Final cheatsheet in anthro

Introduction to Culture (Concordia University)

REFERENCES:

(Miller, Esterik, & Esterik, p.X)

Cultural Anthropology (2010). B. Miller, P. Esterik and J. Esterik. 4th ed. Toronto: Pearson.

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POTENTIAL QUESTIONS:

1. Compare and contrasts the four modes of subsistence
2. How has globalization affected religion?

- A religion is 1) a system of symbols which acts to establish powerful, pervasive and long-lasting moods and motivations in men by 2) formulating conceptions of a general order of existence and 3) clothing these conceptions with such an aura of factuality that 4) the moods and motivations seem uniquely realistic. (Source: Geertz 1966: Religion as a Cultural System, Jourdan 2017, lesson 5: slide 1)
- Syncretism: major crises, such as colonialism, for instance, lead to the adoption of sets of new symbols and rituals, while the meaning of life remains the same.
- Ex: the Maya of Mexico whose Catholicism is imbued with many of the meanings of their pre-Colombian religion. These religions have been called syncretic, meaning the synthesis of old and borrowed elements.
- Revitalization movement: a religious movement, usually organized by a prophetic leader, that seeks to construct a more satisfying situation by reviving all or parts of a religion that has been threatened by outside forces or by adopting new practices and beliefs.

Topic 1: Food getting systems and their social correlates (lesson 6)

Culture and Economies

- **ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY** is the subfield of cultural anthropology that studies economic systems cross-culturally.
- The term *economic system* includes **THREE** areas:
    1. Production: making goods or money
    2. Consumption: using up goods or money
    3. Exchange: the transfer of goods or money between people or institutions (p.66)
- Although economic anthropologists focus on local economic systems, they are increasingly involved in researching how global and local systems are linked. The spread of Western capitalism in recent centuries has had, and continues to have, massive effects on other modes of production that it meets.
- The intensification of global trade in the past few decades has created a global division of labor, in which countries compete unequally for a share of the wealth (Wallerstein 1979 as cited by Miller, Van Esterik, Van

Esterik, 2010: *66*). According to this model, economic benefits are highly unequal across regions, with core areas profiting most. The modern world economy is stratified into **THREE** major areas:

1. **Core**: monopolize the most profitable activities, such as the high-tech service, manufacturing, and financial activities. They have the strongest governments, which play a dominating role in the affairs of other countries
2. **Periphery**: are relegated to the least profitable activities, including production of raw materials, foodstuffs, and labor-intensive goods, and they must import high-tech goods and services from the core. They tend to have weak governments and are dominated, either directly or indirectly, by core states
3. **Semiperiphery**: stand in the middle (p.66)

Foraging

- **FORAGING** Involves using food that is available in nature, provided by gathering, fishing, or hunting. It is the oldest way of making a living, having existed since the appearance of Homo sapiens roughly 100 000 years ago, perhaps earlier. Hunters and gatherers are referred to as foragers (Jourdan, lesson 6, slide 4).
- Foraging has thus survived as the predominant mode of production for 90% or more of human existence, but it is now in danger of extinction.
- Only around 250 000 people support themselves predominantly from foraging now. Most contemporary foragers live in what are considered marginal areas, such as deserts, tropical rainforests, and the circumpolar region.
- These areas often contain material resources that are in high demand in core areas, such as oil, diamonds, gold, and expensive tourist destinations. Foragers collect food items available in nature (p.67)
- Depending on the environmental context, foragers' food sources include nuts, berries and other fruits, and surface-growing vegetables such as melons, roots, honey, insects, and eggs. They trap and hunt a wide variety of birds, fish, and animals.
- Successful foraging requires sophisticated knowledge of the natural environment and seasonal changes in it. Most critical is knowledge about the location of water sources and of various foods, how to follow animal tracks, how to judge the weather, and how to avoid predators. This unwritten knowledge is passed down over the generations.
- Foragers rely on a diverse set of tools used for gathering, transporting, and processing wild foods. Tools include digging sticks for removing roots from the ground and for penetrating the holes dug by animals in order to get the animals out, bows and arrows, spears, nets, and knives.
- Baskets are important for carrying food. For processing raw materials into edible food, foragers use stones to mash, grind, and pound. Meat can be dried in the sun or over fire, and fire is used for cooking either by boiling or by roasting.
- These activities involve few nonrenewable fuel sources beyond wood or other combustible substances for cooking. Foraging is an **EXTENSIVE STRATEGY**, a mode of production requiring access to large areas of land and unrestricted population movement.

- Cultural anthropologists distinguish **TWO** major varieties of foraging that are related to different environmental contexts (p.68):

	Temperate-Region Foragers	Circumpolar-Region Foragers
Diet	Wide variety of nuts, tubers, fruits, small animals, and occasional large game	Large marine and terrestrial animals
Gender division of labour in food procurement	Men and women forage; men hunt large game	Men hunt and fish
Shelter	Casual construction, nonpermanent, little maintenance	Time-intensive construction and maintenance, some permanent

- In contrast to foragers of temperate climates, those living in the circumpolar regions of NA, Europe, and Asia must devote more time and energy to obtaining food and providing shelter.
- The specialized technology of circumpolar peoples includes spears, nets, and knives, as well as sleds and the use of domesticated animals to pull them. Dogs or other animals used to pull sleds are an important aspect of circumpolar peoples' technology and social identity.
- Considerable amounts of labour are needed to construct and maintain igloos or log houses. Protective clothing, including coats, gloves, and boots, is another feature of circumpolar foraging that is time intensive in terms of making and maintaining (p.70).
- **URBAN FORAGING/DUMPSTER DIVING**: poor people make a living from foraging in the urban jungle. It is a mode of survival that requires people to depend on the refuse of others in order to eat or make a living (Jourdan, lesson 6, slide 7).

Division of Labor

- Among foraging peoples, a division of labor (assigning particular tasks to particular people) depends mainly on gender and age.
- Among temperate foraging cultures, a minimal gender-based division of labour exists. Temperate foragers get most of their food by gathering roots, berries, grubs, small birds and animals, and fish, and both men and women collect these basic foods.
- Hunting large animals, however, tends to involve only men, who go off together in small groups on long-range expeditions. Large game provides a small and irregular part of the diets of temperate-climate foragers.
- In circumpolar groups, in contrast, hunting large animals (including seals, whales, and bears) and capturing large fish provide a significant part of the diet, require more time and labor, are dangerous activities, and tend to involve only men. Among circumpolar foragers, therefore, the gender division of labour is marked.
- Many anthropologists support a **MAN THE HUNTER MODEL** for explaining how humans evolved in prehistory (Lee 1979; Stanford 1999 1979 as cited by Miller, Van Esterik, Van Esterik, 2010: *70*).

- This model says that early humans relied heavily on animal meat in their diets; that men were responsible for providing the meat, which explains men's high status in many societies relative to women; and that the need to hunt in groups formed the basis for social life, including the evolution of verbal language.
- This model gives much importance to meat and masculinity in explaining key features of humanity (model is abandoned today).
- Feminist's anthropologists suggest an alternate view called the **WOMAN THE GATHERER MODEL** (Slocum 1975, 70). It is based on evidence that most food in most foraging groups in temperate regions comes from gathering, which is mainly women's work.
- Age is a basis for task allocation in all modes of production, including foraging. Young boys and girls help collect food. Elderly people tend to stay at the camp area where they are often responsible for caring for children who are too young to go with their parents to collect food (p.70).

Property Relations

- The concept of **PRIVATE PROPERTY**, in the sense of owning something that can be sold to someone else, is not found in foraging societies. Instead, the term *use rights* is more appropriate.
- It means that a person or group has socially recognized priority in access to particular resources, such as gathering regions, hunting and fishing areas, and water holes. This access, however, is willingly shared with other by permission (p.70).

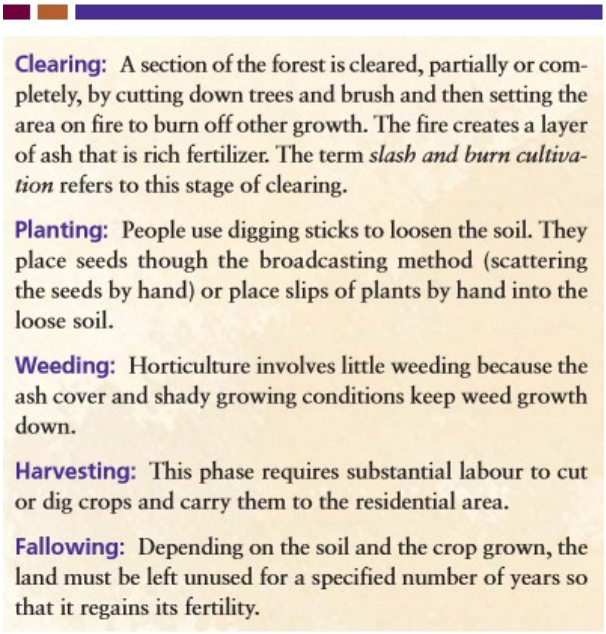
Foraging as a Sustainable System

- Crucial resources are regenerated over time in balance with the demand that the population makes on them. North Sentinel Island, one island in the Andaman Islands, provides a clear case because its inhabitants have lived in a "closed" system.
- So far, the few hundred indigenous people live in almost complete isolation from the rest of the world, other than the occasional helicopter flying overhead and the occasional attempt by outsiders to land on their territory.
- One reason for the sustainability of foraging is that foragers' needs are modest. Anthropologists have typified the foraging lifestyle as the original **AFFLUENT** society because needs are satisfied with minimal labour efforts.
- Foragers typically work fewer hours a week than the average employed North American. In traditional (undisturbed) foraging societies, people spend as few as five hours a week collecting food and making and repairing tools. They have much time for storytelling, playing games, and resting. Foragers also traditionally enjoyed good health (p.72).

Horticulture

- Both horticulture and pastoralism are recent modes of production, having emerged only as recently as 12 000 years ago in the Middle East and then later in Africa, Asia, Europe, and the western hemisphere.

- Both of these modes of production depend on the *domestication* of plants and animals- the process by which human selection causes genetic changes in plants and animals and leads to their greater control by humans in terms of their location and their reproduction (p.72).
- **HORTICULTURE** is a mode of production based on cultivating domesticated plants in gardens using hand tools. Garden crops are often supplemented by foraging and by trading with pastoralists for animal products.
- Horticulture is still practised by many thousands of people throughout the world. Major horticultural crops include yams, corn, beans, grains such as millet and sorghum, and several types of roots, all of which are rich in protein, minerals, and vitamins (p.73).
- Horticulture involves the use of hand-held tools, such as digging sticks, hoes, and carrying baskets. Rain is the sole source of moisture. Horticulture requires rotation of garden plots in order to allow used areas to regenerate. Thus, another term for horticulture is *shifting cultivation*.
- Yields can support semi-permanent villages of 200 to 250 people. Overall population density per square mile is low because horticulture, like foraging, is an **EXTENSIVE STRATEGY**.
- Horticulture is more labour intensive than foraging because of the energy required for plot preparation and food processing. Anthropologists distinguish **FIVE** stages in the horticultural cycle.



Clearing: A section of the forest is cleared, partially or completely, by cutting down trees and brush and then setting the area on fire to burn off other growth. The fire creates a layer of ash that is rich fertilizer. The term *slash and burn cultivation* refers to this stage of clearing.

Planting: People use digging sticks to loosen the soil. They place seeds though the broadcasting method (scattering the seeds by hand) or place slips of plants by hand into the loose soil.

Weeding: Horticulture involves little weeding because the ash cover and shady growing conditions keep weed growth down.

Harvesting: This phase requires substantial labour to cut or dig crops and carry them to the residential area.

Fallowing: Depending on the soil and the crop grown, the land must be left unused for a specified number of years so that it regains its fertility.

- Surpluses in food supply are possible in horticulture. These surpluses enable trade relationships and can lead to greater wealth for some people (p.73).
- Successful horticulture techniques:
  1. Letting the land lay fallow long enough so that the nutrients in the soils are replenished
  2. Practicing intercropping (i.e. an ingenious alternation of crops, or mixing of crops on the same plots of land)
  3. Avoiding erosion (slide 16)

Division of Labor

- Gender and age are the key factors structuring the division of labour, with men's and women's work roles often being clearly differentiated.
- Most commonly, men clear the garden area while both men and women plant and tend the staple food crops.
- Food processing involves women often working in small groups while men more typically form small groups for hunting and fishing for supplementary food.

- Ex: in Malawi, in southern Africa, women are responsible for food crops and men are responsible for hunting game animals (Morris 1998 as cited in, 73). A common pattern among horticulturalists is for women to grow the staple food crops while men grow the “prestige foods” used in ritual feasts. In these contexts, men have higher public status than women.
- Cross-cultural analysis of many horticultural societies shows that women’s contribution to food production is a necessary but not sufficient basis for women’s high status. If women do not contribute to producing food, their status will be low.
- If they do contribute, their status may, or may not, be high. The critical factor appears to be control over the distribution of what is produced, especially public distribution beyond the family (p.73).
- Children do more productive work in horticultural societies than in any other mode of production (Whiting and Whiting 1975 as cited in, 74).

Property Relations

- Private property, as something that an individual can own and sell, is not characteristic of horticultural societies. Use rights are typically important, although they are more clearly defined and formalized than among foragers.
- By clearing and planting an area of land, a family puts a claim on it and its crops. The production of surplus goods allows the possibility of social inequality in access to goods and resources. Rules about sharing within the larger group decline in importance as some people gain higher status (p.74).

Horticulture as a Sustainable System

- **FALLOWING** is crucial in maintaining the viability of horticulture. It allows the plot to recover lost nutrients and improves soil quality by promoting the growth of weeds whose root systems keep the soil loose.
- The benefits of a well-managed system of shifting cultivation are clear as are the **TWO** major constraints involved:
    1. The time required for fallowing
    2. The need for access to large amounts of land so that some of it is in use while other land is fallowed
- Using a given plot for too many seasons or reducing fallowing time quickly results in the depletion of soil nutrients, decreased crop production, and soil erosion. This leads to negative consequences such as:
    a. Pressure on access to land as a consequence of encroachment by outsiders such as loggers, miners, farmers, ranchers, tourists; creating conservation areas; and development projects such as dams (p.74).
    b. Government policies that force horticulturalists to increase production for cash in order to pay taxes.
    c. Interest of horticulturalists in increasing production for cash in order to buy manufactured commodities.
    d. Pressure on land from internal population growth when outmigration is not an option.
- **MAJOR THREATS TO SUSTAINABILITY**: population growth and external factors (p.75).

Pastoralism

- **PASTORALISM** is a mode of production based on the domestication of animal herds and the use of their products, such as meat and milk, for 50% or more of the pastoral society's diet. It has long existed, especially in regions where rainfall is limited and unpredictable.
- Pastoralists raise a limited variety of animals. Worldwide, the six most popular species are sheep, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys, and camels.
- Many pastoralists keep dogs for protection and for help with herding. Pastoralism can succeed in a variety of environments, depending on the animal involved.
- Ex: reindeer herding is popular in the circumpolar regions of Europe and Asia, and cattle and goat herding is common in India and Africa.
- In terms of food, pastoralism provides primarily milk and milk products with occasional slaughtering of animals for meat. Thus, pastoralists typically form trade links with foragers, horticulturalists, or farmers in order to obtain food and other goods that they cannot produce themselves.
- Prominent trade items are food grains and manufactured items, such as cooking pots, for which they offer milk, animals, hides, and other animal products.
- A common problem for all pastoralists is the continued need for fresh pasture for their animals. This need makes pastoralism, like foraging and horticulture, an *extensive* form of economic adaptation. Herds must move or else the pasture area will become depleted (p.75).
- *Pastoral nomadism*: In many areas of the world where grass becomes scarce during certain seasons of the year, or when the weather becomes bad, the animals have to be moved between various areas. This is the case of pastoralism practiced in high mountains such as the Alps or the Himalayas because the physical environment shapes people's livelihoods (Basseri of Iran, Frederik Barth) (Jourdan, lesson 6, slide 10).
- The seasonal movement of herds is called **TRANSHUMANCE**. It is typically found in the mountainous areas of the world where other forms of land exploitation would be difficult (slide 11)
- *Semi-nomadic pastoralism*: The Samburu are an ethnic group living in Kenya, East Africa. Their livelihood depends on the tending of herds of zebus (local variety of cows), which are their most valuable possessions, but they also take care of goats and camels (Jourdan, lesson 6, slide 12).

Division of Labor

- Families and clusters of related families are the basic unit of production. Gender and age are, again, key factors in the allocation of work.
- In many pastoralist cultures, gender roles are clearly divided. Men are often in charge of the herding activities-moving the animals from place to place. Women tend to be responsible for processing the herd's products, especially the milk (p.76).

- The size of the animal involved is sometimes, but not always, related to the gender division of herding. Girls and women are often herders of smaller animals, perhaps because smaller animals need to graze less widely and can be kept penned near the house.
- Boys and men tend the animals that are pastured farther away. Children play important roles in tending herds. Among the cattle-herding groups of eastern Africa, for example, parents want to have many children to help out with the herds (p.76).

Property Relations

- The most important forms of property among pastoralists are, by far, animals, followed by housing (such as tents or yerts) and domestic goods (rugs and cooking ware).
- Depending on the group, ownership of animals is inherited through males, most commonly. A concept of private property exists for animals, which the family head may trade for other goods.
- A family's housing materials are also their own. Use rights, however, regulate pasture land and migratory routes, and these rights tend to be informally regulated through an oral tradition (p.76).

Pastoralism as a Sustainable System

- Pastoralism can be a highly successful and sustainable economic system that functions in complementarity with other economic systems. The Mongolian empire, one of the world's most powerful empires, was based on herding animals, along with pillaging.
- As with foraging and horticulture, however, when outside forces squeeze the space available for population movements, overexploitation of the environment results.
- A major external constraint on pastoralism is the goal of many governments to *sedentarize* (settle down) pastoralists. States want pastoralists to stay in one place so that the people will be easier to keep track of and tax.
- States do not like pastoralists to move across state lines, as they have done long before state boundaries were created (p.77).

Agriculture

- **AGRICULTURE** is a mode of production that involves growing crops on permanent plots with the use of plowing, irrigation, and fertilizer; it is also called *farming*.
- In contrast to foraging, horticulture, and pastoralism, agriculture is an **INTENSIVE STRATEGY**. Intensification involves the use of techniques that allow the same plot of land to be used repeatedly without losing its fertility.
- Crucial inputs include substantial amounts of labor for weeding, use of natural and chemical fertilizers, and control of water supply.
- The earliest agricultural systems are documented from the time of the Neolithic period, beginning around 12 000 years ago in the Fertile Crescent region in present-day Iraq. Agricultural systems now exist worldwide, on all continents except Antarctica.

- Agriculture relies on the use of domesticated animals for plowing, transportation, and organic fertilizer either in the form of manure or composted materials. It is highly dependent on artificial water sources such as irrigation channels or terracing the land.
- Agriculture involves complex local forms of knowledge about the environment, including plant varieties, pest management, precipitation patterns, and soil types. This knowledge is called **INDIGENOUS KNOWLEDGE (IK)**.
- Long-standing agricultural traditions are now being increasingly displaced by methods introduced from the outside, and so the world's stock of indigenous knowledge is declining rapidly. In many cases, it has become completely lost, along with the cultures and languages associated with it (p.77).
- *Food crisis of 2008*: a combination of factors are at the root of this crisis: environmental, economic, social, and demographic:
    - Environmental factors: a draught in Australia and monsoons in Asia affect production of rice and wheat.
    - Economic factors: transformation of corn into biofuel creates shortage in corn as food, high price of petrol, international subsidies and competition.
    - Social factor: changing food habits in various parts of the world.
    - Demographic factor: increase in population (slide 21).
    - Results: 30 countries in the world suffered a food crisis, 12 of them acute. Seventy-five million people were added to the 'under the hunger threshold' list in 2007. The number of undernourished people reached 923 million at the end of 2007 (FAO website, 18/09/2008, slide 23).
- There are **THREE** major types of agriculture:
    1. Family farming (non-industrial)
    2. Industrial capital agriculture
    3. Industrial collectivized agriculture

Family Farming

- Production is geared to support the family and to produce goods for sale. Thus, family farming is always part of a larger market economic system (E. Wolf 1966 as cited in, 77). Today, more than 1 billion people, or about one-sixth of the world's population, make their living from family farming.
- Family farmers exhibit much cross-cultural variety. They may be full-time or part-time farmers; they may be more or less closely linked to urban markets; and they may be poor and indebted or wealthy and powerful.
- Major activities in family farming include plowing, planting seeds and cuttings, weeding, caring for irrigation systems and terracing, harvesting crops, and processing and storing crops (p.77).

Division of Labor

- The family (or household) is the basic unit of production, and gender and age are important in organizing work. Most family farming societies have a marked gender-based division of labor.
- Men perform the "bulk" of the labour (Michaelson and Goldschmidt 1971, as cited in, 77). Anthropologists have proposed various theories to explain why productive work on so many family farms is male dominated:

Men and Plowing Hypothesis
This hypothesis is based on the importance of plowing fields in preparation for planting and on the fact that plowing is almost exclusively a male task (Goody 1976). Some anthropologists say that men plow because they are stronger than women and have the advantage of greater aerobic capacity. In southern India, for example, weather patterns require that plowing be accomplished in a very narrow time period (Maclachlan 1983). Assigning the task to the physically stronger gender ensures that the work is done more quickly and is thus an adaptive cultural strategy because it increases the chances for a good crop.

Women and Child Care Hypothesis
This hypothesis says that women are not involved in plowing and other agricultural field labour as much as men because such tasks are incompatible with child care (J. K. Brown 1970).

Women and Food-Processing Hypothesis
This hypothesis notes that agriculture increases the demand for labour within and near the house (Ember 1983). Winnowing, husking, grinding, and cooking agricultural products are extremely labour-intensive processes. Linked to women's primary roles in child care and increased fertility in farm families, these labour demands restrict women to the household domain.

- However, there are some cultures in which men's and women's roles are balanced and cultures in which women play the dominant role.
- Men's and women's work hours are substantially higher in agricultural economies, but in differing proportions to inside and outside work (Ember 1983, as cited in, 78). The shares of time devoted to particular activities shift. Women's inside work hours increase absolutely and relatively (compared to men's), and their outside work hours increase absolutely, but decline relative to those of men.
- In farming systems where men play the major role in agriculture, women are likely to work in or near the home, processing food, maintaining the household, and caring for children (Ember 1983, as cited in, 79).
- This division of labour results in the **PUBLIC-PRIVATE DICHOTOMY** in family farm societies, in which men are more involved with the outside, public world and women are more involved in the domestic domain.
- In this variety of family farming, men work more hours per week than in foraging, horticultural, and pastoralist systems. Women's work hours, in contrast, are as high as they are in horticultural and pastoralist systems.
- Family farms in which females play the major role in production are called *female farming systems*. They are found mainly in southern India and Southeast Asia where *wet rice agriculture* is practised.
- This is a highly labor-intensive way of growing rice that involves starting the seedlings in nurseries and transplanting them to flooded fields.
- Men are responsible for plowing the fields using teams of water buffaloes. Women own land and make decisions about planting and harvesting. Women's labour is the backbone of this type of farming.
- Standing calf-deep in muddy water, they transplant rice seedlings, weed, and harvest the rice. In female farming systems, women have relatively high status. They own land, play a central role in household decision-making, and have substantial personal autonomy (Stivens et al. 1994, as cited in, 79).
- Children's roles in agricultural societies range from being prominent to rather minor, depending on the context (Whiting and Whiting 1975, as cited in, 79).

- **EXCEPTION**: in some agricultural societies, children's work rates are very high (Asian villages: one in Java and the other in Nepal). In these villages, an important task of children, even as young as six to eight years old, was tending the farm animals (Nag, White, and Peet 1978, 80), and children spent more time caring for animals than adults did.
- In both villages, girls aged six to eight spent more time than adults in child care. Some of the Javanese children in the six- to eight-year-old group worked for wages. In general, girls did more hours of work daily than boys at all ages (p.80).

Property Relations

- The investments in land that agriculture requires, such as clearing, terracing, and fencing, are linked to the development of firmly delineated and protected property rights.
- Rights to land, the most important resource, can be acquired and sold. Clear guidelines exist about inheritance and transfer of rights to land through marriage.
- Social institutions such as law and police emerge to protect private rights to resources. The more marked gender division of labor in many family farming systems often means that men have access to the more highly valued tasks and to goods that have value in the outside world.
- The women are more involved with food processing, child-bearing and child-rearing, and family maintenance, tasks that generate no income and have no exchange value.
- In family farming systems where male labor and decision-making predominate, women and girls tend to be excluded from land rights and other forms of property control. In female farming systems, inheritance rules tend to regulate the transmission of property rights more often through females (p.80)

Industrial Capital Agriculture

- **INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL AGRICULTURE** produces crops through capital-intensive means using machinery and purchased inputs such as processed fertilizers for human and animal labor (p.80).
- Industrial agriculture has brought with it *corporate farms*, huge agricultural enterprises that produce goods solely for sale and are owned and operated by companies entirely reliant on hired labour. Industrial agriculture has major social effects.
- Much of the labor demand in industrial agriculture is seasonal, creating a flow of workers, depending on the task and time of year. Crop harvesting is a high demand point.
- Another recent change in corporate agriculture has been the introduction of genetically engineered crops. This process has been largely hidden from the bulk of the Canadian population, who are now consuming great quantities of genetically altered food.

- There are substantial differences between the ways farmers selected plants and animals in the past, and the use of genetic technology. Farmers were not imposing genetic uniformity, but rather required diversity (Brewster Kneen, 81).

Industrial Collectivized Agriculture

- **INDUSTRIAL COLLECTIVIZED AGRICULTURE** is a form of industrialized agriculture that involves nonprivate control of land, technology, and goods produced.
- A variety of collective agriculture arrangements have been used in places such as Russia and Eastern Europe, China, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua (p.81).

The Sustainability of Agriculture

- Agriculture requires more in the way of labour inputs, technology, and the use of nonrenewable natural resources than the other systems discussed earlier. The ever-increasing spread of corporate agriculture is displacing other long-standing economic systems, including foraging, horticulture, and pastoralism.
- It is resulting in the destruction of important habitats, notably rainforests, in its search for agricultural land, for water, and other energy sources to support its enterprises.
- Intensive agriculture itself is **NONSUSTAINABLE**. It is also undermining the sustainability of other systems (p.83).
- Features of industrial agriculture and their social effects:
    1. An increase of complex technology (machinery, chemicals) on plants and animal can result in displacement of small landholders and field labourers.
    2. An increase use of capital (production) in the form of money/property can result in high ratio of capital to labor and enables farmers to increase production but reduces flexibility.
    3. Increase in use of energy (gasoline to run the machinery) to grow crops results in energy-heavy mode of production which creates farmers dependence on the global market of energy supplies (p.81).

Industrialism and Post-Industrialism

- **INDUSTRIALISM** is the production of goods through mass employment in business and commercial operations. In industrial capitalism, the form of capitalism found in most industrialized nations, the bulk of goods are produced not to meet basic needs but to satisfy consumer demands for nonessential goods.
- In some industrialized countries, the number of manufacturing jobs is declining, with more people being employed in service occupations and in the growing area of *information processing* (such as computer programming, data processing, communications, and teaching).
- An important distinction exists between the **FORMAL SECTOR**, which is salaried work registered in official statistics, and the **INFORMAL SECTOR**, which includes work that is outside the formal sector, not officially registered, and sometimes illegal.

- Ex: If you have done babysitting and were paid cash that was not formally recorded by your employer (for tax-deduction purposes) or by you (for income tax purposes), then you have participated in the informal sector.
- Informal sector activities that are illegal are referred to as being part of the *underground economy*, a huge and uncounted part of global and local economies worldwide (p.83).

Examples of Each Mode of Subsistence

- Foragers: the Tiwi of Northern Australia
- Horticulturalists: the Mundurucu of the Brazilian Amazon
- Pastoralists: the Herders of Mongolia
- Family farmers: the Maya of Chiapas, Mexico
- Industrialists: factory workers in Ohio
- Global capitalism: Taiwanese in South Africa

Lecture Notes

Subsistence Patterns	Food collecting/food producing?	Nomadic or sedentary?
Foraging	Collecting	Nomadism
Horticulture	Producing	Sedentary
Pastoralism	Producing	Nomadic
Agriculture	Producing (small-scale and industrial farming)	Sedentary
Industry	-	Sedentary

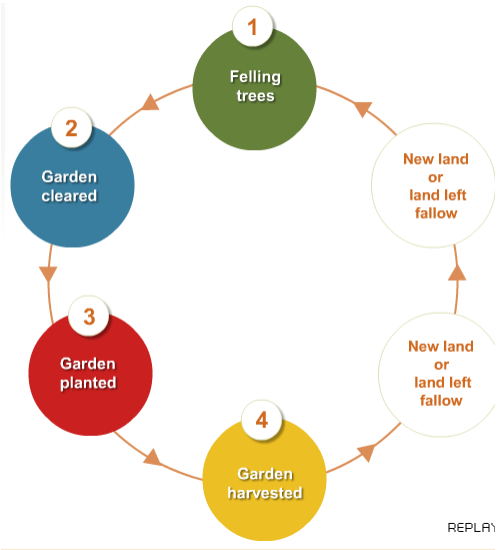
Slide 2

Differences between horticulture and agriculture

- Horticulture: no mechanization, no use of fertilizer, no irrigation, no draught animals, small yields per acre
- Agriculture: mechanization, use of fertilizer, irrigation, use of draught animals, larger yields per acre (slide 14)

Horticulture cycle

Slide 15



Topic 2: Sex and gender (lesson 10)

Anthropology and the Study of Gender

- Anthropology was for a long period in its history focused solely on men and their practices- excluding women or making them peripheral- this approach is called **ANDROCENTRIC**. The reasons for the androcentric foundation of anthropology:
    1. Anthropologists were predominantly men and did not have access to women's worlds in societies where gender segregation was strong.
    2. Anthropologists (both men and women) tended to emphasize important social events, such as rituals of exchange and their power relations, which were associated with men's spheres, not women's (Christine Jourdan, lesson 10: slide 2).

Margaret Mead

- Prominent anthropologist, intellectual and social scientist who came to the forefront of anthropology during a turning point in the discipline's history. Deeply influenced by cultural relativism, the teachings of Franz Boas and the work of Ruth Benedict.
- One of the first researchers to suggest that certain assumptions about gender differences were socially constructed as opposed to biologically determined.
- She contested gender roles by asserting that masculine and feminine characteristics are in fact conditioned by socio-cultural rather than biological processes.
- In her study of girls in Coming of Age in Samoa, she showed that the sexuality of young women was not constrained as it was in American society (slide 3).

Distinguishing Sex for Gender

- Defining **SEX** biologically: Being female, male or other, assigned at birth based on external genitalia; primary attributes (genitalia and hormones) and our secondary sexual attributes (breasts, body size, hair musculature, etc.) are determined by chromosomes.
- **SEXUAL DIMORPHISM** are the physiological differences between men and women, revealed anatomically in variations between male and female skulls/pelvises; depends on one difference on one pair of chromosomes among 23 pairs.
- Women and men are 98% similar, although variations obviously exist (an extra chromosome XXY, for example). This great similarity probably explains why a person's sex is not always unambiguously female or male (slide 4).
- Ex: runner Caster Semenya. She looked more like a man than a woman: no breasts, large shoulder and torso, very narrow hips, over-developed musculature, etc. She won the race and suspicions on her 'real' sex became louder.

Track and field federation investigated. Results: she had mixed genitalia (a vulva and an underdeveloped penis), internal testes, no uterus and no ovaries, and three times the production of testosterone of women. But as she was raised as a girl, parents and friends had no hesitation about her gender: her gender is female. This shows clearly that biological sex is not always either/or and that there are 'naturally' many shades of grey (slide 5)

What is Gender?

- **GENDER**, in contrast to sex, is culturally defined. A person's sex may be a physical reality (even though the case described in the previous slide reminds us that determining someone's sex is not always easy), but gender is a cultural reality.
- By gender, we refer to:
  1. How males and females perceive and define themselves and each other.
  2. How they relate to each other.
  3. What it means to be a man or a woman.
  4. What roles and behaviours are appropriate to men and women.
- Gender therefore encompasses all the traits and behaviours that are assigned culturally. Shelley Rosaldo defines it as: "Gender refers to the cultural construction of femaleness and maleness" (1980).
- This means that elements of femaleness and maleness vary culturally and are not universal.
- Good definition of gender: Gender is the way members of the two sexes are perceived, evaluated and expected to behave (slide 6).

Gender Ideology

- In order to be legitimized and reproduced, gender must rest on some form of cultural understanding about the cultural nature of men and women. There must be some form of cultural systems of ideas and thought that explain and legitimize cultural expectations about gender. This is what we call **GENDER IDEOLOGY**.
- It can be defined as: a system of thought and values that legitimizes sex roles, statuses and customary behavior.
- This being said, it is not always possible to discern the extent to which culture and biology determine differences in behaviour and attitudes.
- One can, however, say that biological differences set broad limits on social definitions of maleness and femaleness. Cultural conceptions of maleness and femaleness may also rest on some conception of the physiology of the body.
- Ex: Hua of Papua New Guinea, anthropologist Anna Meigs (slide 7).
  - Group of 3500 people, live in villages of 200 people. Each village contains one or more men's house occupied by the initiated people of the patrilineage of the village.
  - Initiated people comprise men, who have gone through the initiated rights and menopaused women who have had at least 2 children. All other people live in separate houses.

- The presence of women in men's houses in a society where gender segregation is very stringent is a cultural posal. How can we account for this practice?
- Anna Megs explain that we can account for this with **NU**. Nu is a physical life giving substance present in all human bodies, but in different degrees.
- This substance can be transmitted to other people. Women have too much Nu, they grow fast, are wet, produce milk, have menstruations, and vaginal discharge.
- Men, have a small amount of Nu, which is why they age early. It also makes them hard and dry which is thought to be attractive.
- The transfer of Nu is beneficial, it makes children grow. It can also be negative by it renders men weak. Nu can be transmitted by food, sexual intercourse, or social contact.
- **FIGAPA** (bodies containing a lot of Nu): children of both sexes because they have been in intimate contact with a woman (their mother), women in child bearing years because they are the essence of femininity, post-menopausal women who have not had at least two children because their bodies are not sufficiently drained of Nu, and elderly men because female Nu has been transmitted to them during their lifetime of exposure to women.
- **KAKORA** (bodies with less Nu): males in their early teens and prime years because they have been initiated and have avoided contact with female Nu, and post-menopausal women with more than two children because multiple childbirths have drained them of most feminine substances (slide 8).

The Relationship of Sex and Gender

- The relation of sex to gender, and vice versa, is fascinating because much of human behavior will be guided by the social roles affected to people of each sex.
- The nuance, of course, is that we are born with sex, but we acquire gender. But the dominant view is that both sex and gender are polar opposites that one maintains throughout one's life.
- Cross cultural comparisons of sexual orientation, sex assignation and gender behavior shows great diversity in how sex and gender interact cross-culturally and throughout the life cycle. This is particularly the case with sexual orientation.
- **SEXUAL ORIENTATION** is a person's habitual sexual attraction to, and sexual activities with, persons of the same sex (homosexuality), persons of the opposite sex (heterosexuality), both sexes (bisexuality), or no one (asexuality) (slide 9).

Sexual Orientation and Gender Roles

- In that respect, particularly interesting are the societies in which more than two genders and two sexes are recognized and where heterosexuality and homosexuality are understood differently.
- Examples of gender roles in which men adopt the gender role of a woman include:

- The **TWO-SPIRIT** (formerly known as *Berdache*) in NA native groups (Roscoe 1995). Two-Spirits dressed like women and assumed the role of a woman. They were very valued among the Zuni, where they were believed to have supernatural powers.
- The **HIJRAS** of India, as studied by Serena Nanda (1999) and Gayatri Reddy (2005) are considered neither masculine nor feminine. They often undergo an operation by which their genitals are surgically removed. However, this turns them into a Hijra and not a woman. Hijras belong to a religious community that worships the Goddess Bahuchara Mata and emasculation allows identification with her. They adopt female behavior, dress, move, sit like women, and have their own special language, but are not considered women.
- The **FA'AFINE** of Samoa (Besnier 1994). The Fa'afine is a biologically male individual who in childhood decides to assume the gender role of a girl and later on a woman (slide 10).

A New Sex for the Self

- In the process of acquiring gender, some people will want to change sex so that their genitalia correspond to their perception of self. This is what is called **SEX REASSIGNMENT SURGERY**.
- Ex: Roberta Close was born a man and became an important female sex symbol in Brazil (slide 11).
- Elizabeth Povinelli's take on gender: When we talk about sex (male/female) it is embodied in nature. The sex of the body is not determinant of the gender's self. Could have a male body but a feminine spirit. Gender and sex occur in the life course, instead of something you are born with. Femaleness and maleness are learned through enculturation and socialization and are not fixed at birth (slide 12).

Gender Socialization

- In short, femaleness and maleness are learned through enculturation and socialization and are not fixed at birth. **GENDER SOCIALIZATION** refers to the learning of the expected roles and behaviors deemed appropriate for individuals of various genders.
- Gender socialization is different from culture to culture. This socialization process can also change over time within the same culture (slide 13).

Gender Roles

- All societies make some distinction between the roles that men and women are expected to fulfill throughout the life cycle.
- These roles become more evident in association with domestic or professional activities: women are expected to perform some tasks or be involved in particular types of activities, whereas men are assigned other tasks and responsibilities. This is what we call the **GENDER DIVISION OF LABOR**.
- It can be defined as follows: the patterns of allocation of different economic, social and other activities to men and women, according to age (slide 14).

- Man-Hunter model:

Gender Division of Labor Cross-Culturally with Regard to Food (slide 16)

	Women	Men
Circumpolar region foragers	▪ Women prepare food	▪ Men hunt and fish
Temperate region foragers	▪ Men and women forage	▪ Men hunt large game
Horticulture	▪ Women plant, tend the gardens and harvest the staple crops	▪ Men may grow the 'prestige' food. Men clear the land for the gardens
Pastoralism	▪ Women process the herd products	▪ Men take care of moving the herds
Agriculture: family farming	1. Women work in or near the home 2. Women work in the field	▪ Men do the agricultural work

Gender Roles, Inequality, and Exploitation

- Overwhelming cross-cultural evidence of gender stratification has led to debates about women's status in many societies. One recurring theme is the respective status of women and men in terms of access to rights, opportunities and goods (slide 17).

Gender Roles and Social Change

- Of course, social change is creating the possibility for a new gender division of labour to develop.
- Ex: in double income families in the urban centre, the women contribute to the household differently, and the men often have to help with house chores. Similar changes have taken place in industrial societies, with the increasing number of women in the labour market.
- Gender roles are being redefined, with the gender division of labor becoming more flexible.
- We see the change in Western societies as well, where more and more women move into men's traditional occupations (politics, engineering, medicine, mechanics), but we are not seeing more men move into women's traditional occupations (secretary, homemaker, nurse, etc.) (slide 19).

Topic 3: Language, cultural change, and globalization (lesson 3)

Definition of Culture

- A classic definition was proposed by Edward Tylor, a 19th-century British anthropologist, who wrote in 1871 that: "Culture or civilization… is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, law, morals, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of a society".
- This definition has not withstood the test of time. Various scholar have come up with new definitions:
  1. "The learned behaviors and symbols that allow people to live in groups. The primary means by which humans adapt to their environments. The way of life characteristic of a particular human society". (Serena Nanda and Richard Warms, 2002: 412)
  2. "The learned system of beliefs, feelings, and rules for living around which a group of people organize their life" (Richley Crapo, 2002: 492)
  3. "Distinctively human; transmitted through learning; traditions and customs that govern behavior and belief". (Conrad Kottak, 2002: 501)
  4. "The system of knowledge more or less shared by members of a society". (Roger Keesing, 1981: 509, slide 3)
- This large range of definitions is not that anthropologists disagree fundamentally on what culture is. Far from it.
- But their 'take' on it varies with the theoretical approaches they prefer:
  - **INTERPRETIVE**: focus on the symbols and thoughts of a cultural group
  - **MATERIALISTS**: focus on the learned behaviors and lifestyles of peoples
  - However different their approaches may be, all anthropologists agree that culture refers to learned (and somewhat shared) patterns of behavior and thought (slide 4).

How Did Culture Begin?

- Culture emerged through group formations and the development of language and the ability to use symbols.
- Culture as a means of addressing natural/social needs through a system of rules.
- Human needs are diverse and complex and accordingly, so is culture (slide 5).
- Culture is learned. The system of rules of behaviors and values is transmitted to young people through the process of socialization. What we teach our children is behavior that is culturally accepted (this will change depending where the child is born) (slide 6).
- Culture is symbolic. The meaning of cultural elements is arbitrary, unpredictable and ascribed (slide 8).
- Culture is shared. Sharing of culture reflected in the socialization of members in ways that contribute to understanding of common rules, meanings and behaviours. Culture as shared allows for mutual interpretations, symbolic meanings, messages and intentions to flow (slide 9).

One Society, Different Values

- People in the same cultural group can have very different opinions and ways of understanding the world. People have different tastes, different expectations, and different outlooks on things.
- Within the same cultural group, people will have different values, goals and systems of meanings.

- Ex: For the longest time in Quebec, religion was taught in school and was mandatory in primary schools. When the government opted to make the course optional and to offer a course in ethics and morals for the children who did not want to take the religion course, many people were outraged, while others applauded (slide 10).

Social Cultural Diversity

- In all societies, basic distinctions exist between individuals in terms of age and gender.
- Often, what people can or cannot do, may or may not do, may or may not say, is linked to their memberships into social groups defined by their gender and their age.
- In multicultural societies, other factors such as race, ethnicity and indigeneity have provided additional ways of 'classifying' people according to their skin color, ethnic origin and native status (slide 11).

Subcultures

- When people are part of a cultural group they are not passive recipients of prepackaged systems of meanings, behavior and thought.
- As individuals, they develop their own opinions and ideas. Individuals in a culture engage the dominant culture according to gender, class, experience, age, etc. And this process is often what leads them to have different visions of what their culture is.
- Some fully approve of the dominant model and embrace it while others reject it. It is the engagement with culture that leads to socio-cultural change. When groups of people recognize themselves as having different ways of engaging the cultural world in which they live, we talk of **SUBCULTURES** (slide 12).

Youth Culture

- In some societies, young people have modes of expressions, behavior and values that may be significantly different from those of their adult counterparts: they dress differently from their parents, they listen to different kinds of music, they use different words, and so on. Yet however different some youth wish to be, they also engage with the rest of society.
- This is true of many of the subcultures that comprise societies: subcultures organized around age, around leisure activities, around religions, around economic means, and so on (slide 13).

Culture Change

- There are **THREE** main ways by which societies change:
  1. Innovation
  2. Cultural interaction
  3. Invention
- Some societies (Western) value inventions and have made them the corner stone of a large domain of their economy. Others don't.

- Difference between invention and innovation:
  - Invention: when Gutenberg though of the movable-type printing press, he clearly invented this (nothing like the press existed before).
  - Innovation: when the first electric car appeared on the market, it was an innovation (new way of thinking of a car and how it should be fueled) (slide 14).

What is Changing?

- All aspect of cultural life change, both material and immaterial life (slide 15).
- Change in the mid-1940s: anthropologists studying cultural change, particularly from the point of view of acculturation studies, posited that not all areas of culture changed at the same pace (slide 16).
- American scholars such as Herskovitz or Linton, proposed that there were core elements in all cultures that were more resistant to change than others (slide 16).
- Not all are changes are linked to technology:
  - Moral issues: rights to abortion, abolition of the death penalty
  - Legal issues: status of women (voting), homosexual marriage
  - Electing the first African-American President of the USA Barrack Obama (slide 17).

Issues of Identity Amidst Change

- When external cultural markers are changed drastically, is the cultural group or individual identity any less authentic? Opposing concepts such as "traditional" and "modern" tend to oversimplify the complexities of cultural change (slide 19).

Four Models of Cultural Interaction

- The most important forms of change are often associated with contact with outside groups.
- Anthropologists have identified **FOUR** models of cultural interaction (slide 20).
  1. **The clash of civilizations argument**: the spread of Euro-American capitalism and lifeways throughout the world has created disenchantment, alienation, and resentment among other cultural systems. This divides the world into the “West and the rest”.
  2. **The McDonalization model**: under the powerful influence of U.S.-dominated corporate culture, the world is becoming culturally homogeneous.
  3. **Hybridization**: occurs when aspects of two or more cultures are mixed to form something new- a blend.
  4. **Localization**: the transformation of global culture by local cultures into something new (p.19 in textbook).
- Amongst the various forms that contact has taken, colonialism (part of the clash of civilizations model), has brought about the biggest changes (slide 20).

Colonization

- The word **COLONIZATION** usually refers to European expansion into the non-Western world (from the 17th to 20th centuries), but has existed throughout history in various forms. European colonization has produced the most dramatic social changes in recent human history. Most empires had an agricultural mode of subsistence (slide 21).
- Ex: Papa New Guinea; part of it was colonized by the Germans at the end of the 19th century, and subsequently by the Australians under a protectorate. It became independent in 1975 (slide 22).
- Colonization has not only affected individual groups located within former states, but it has also created new countries by amalgamating different ethnic groups and cultural groups into one geopolitical entity. A general characteristic of post-colonial states is that they are politically and economically weak (slide 24).

Globalization

- As anthropologists have observed, dramatic types of change take place when, in the context of economic globalization, powerful international corporations, with the help of advertising campaigns, aim at changing people's lifestyles and consumption patterns so as to market their ware (slide 26).

TO SUM UP

- Culture is best understood as a way of life and a way of thinking about the world that is changing with the passage of time and through contact with other cultural groups.
- Cultures are the product of the interaction between individuals and social groups. In the process, they keep changing: through invention by individuals; through contact with other cultural groups; and through social transformations that cultural groups go through during their history.
- Some changes are incremental, while others are so dramatic that it is possible to think of them in terms of a revolution (slide 28).

What is Language? (lesson 4)

- **LANGUAGE** is a code for communication consisting of a set of symbols and a set of rules for constructing messages. These symbols are arbitrary and conventional, used by peoples in societies and passed from generation to generation, and they can be oral, written or signed (like sign language) (slide 2).
- As a tool for communication, language is central to culture.
- The importance of language in anthropology was brought about by the works of Franz Boas and led to the creation of linguistics as a subfield.
- **LINGUISTIC** anthropologists look at social interactions and meanings through the study of discourse and speech. **SPEECH** is language in action (different from language), and by studying speech, we can know language and the role it plays in social relationships (slide 3).

How Did Language Begin?

1. The result of divine or supernatural intervention (Biblical story of the Tower of Babel).

2. Language is part of the ontology of the world (the relationship of language to particular things).
3. Language is an inherent part of the human species and is part of its evolution. All anthropologists believe this point is correct as it puts the development of language in relation to human evolution (slide 5).

Main Characteristics of Human Language

1. **Arbitrariness:** means that the relationship between sound and meaning is irrelevant (all languages would use the same words otherwise). Words are symbols: their meanings are defined by culture, not label.
2. **Conventionality** and arbitrariness combined: allow us to create new words, assign them meaning, change meaning as needed, and so on.
3. **Productivity:** allows us to communicate different messages by combining various elements of language. Thus we can modify and refine the meanings of sentences to fit the context (situation) in which they are spoken (tone, volume used to indicate urgency, etc.)
4. **Displacement:** allows us, through language, to talk about the past or future; permitting us to enter a world of abstraction since we cannot see the past or future.

- Human language is thus a communication system that is open while those of animals are closed (slide 10).
- The key to language acquisition is in socialization (the social process associated with learning how to become a member of one's own society), just like culture (slide 11).

Why do Languages Change?

1. **Passage of time**: each generation influences language in the ways they use it. Expressions change, along with grammar.
2. **Cultural contact** and borrowing from other languages (sometimes this is forgotten through history).
3. **Migration** and subsequent isolation and development of local culture (Quebec French vs. France French).
4. **Identity creation** (slide 12).

- How to compare languages? With **LEXICOSTATISTICS**: comparing patterns of sound changes between languages (slide 13).
- Why should we know how languages are related? To understand the geographical origins of a given group of people (slide 15).
- Ex: Pacific Islanders may or may not have migrated from the Americas or Asia. Using lexicostatistics, the languages could be grouped into two families: Papuan and Austronesian languages. Austronesian languages of the Pacific were then compared to those of Southeast Asia and South America in order to discover the existence of similarities or not (slide 16).

How Language Changes

- Language changes reflect a healthy culture where new generations spout new ideas and ways of being appear and push language in different directions.

- Languages have disappeared when their speakers and cultures have come under attack throughout history (i.e. colonization of the world by Europe has left its mark).
- Globalization of popular culture through English is having a similar effect elsewhere. TV programs, songs and print media give more prominence to one language. English has become a **LINGUA FRANCA** (a language of universal communication used to overcome linguistic gaps that exist in multilingual encounters).
- Socioeconomic value is being associated with the dominant language and people give in to this and move away from their own language. It is when whole communities shift that ancestral languages become obsolete and disappear.
- National education systems that teach in one "national" language are responsible for many disappearances, for the government is giving social legitimacy to one language and forcing speakers of other languages to learn it.
- Language death is when a language disappears, which entails a process of endangerment stages (slide 17).
- There are 6000 languages present today and, while diversity is high, the forces of colonization, globalization and education threaten them. Linguist Richard Krauss estimates that in 100 years 90% of these languages will be gone or spoken only by the older generations.
- However, new languages may appear when sociolinguistic situations allow them to develop: pidgin and creole in Jamaica/Haiti (slide 18) or Verlan in the suburbs of Paris (slide 19).
- **VERLAN** is a form of French slang that plays with syllables and sounds and typically reverses the order of syllables as they are being heard (not written). Most famous examples are words such as *Verlan* (means: reverse) and *ripou* (a corrupt police officer).

Language and Identity

- There is a strong association between language and identity and it is fraught with emotional considerations.
- Ex: **BILL 101** made French the official language of Quebec and made children not born to English-speaking parents attend French schools, thus implying that French is the language of Quebecers and to ensure the continuation of French as a strong cultural language on the NA continent. Some believed that Quebec culture could only survive in French (slide 20).
- **SAPIR-WHORF HYPOTHESIS**: the grammatical categories of the language that someone speaks will greatly determine how they see and are influence by the world. Language, thought and the nature of reality itself were all one package (slide 21).

Topic 4: People on the move: migration and population displacement (lesson 13)

Introduction

- The current generation of NA youths will experience more moves during their lives than previous generations. University graduates are likely to change jobs an average of eight times during their careers, and these changes may require relocation.

- Ecological, economic, familial, and political factors are causing population movements at seemingly all-time high levels.
- Research in anthropology has shown, however, that frequent moves during a person's life and mass movements of peoples are nothing new; they have occurred throughout human evolution. Foragers and pastoralists relocate frequently as a normal part of their lives.
- **MIGRATION** is the movement of a person or people from one place to another (Kearney 1986, as cited in, 372). It is related to other aspects of life such as job and family status, and it may also affect mental health and social relationships.
- There is no domain of human life that is not affected by migration; hence, this topic pulls together much of the earlier material in this book.
- Given the breadth of migration studies, cultural anthropologists have used the full range of methods available, from individual life histories to large-scale surveys. **THREE** differences distinguish migration studies in cultural anthropology:
    1. Anthropologists studying migration are more likely to have fieldwork experience in more than one location in order to understand the places of origin and destination. Ex: Maxine Margolis first did fieldwork in Brazil, and then later studied Brazilian immigrants in New York City.
    2. Studying migration has challenged traditional cultural anthropology's focus on one village or neighbourhood and created the need to take into account national and global economic, political, and social forces (Basch, Glick Schiller, and Szanton Blanc 1994; Lamphere 1992, as cited in, 372).
    3. Anthropologists who do research on migrants tend to be involved in assisting them, often in resettlement work.

Categories of Migration

- Migration encompasses many categories depending on the distance of the move, its purpose, duration, degree of voluntarism (was the move forced or more a matter of choice?), and the migrant's status in the new destination.

Categories Based on Spatial Boundaries

- There are **THREE** categories of population movement defined in terms of spatial boundaries:
    1. **Internal migration**: movement within state boundaries.
    2. **International migration**: moving to a different country. This involves more challenges in the process of relocation and in adjustment after arrival.
    3. **Transnational migration**: a form of population movement in which a person regularly moves back and forth between two or more countries and forms a new cultural identity transcending a single geopolitical unit (p.273)

Internal Migration

- Rural-to-urban migration was the dominant stream of internal population in most countries during the 20th century. A major reason for people migrating to urban areas is the availability of work.
- According to the **PUSH-PULL THEORY OF LABOR MIGRATION**:
    - Rural areas are increasingly unable to support population growth and rising expectations about the quality of life (the push factor).
    - Cities (the pull factor) attract people, especially youth, for employment and lifestyle reasons.
    - The push–pull model makes urban migration sound like a simple function of the rational decision-making of freely choosing human agents who have information on the costs and the benefits of rural vs urban life, weigh that information, and then opt for going or staying. This is called **HUMAN AGENCY**.
    - But many instances of urban migration are more the result of structural forces (economic need or political factors such as war) that are beyond the control of the individual.
- The anonymity and rapid pace of city life and the likelihood of various degrees of stress caused by relocation pose special challenges for migrants from rural areas.
- Urban life increases the risk of hypertension (elevated blood pressure through stress or tension), which is related to coronary heart disease.
- Ex: In the Philippines, hypertension is more common among urban migrants, both men and women, than among people living in their rural places of origin (Hackenberg et al. 1983, as cited in, 373).

International Migration

- International migration has grown in volume and significance since 1945 and especially since the mid1980s (Castles and Miller 1993, 373). It is estimated that nearly 2% of the world's population lives outside of their home countries, or around 100 million people, including legal and undocumented immigrants.
- Migrants who move for work-related reasons constitute the majority of people in this category. Over 35 million people from developing countries have migrated to the industrialized countries in the past three decades. The driving forces behind this trend are economic and political changes that affect labor demands and human welfare.
- The major destination countries of early international immigration are Canada, the US, Australia, New Zealand, and Argentina. The immigration policies of these nations in the early 20th century have been labelled *white immigration* because they explicitly limited nonwhite immigration (Ongley 1995, 373).

Transnational Migration

- Transnational migration is increasing along with other aspects of globalization. It is important to recall, however, that rising rates of transnational migration are related to the creation of state boundaries in recent centuries.
- Pastoralists with extensive seasonal herding routes were "transnational" migrants long before state boundaries cut across their pathways. Much contemporary transnational migration is motivated by economic factors (p.374).

- The spread of the global corporate economy is the basis for the growth of one category of transnational migrants called **ASTRONAUTS**- business people who spend most of their time flying among different cities as investment bankers or corporate executives.
- At the lower end of the income scale are transnational migrant labourers who spend substantial amounts of time working in different places and whose movements depend on the demand for their labor.
- An important feature of transnational migration is how it affects the migrant's **IDENTITY** and sense of **CITIZENSHIP**. Constant movement among different places weakens the sense of having one home and promotes instead a sense of belonging to a diffused community of similar transnational migrants whose lives "in between" locations take on a new transnational cultural reality.
- As a response to the increased rate of transnational migration, many of the "sending" countries (those that are the source of emigrants) are making explicit efforts to redefine themselves as transnational nations (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999, 375).
- Ex: Haiti, Colombia, Mexico, Brazil, the Dominican Republic, Portugal, Greece, and the Philippines.
- They confer continuing citizenship on emigrants and their descendants in order to foster a sense of belonging and willingness to continue to provide financial support in the form of **REMITTANCES**- economic transfers of money or goods from migrants to their family back home (p.375).
- Remittances are an increasingly large, though difficult to quantify, proportion of the global economy and often a large part of a country's economy (p.376).
- Ex: at least 60% of the GDP of the small Pacific island country of Tonga comes from remittances from members of the Tongan diaspora (Lee 2003, 376).
- Most experts agree that remittances are important in helping families maintain their health and welfare and in promoting local development through donations to build schools, roads, and clinics (p.376).

Categories Based on Reason for Moving

- The spatial categories may overlap with these categories. Ex: an international migrant may also be a person who moved for employment reasons.
- Migrants experience different kinds of spatial change and, at the same time, have various reasons for moving.

Labor Migrants

- Thousands of people migrate to work for a specific period of time. They do not intend to establish permanent residence and are often explicitly barred from doing so.
- This form of migration, when legally contracted, is called **WAGE LABOR MIGRATION**. The period of work may be brief or it may last several years.
- Ex: Asian women are the fastest growing category among the world's 35 million migrant workers (International Labour Office 1996, 377). About 1.5 million Asian women are working outside of their home countries; most are

in domestic service jobs, and some work as nurses and teachers. Major sending countries are Indonesia, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.

- Such women are usually alone and are not allowed to marry or have a child in the country where they are temporary workers. International migrant workers are sometimes illegally recruited and thus have no protection in their working conditions.
- **CIRCULAR MIGRATION** is a regular pattern of population movement between two or more places. It may occur within or between countries.
- Ex: female domestic workers throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. These women have their permanent residence in the rural areas, but they work for long periods of time in the city for better off people. They may leave their children in the care of grandparents in the country, sending remittances for the children's support.

Displaced Persons

- **DISPLACED PERSONS** are people who are evicted from their homes, communities, or countries and forced to move elsewhere (Guggenheim and Cernea 1993, 377). Colonialism, slavery, war, persecution, natural disasters, and large-scale mining and dam building are major causes of population displacement.
- **REFUGEES** are internationally displaced persons. Many refugees are forced to relocate because they are victims or potential victims of persecution on the basis of their race, religion, nationality, ethnicity, gender, or political views (Camino and Krulfeld 1994, 377).
- Refugees constitute a large and growing category of displaced persons. About 1 of every 500 people is a refugee (Lubkemann 2002, 377). A quarter of the world's refugees are Palestinians.
- **INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPs)** are people who are forced to leave their home and community but who remain within their country. They are the fastest-growing category of displaced people.
- Current estimates are that the number of IDPs is double that of refugees (Cohen 2002, 378).
- Ex: Africa is the continent with the most IDPs, and within Africa, Sudan is the country with the highest number (around 4.5 million) (p.378).
- Many IDPs, like refugees, live for extended periods in camps under miserable conditions with no access to basic supports such as health care and schools.
- Development projects are often the reason why people become IDPs. Large dam construction, mining, and other projects have displaced millions in the past several decades. Forced migration due to development projects is termed **DEVELOPMENT-INDUCED DISPLACEMENT (DID)**.
- Ex: One of the most notorious cases is India's construction of a series of high dams in its Narmada River Valley, which cuts across the middle of the country from the west coast. This massive project involves relocating hundreds of thousands of people- no one has a reliable estimate of the numbers. The relocation is against the residents' wishes, and government compensation to the "oustees" for the loss of the homes, land, and livelihood is

completely inadequate. Thousands of people in the Narmada Valley have organized protests over the many years of construction, and international environmental organizations have lent their support (p.378).

- The manner in which displaced persons are relocated affects how well they will adjust to their new lives. Displaced persons, in general, have little choice about when and where they move, and refugees typically have the least choice of all.
- Key factors that ease or increase relocation stresses: the extent to which the new location resembles or differs from the home place in features such as climate, language, and food (Muecke 1987, 379). Generally, the more different the places of origin and destination are, the greater the adaptational demands and stress.
- Other key factors are the refugee's ability to get a job commensurate with his training and experience, the presence of family members, and whether people in the new location are welcoming or hostile to the refugees (p.379).

Institutional Migrants

- **INSTITUTIONAL MIGRANTS** are people who move into a social institution, either voluntarily or involuntarily. They include monks and nuns, the elderly, prisoners, and boarding school or university students.
- Student adjustment is similar to many other forms of migration, especially in terms of risks for mental stress. International students face serious challenges of spatial and cultural relocation (p.379).
- They are at greater risk of adjustment stress than are local students. Many international students report mental health problems, depending on age, marital status, and other factors (p.382).
- Soldiers are often sent on long-distance assignments for lengthy periods of time. Their destination may have negative physical and mental health effects on them, in addition to the fact that they may face combat.
- Military people on assignment need more in-depth training about how to communicate with local people and about the importance of respecting local people's cultures.
- A pocket-size handbook on Iraqi etiquette used by some U.S. troops in Iraq provides extremely basic guidelines (Lorch 2003, 382).
- Ex: it says that one should avoid arguments and should not take more than three cups of coffee or tea if one is a guest. Also, the "thumbs up" gesture should be avoided since its meaning is obscene, and it's better not to sit with one's feet on a desk.
- Such basics are helpful, but they do little to provide the cultural understanding that is of critical importance in both conflict and post-conflict situations.

The New Immigrants to Canada and the US

- The term **NEW IMMIGRANT** refers to a person who moved internationally since the 1960s. The category of new immigrants worldwide includes rapidly increasing proportions of refugees, many of whom are destitute and desperate for asylum.

- **THREE** trends are apparent in the new international migration that began in the 1990s:
  1. **Globalization**: More countries are involved in international migration, leading to increased cultural diversity in sending and receiving countries.
  2. **Acceleration**: Growth in numbers of migrants has occurred worldwide.
  3. **Feminization**: Women are a growing percentage of international migrants to and from all regions and in all types of migration; some forms exhibit a majority of women (p.382).
- Ex:
  - In Canada, the category of "new immigrants" refers to people who arrived following the development of the Immigration Regulations of 1967.
  - These regulations made it possible for far more people from developing countries to enter Canada, especially if they were professionals or trained in some desired skill.
  - Later, the "family reunification" provision allowed permanent residents and naturalized citizens to bring in close family members. Most of the new immigrants to Canada are from Asia, Latin America, and the Caribbean, although increasing numbers are from Eastern Europe, especially Russia (p.382).
  - Canada provides temporary employment visas to allow migrant labourers to work in Canada for up to 12 months. Visas are also required by international students studying in Canada, who may stay for the period of their studies.
  - Canada's immigration policy tries to balance humanitarian concerns for refugee claimants, family reunification, and the perceived need to attract highly skilled and educated persons (p.383).

Migration Policies and Politics in a Globalizing World

- Globalization and the increase in migration have attracted more attention to this issue on the part of anthropologists and other social scientists.
- The major questions raised concern national and international policies of inclusion and exclusion of particular categories of people. The human rights of various categories of migrants vary dramatically.
- Migrants of all sorts, including long-standing migratory groups such as pastoralists and horticulturalists, seek to find ways of protecting their lifestyles, maintaining their health, and building a sense of the future.
- The health risks to migrants are many and varied because of the wide variety of migrant types and situations. Migrants whose livelihood depends on longstanding migratory economic systems, such as foraging, horticulture, and pastoralism, constitute one area of concern (p.388).

Inclusion and Exclusion

- National immigration policies that set quotas on the quantity and types of immigrants welcomed and determine how they are treated are largely dictated by political and economic interests.

- Governments undertake a cost–benefit analysis of how much will be gained and how much will be lost. Politically, governments show either their support or disapproval of other governments through their immigration policies. (p.389).
- One of the most obvious economic factors affecting policy is **LABOR FLOW**. Cheap, even illegal, immigrant labor is used around the world to maintain profits for businesses and services for the better-off. Flows of such labor undermine labor unions and the status of established workers. This is an unfair burden on new arrivals who are struggling to become established in Canada (p.390).
- National immigration policies are played out in local communities. In some instances, local resentments are associated with **LIFEBOAT MENTALITY**, which seeks to limit enlarging a particular group because of perceived resource constraints.
- Influxes of immigrants who compete for jobs have led to hostility in many parts of Europe and North America. This is labelled *working-class racism* because it emerges out of competition with immigrants for jobs and other benefits (J. Cole 1996, 390).
- Political and economic considerations about immigration exist within broad frameworks, such as “melting pot ideology” or “multiculturalism.” While the US refers to the melting pot that assimilates newcomers, Canada’s official multiculturalism policy encourages individuals and communities to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity (p.390).

Migration and Human Rights

- One important question is whether migration is forced or voluntary. Forced migration itself may be considered a violation of a person’s human rights.
- Another question concerns whether members of a displaced group have a guaranteed **RIGHT OF RETURN**- a person’s ability to return to and live in his homeland. This is considered a human right (p.391).