and retention of energy (food, space, shelter, escape from/resistance to predators); 2) reproduction. All primates satisfy these needs through life in social groups.
2. Culture (learned behavior, extrasomatic means of adaptation), the essential means by which human social groups satisfy their needs as animals.
3. A particular human culture is the shared learned behavior (and adaptive mechanism) of a particular human society.
4. The universal pattern of human cultures.
 - a. infrastructure (techno-environmental): technology, energy capture, reproduction.
 - b. structure (socio-economic): social organization, domestic and political economy, rules governing the assignment of work and rewards.
 - c. superstructure (ideological): values, beliefs that giving meaning to the human endeavor
5. Contrasts between societies with simple technologies and kinship-based social organizations and societies with complex technologies and class-based social organizations.
6. The contents of a particular human culture are derived from enculturation, diffusion, invention.
7. The functional unity of human cultures (whatever the derivation of their elements).
8. Cultural relativism (derived from an appreciation of the functional unity of human cultures) vs. ethnocentrism.

B. Culture is Human Nature.

1. Adaptation can be through physique or through behavior.
2. Behavior can be genetically or culturally programmed (inherited or learned).
 - a. inflexibility of genetically programmed behavior (changeable only through mutation).

- b. flexibility of learned behavior (changeable through diffusion or invention).
- 3. Humans are descended from ape-like ancestors.
- 4. Contrasting physical adaptations of apes and humans.
 - a. diet: large canines vs. small.
 - b. locomotion: knuckle-walking and brachiating vs. bipedal striding.
 - c. brain: 400 cc vs. 1400 cc and corresponding organizational changes.
 - d. sex: estrous pattern vs. continuous sexual receptivity.
 - e. vocal apparatus (and associated neural capacities).
- 5. Human behavioral adaptations absent or rudimentary in the apes.
 - a. elaborate technology.
 - b. communication by language (productivity, displacement, arbitrariness [symbols], semantic universality).
 - c. division of labor in the acquisition of resources (and consequent sharing).
 - d. families (long-term partnerships for production and reproduction).
- 6. Bipedalism frees the hands for tool-making and mutual provisioning, which create selective pressure for language and braininess.
- 7. The absence of significant functional changes in human physique over the past 200,000 years.
- 8. Modern 'races' (partially isolated, somewhat distinctive breeding populations) have only arisen in the past 20,000 years (or less).
- 9. The minimal functional differentiation between present-day human populations.
- 10. All human groups have undergone millions of years of selection for the capacity to learn, communicate, and cooperate. All human groups are as equally capable of talking, planning, and inventing as they are of walking and seeing. All are equally and absolutely dependent on culture for survival.

Study Questions

1. Discuss the principal differences that distinguish the social organizations of humans from the social organizations of other anthropoids.

2. Describe and discuss the principal anatomical differences between apes and humans. What adaptive pressures led to their development?
3. Discuss the following statement: "Most of the features that distinguish major geographical races of humans have been caused by natural selection."
4. How do languages differ? Do those differences limit the communicative potential of the users of some languages?
5. Define the main components of the universal pattern.

II. Production

A. Hunting and Gathering Economies.

1. Distribution of hunters and gatherers in the "ethnographic present".
2. Fundamental aspects of foraging as a way of life.
 - a. predatory relation to plants and animals.
 - b. uncertainty of subsistence production.
 - c. predatory success varies from day to day (production output is related, not to work inputs, but to luck and skill).
 - d. plant/animal availability varies season to season and year to year.
 - e. enforced mobility of most hunter-gatherers (to increase foraging chances).
 - f. resources obtained from the environment for near-immediate consumption (since long-term storage is largely incompatible with mobility).
 - g. population densities are limited by the availability of resources in the leanest season of a generational cycle (Liebig's Rule of the Minimum).
3. Hunter-gatherers in harsh environments (films: "Eskimo Summer", "Eskimo Winter", "The Hunters").
 - a. environmental constraints: low biomass availability + strong seasonal resource fluctuations → enforced mobility + low population densities.
 - b. simple technology required due to need for portability and lack of specialization (impossible given population size).
 - c. age/sex division of labor (men: activities at a distance from camp, such as hunting; women:

activities near camp consistent with nursing, such as gathering or household maintenance).

- d. means of coping with uncertainty.
 - i. cultural constraints on population size: birth spacing, infanticide.
 - ii. mobility.
 - iii. mutual assistance.

B. Farming Economies.

- 1. Fundamental aspects of farming as a way of life.
 - a. symbiotic relation to plants and animals: domestication (control over reproduction and distribution) of sources of carbohydrate and protein.
 - b. domestication permits long-term storage (in granaries, on the hoof, etc.) and lessens lean season constraints.
 - c. the range of farming strategies (Films: "Slash and Burn Agriculture", "Wet Rice Agriculture"): unintensive, long-fallow (swidden, horticulture), low-capital systems vs. intensive (plow, irrigation, arboriculture), short fallow, high-capital systems.
 - d. pastoral strategies make animal-tending the center of the production strategy
 - e. distribution of simple food producers in the ethnographic present
 - i. unintensive farmers: tropical forests in Oceania, Asia, Africa, the Americas
 - ii. pastoralists: arid grasslands of Africa and Asia, tundra and forest of northern Eurasia
- 2. Consequences of food production (relative to foraging).
 - a. material consequences.
 - i. increased sedentism.
 - ii. greater amount and stability of biomass capture (since production outputs depend on work inputs).
 - iii. higher population densities.
 - iv. longer-term production strategies.
 - v. more work.
 - b. social consequences.
 - i. lessened need for mutual assistance.
 - ii. development of private property.
 - iii. increased conflict between and within communities.

- c. the material advantages of farming leads to the spread of farming economies to all areas except those where:
 - i. environmental conditions make farming impossible.
 - ii. abundance of wild resources permits storage without domestication.
- d. in rich environments foragers have the consequences of farming (without farming itself).

Study Questions

- 6. Describe and discuss the constraints on production faced by hunter-gatherers in marginal environments.
- 7. Compare and contrast the production systems of hunter-gatherers and swidden farmers.
- 8. Compare and contrast the production systems of swidden farmers and of practitioners of intensified agriculture.
- 9. Compare and contrast child-rearing cost/benefit decisions in hunting and gathering, farming, and industrialized societies.

III. Kinship Organized Societies

A. Bands: Social Organization of Hunter-Gatherers in Marginal Environments

- 1. Division of labor
 - a. main lines fall along lines of age and sex only
 - i. men: strenuous activities at a distance from camp (e.g., hunting large game)
 - ii. women: activities near camp consistent with nursing (e.g., gathering)
 - b. limited specialization based on differential skill
- 2. Familial social structure of the band
 - a. equal access to resources for all band members
 - b. family type of exchange between band members
 - i. generalized (not balanced or negative) reciprocity
 - ii. no private property (only personal possessions)
 - iii. the adaptive importance of sharing
 - c. egalitarian status arrangements
 - i. as many positions of prestige are available as persons qualified to fill them

- ii. the role of the head man
 - iii. statuses are entirely achieved (not ascribed)
 - d. informal means of social control
- B. Tribes: Societies of Simple Food Producers (and Settled Foragers) (Film: Dead Birds)
 - 1. Techno-environmental aspects
 - a. subsistence involves production or capture of resources in sufficient abundance so as to permit long-term storage
 - b. lean season problems less severe: higher population densities
 - c. sedentary village life
 - d. more elaborated technology (within the limits of an age-sex division of labor)
 - 2. Socio-economic aspects (see also Table 3)
 - a. egalitarian relations of production
 - i. age-sex division of labor
 - ii. communal access to essential resources (such as land), but private ownership of stores
 - iii. normal self-sufficiency of the household (balanced reciprocity between households)
 - iv. minimal long-term wealth differentials between households
 - b. statuses are achieved, but competition exists for positions of leadership; the role of the big man
 - c. informal means of social control (e.g., witchcraft accusations)
 - d. the importance of alliance
 - i. the pervasive insecurity of tribal life (due to existence of property)
 - ii. due to the eventual probability of natural or social disasters the household is not self-sufficient in the long run
 - iii. maintenance of ties of mutual support between households is essential for their long-term survival
 - iv. kinship relations and sodalities permit this without permanent governmental institutions

TABLE 1
 ESSENTIALS OF TRIBAL SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

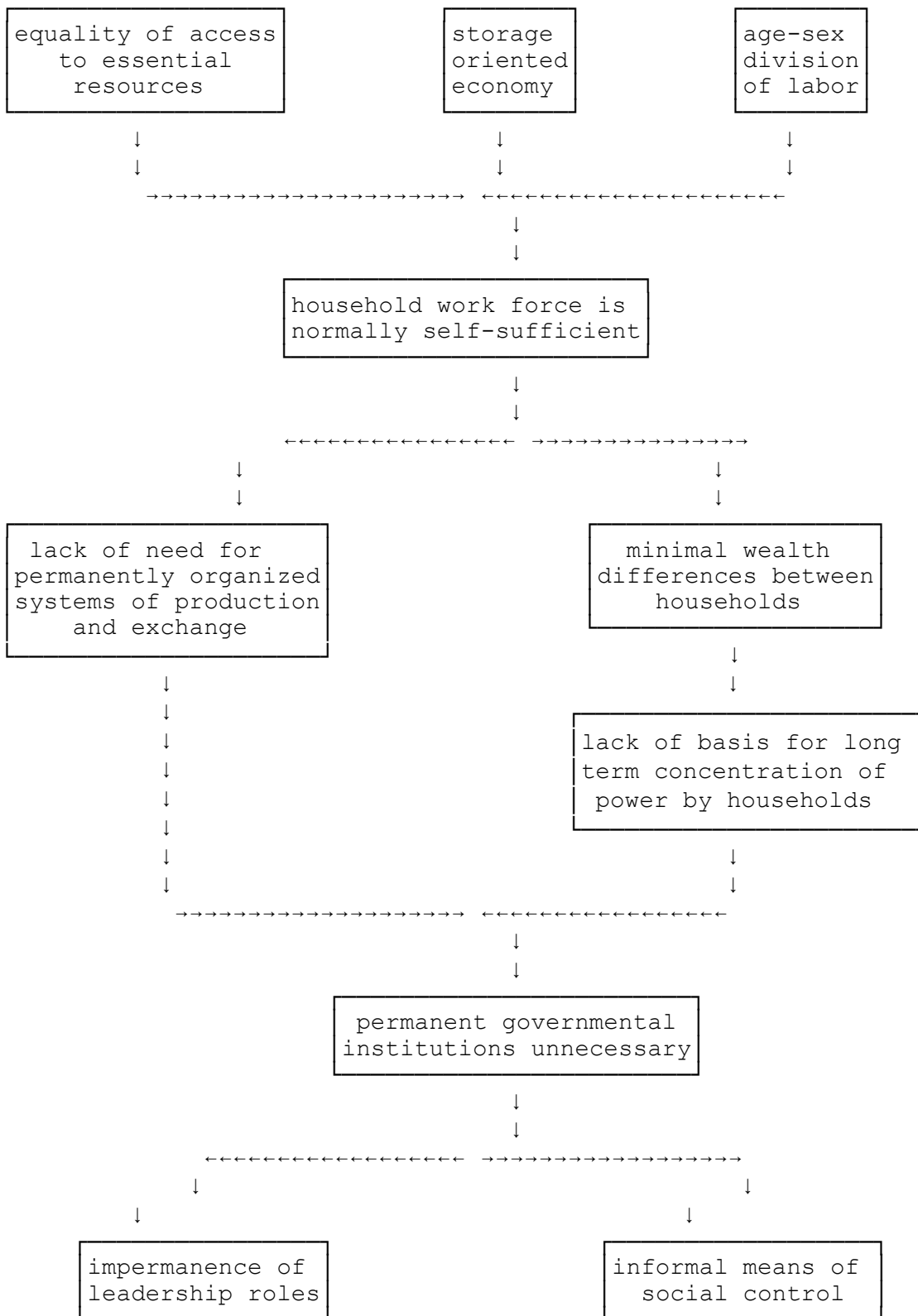


TABLE 2
PRINCIPAL SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES OF BANDS, TRIBES, STATES

TRAIT	BAND	TRIBE	STATE
Infrastructure			
subsistence	hunting-gathering in marginal environments	simple food producing or hunting-gathering in rich environments	capital-intensive food production
settlement	mobile	sedentary	sedentary
technology	simple, portable	simple	specialized, complex
production security	little correlation between work input and production output	high correlation between work input and production output	high correlation between work input and production output
storage	absent or short-term	long-term	long-term
population density	<1/mile ²	10-100/mile ²	100s or 1000s/mile ²
Structure			
division of labor	age/sex	age/sex	specialized
access to resources	unimpeded	unimpeded	impeded
differential wealth	none	little	great
government/social control	absent/ informal	absent/ informal	present/formal
property relations	personal possessions only	private property in storage	private property in land
exchange between households of the same social group	generalized reciprocity	balanced reciprocity	balanced or negative reciprocity
conflict	individual quarrels	generalized conflicts (feuds, wars)	generalized conflicts (wars)
status	achieved	achieved	ascribed
prestige positions	number unlimited	number limited	number limited

Study Questions

10. Compare and contrast the property systems and forms of reciprocity in bands and tribes.
11. How is social control achieved in bands and tribes?
12. What kinds of religious practices and institutions are documented in kinship-organized societies? What forms of religious organization are absent in such societies?
13. Explain the following sets of distinctions: nuclear vs. polygamous vs. extended vs. matrifocal families; exogamy vs. endogamy; bride price vs. bride service vs. dowry
14. Compare and contrast the role of leaders in bands and tribes.

IV. CLASS (STATE) SOCIETIES

A. Principal Characteristics of Class Societies

1. Infrastructural
 - a. capital-intensive subsistence production
 - b. specialized technology
 - c. very high population densities (100s or 1000s per sq. mi.)
2. Structural
 - a. elaborate division of labor
 - b. elaborate systems of exchange between households (redistribution, markets), facilitated by true money
 - c. unequal access to resources by households
 - d. social statuses largely or entirely ascribed
 - e. households belong to social classes with great differences in wealth and power
 - f. social order maintained by full-time law-and-order (police/military/judicial) specialists
 - g. permanent governmental institutions (the state) funded by enforced contributions (taxes)

B. The Nature of Social Classes

1. Social classes defined by the relation of their component households to the means of production (resources, technology)

2. Ruling class: preferential access to resources through ultimate control of the means of production; preferential access to political power
3. Subordinate class(es): impeded access to resources and technology; limited (or non-existent) political power
4. Membership in a social class tends to be ascribed
5. Contradictory interests of the various social classes within a stratified society
6. The definition of exploitation: four conditions of an objective definition

C. Examples of Class Societies

1. Tributary (agrarian) societies
 - a. early Sumer (ca. 2500 BC)
 - b. Medieval England (1100 AD)
2. Capitalist societies (e.g., the U.S.A.)
3. Post-socialist societies (e.g., Russia, China)

D. Maintaining Social Stratification

1. Thought control
2. Physical force

E. The Origins of Social Stratification: the Ethnographic Record

1. Egalitarian redistribution (example: the Kaoka)
 - a. method of intake of surplus by redistributor (the 'big-man'): leading cooperative work
 - b. complete redistribution of big-man's intake (adaptive functions of the big-man)
 - c. lack of control over (unintensively cultivated) land makes it impossible for the big-man to obtain surplus labor from the unwilling
 - d. big-man status impermanent, achieved
2. Stratified redistribution (example: Hawaii)
 - a. method of intake of surplus by redistributor, the alii nui (chief): collection of tribute (rent/taxes/tithes)
 - b. retention of most of chief's intake for his own use (maintenance of courtiers, craftsmen, servants, **warriors**)
 - c. intensive cultivation (irrigation, tree crops) in a circumscribed environment makes it possible to collect surplus from the unwilling
 - d. chiefly status life-long, ascribed, sacred
3. Lessons

- a. class societies arise as an unintended consequence of the capital intensification of production
- b. class societies require state institutions to provide the coercion and thought control required to maintain vast social inequalities

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN THE UNITED STATES IN 1983¹

	Top 0.5%	Top 0.5-10%	Remaining 90%
All privately owned wealth ²	35.1%	36.6%	28.2%
All privately owned wealth, excluding value of homes owned	45.4%	37.8%	16.7%
Private ownership of selected assets			
Real estate ³	35.6%	42.2%	22.2%
Corporate stock	46.5%	43.7%	10.7%
Bonds	43.6%	46.8%	9.7%
Business assets ⁴	58.2%	35.4%	6.3%
All privately owned wealth in 1963	25.4%	39.7%	34.9%

Study Questions

15. Discuss whether social classes can be said to exist in a society even when its members are unaware its class structure.
16. What are the principal characteristics of states?
17. What factors lead egalitarian societies to develop into state-type societies?
18. What are the distinguishing features of "chiefdoms"?

¹ Source: Joint Economic Committee of the U. S. Congress, The Concentration of Wealth in the United States (1986).

² The data represent net assets after deduction of debt.

³ Private homes excluded.

⁴ Includes ownership of interests in unincorporated businesses, farms, and professional practices.

19. Discuss the relative weight of persuasion and coercion in the maintenance of class hierarchies.

20. Define "exploitation". Compare and contrast the exploitation of peasants in tributary societies with that of wage workers in capitalist ones.

V. THE CONSEQUENCES OF EUROPEAN EXPANSION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLES

A. The Dynamics of Elite Expansionism in Class Societies

1. In tributary societies: more subjects = more tribute
2. In capitalist societies: the search for raw materials, cheaper labor, and broader markets (see film: "Controlling Interest")

B. Basic Factors Governing the Effect of European Expansion on Indigenous Peoples

1. Indigenous social organization
 - a. bands: low population densities, communal access to resources, kin-based social organization
 - b. tribes: moderate population densities, communal access to resources, kin-based social organization
 - c. tributary states: high population densities; differentiated access to resources (but substantial communal features with respect to land tenure); class-based social organization
2. European purposes

D. Main European Purposes

1. Settlement: export of criminals, political or religious dissidents, unwanted peasants, and other poor people (e.g., the Highland clearances)
2. Acquisition of resources not available (at profitably low prices) in the homelands of the Europeans
 - a. minerals (e.g., gold, silver, copper, tin, bauxite, oil)
 - b. tropical agricultural products (e.g., sugar, spices, coffee, tea, cotton, jute, copra, rubber)
3. Exploitation of native labor (necessary to the acquisition of above mineral and agricultural resources)
 - a. capture of forced labor (e.g., slavery, blackbirding, corvée)
 - b. recruitment of 'free' labor

- i. imposing taxes payable in cash (only obtainable by wage labor on plantations and mines)
- ii. depriving natives of resources with which they can make their own living (thereby forcing them to work for the Europeans)
- iii. the extension of positive inducements of modern technology (Film: "Yesterday, Today", "Black Harvest")

E. Secondary European Purposes (Operating in Conjunction with the Above)

- 1. Extension of political control to secure existing possessions (Film: "Nai")
- 2. Propagation of European religious beliefs (missions)

F. The Process of Conquest

- 1. Settlement
 - a. bands and tribes are easily conquered because of their low population densities, technological simplicity, informal social organization
 - b. states present severe difficulties because of their high population densities, technological sophistication, and sophisticated leadership
- 2. Exploitation
 - a. bands are poor targets because of their low populations
 - b. states may be easy to conquer because their hierarchy can be removed or coopted (examples: the Spanish in Mexico and Peru, the British in India), but
 - c. tribes can present serious difficulties to a European conqueror because of their acephalous social organization (example: Afghanistan)

G. European Settlement and the Fate of Bands and Tribes

- 1. Europeans have no long-term use for the natives
- 2. Natives occupy what the Europeans want (the land)
- 3. Europeans have superior man- and fire-power
- 4. The natives are:
 - a. exterminated
 - i. by officially sponsored campaigns (see film, "The Last Tasmanian")
 - ii. by the "frontier process"
 - b. removed and/or restricted to reservations (see film, "Broken Rainbow")

H. European Settlement and the Fate of Stratified Societies

1. Large native populations usually make European settlement unsuitable
2. Native elites can in the long run organize effective military/political resistance
3. Europeans are driven out (as in Algeria) or strongly opposed with an as yet uncertain outcome (as in Palestine)

I. European Exploitation of Native Labor

1. Profitability of resource acquisition depends on low labor costs (e.g., gold mining in South Africa vs. gold mining in California)
 - a. levels of compensation (low to none), hazardous working conditions = high casualty rates
 - b. continuing recruitment from native labor pool is necessary
 - c. forced labor, 'free' labor recruitment (see D.3 above)
2. The effects of continued labor recruitment on the indigenous society
 - a. removal of adult male labor from subsistence production
 - b. impairment of native subsistence production: spread of malnutrition and disease (the latter with particularly disastrous effects in the New World)
 - c. disruption of indigenous social organization
3. The fate of bands: extermination, as small population cannot sustain continued European labor levies
4. The fate of tribes: severe cultural dislocation (e.g., millenarian movements)

J. Melanesian Cargo Cults as Examples of Millenarian Movements

1. Europeans establish mines, plantations
2. Native acquire restricted knowledge of European ways
 - a. experience of exploitation
 - b. experience of European military technology
 - c. desire for European commodities (cargo)
 - d. European missionary teachings
3. Combined attraction to and hatred of the Europeans generally characteristic of colonized peoples
4. The objective incomprehensibility of the logic of European exploitation: the complexity and instability of world commodity markets
5. The Vailala "madness"

6. Cargo cults as responses to European domination which are rational within the native framework of knowledge
7. The appeal of Christianity (a religion with its own millennarian roots)
8. The effectiveness of millennarian movements in providing renewed hope of redemption and a better basis for uniting separate native groups against continued exploitation

K. The Response of Stratified Societies to European Labor Exploitation

1. Changes in land tenure systems, political oppression, disruption of previous lifeways, decline in living standards
2. Native elites, themselves once rulers, can understand the logic of European operations and provide effective and realistic resistance to the Europeans (e.g., Vietnam)

L. The Choice Presented to Indigenous Peoples is Incorporation into the European Economy as Members of the Working Class (Compare films, "Broken Rainbow" and "Poletown Lives")

Study Questions

21. How does the "frontier process" impact bands and tribes?
22. When a European state establishes colonial dominion over a territory previously occupied by a tributary society, it imposes a new land tenure regime. What are the differences between the old and the new forms of land tenure, and how does the change affect the indigenous population.
23. What are the methods by which members of indigenous societies are induced to participate in the world market economy?
24. Discuss the extent to which, once indigenous peoples have been incorporated into the world economy, they benefit from economic development.
25. Compare and contrast the approaches to indigenous peoples advocated by "realists" and "preservationists."
26. Why must state-type societies necessarily expand their scope of dominion?

27. Compare the impact of settler colonialism on kinship-organized societies and state-type societies.
28. What are the principal differences between settler and plantation/mine colonialism?
29. What are "revitalization" movements? Under what circumstances do they arise?
30. Compare and contrast the Dani (seen in the film, "Dead Birds") and the Ganiga (seen in the film, "Black Harvest").
31. Compare and analyze the contrast in the situation of the Eskimo as presented in the films "Eskimo Winter" and "Yesterday, Today".
32. Discuss the situation of the Bushmen before and after the imposition of South African control over the Kalahari.
33. Compare and contrast the situations of the Navajo in the film, "Broken Rainbow," and of the Detroiters in the film, "Poletown Lives."
34. Compare and contrast the processes underlying the wars for independence in Vietnam and Algeria.
35. Compare and contrast the processes underlying the Mexican and Cuban revolutions.