SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Josef Kasal

INVESTICE DO ROZVOJE VZDĚLÁVÁNÍ

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Lecturer: **PhDr. Josef Kasal, Ph.D.**

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Workload:
Full-time students: lecture – 1 hour per week
                            seminar – 1hour per week
Part-time students: hour(s) per semester: N/A

Self-study workload: N/A

Recommended semester for the course enrolment: 1st semester

Prerequisites: none

Rules of communication with the lecturer:
Via e-mail and during consultation hours – for further details, see the department's website

Course overview and syllabus

The course is designed to provide interdisciplinary introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology which is an important means of understanding the development of culture as an important mechanism of human adaptation. The course presents various approaches to the development of human communities with the emphasis on the institutionalization of their lives, and portrays the symbolic aspect of life in human communities.

Course objectives

The aim of the course is to portray the term culture as an active agent in the development of mankind. After finishing this course, students should be able to apply the findings when discussing issues of globalization and related multiculturality and multiethnicity, and racial and religious hatred. Students shall learn the logic of culture development, and the principles of cultural relativism; they shall also learn to apply the knowledge within specific activities in the field of social services.

Course syllabus

1. Definition of the terms culture, anthropology, and social and cultural anthropology.
2. Anthropological approach to culture. Culture – semantics, cultural phenomena, culture as adaptation mechanism, multiculturalism, cultural determinism, and cultural relativism.
3. Historical Milestones of Social and Cultural Anthropology:
   - Evolutionism and developmental linearity
   - Diffusionism, the Heliolithic School.
   - American historicism, F. Boas and his rejection of racial stereotypes.
   - Configurationism and it contribution to definition of culture, Ruth Benedict – cultural patterns.
   - Cultural determinism, Margaret Mead – gender.
4. Functionalist and structural-functionalist anthropology, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown.
5. Structural anthropology as a science of binary oppositions, C. Levi-Strauss
6. Rite
7. Myth
8. Current topics of social and cultural anthorpology

Literature

Basic Literature:

AUGÉ, M. Antropologie současných světů. Brno: Atlantis 1999. ISBN 80-7108-154-X

ERIKSEN, T. H. Sociální a kulturní antropologie. Praha: Portál, 2008. ISBN 978-80-7367-465-6

GEERTZ, C. *Interpretace kultur.* Praha: SLON, 2000. ISBN 80-85850-89-3

FREUD, S. *Totem a tabu, vtip.* Praha: Práh, 1991. ISBN 80-9000835-1-X

HORÁKOVÁ, H. *Kultura jako všelék?* Praha: SLON, 2012. ISBN 978-80-7419-103-9

JENNINGS, J., HOEBEL, E. Readings in antropology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.

KRAFT, H. Tabu, magie a sociální skutečnost. Praha: Mladá fronta, 2006. ISBN 80-204-1345-6

LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. *Strukturální antropologie.* Praha: Argo, 2006. ISBN 80-7203-713-7

LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. *Antropologie a problémy moderního světa.* Praha: Karolinum, 2011. ISBN 978-80-246-2098-5

MALINOWSKI, B. Sex a represe v divošské společnosti. Praha: SLON, 2006. ISBN 978-80-86429-46-2

SKALNÍK, P., ŠAVELKOVÁ, L. *Okno do antropologie.* Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2008. ISBN 978-80-7395-042-2

MURPHY, R. F. *Úvod do kulturní a sociální antropologie.* Praha: SLON, 2001. ISBN 80-85850-53-2

SOUKUP, M. Základy kulturní antropologie. Praha: Akademie veřejné správy o.p.s., 2009. ISBN 978-80-87207-003-1
SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3
SOUKUP, V. Přehled antropologických teorií kultury. Praha: Portál, 2004. ISBN 80-7178-929-1

Recommended literature:
BENEDICTOVÁ, R. Kulturní vzorce. Praha: Argo, 2007. ISBN 80-7230-212-7
BARTHES, R. *Mytologie.* Prha: Dokořán, 2004. ISBN 80-86569-73-X
BORECKÝ, V. Porozumění symbolu. Praha: Triton, 2003. ISBN 80-7254-371-7
BURKE, P. *Co je kulturní historie?* Praha, Dokořán, 2008. ISBN 978-80-7363-302-8
DETHLEFSEN, T. Oidipus a hádanka života. Praha: Eurumédia Group, 2006. ISBN 80-242-1531-4
ECO, U. Skeptikové a těšitelé. Praha: Svoboda, 1995. ISBN 80-205-0472-9
JACYNO, M. *Kultura individualismu.* Praha: SLON, 2012. ISBN 978-80-7419-104-6
JENNINGS, J., HOEBEL, E. Readings in antropology. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1972.
LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. *Smutné tropy.* Praha: Odeon, 1966.
PETRÁŇ, T. *Ecce homo. Esej o vizuální antropologii.* Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2011. ISBN 978-80-7395-341-6

Course completion requirements

Credit: successful completion of self-study tasks, essay

Exam: verbal; presentation of papers on selected literary sources

1 Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology

Objectives
Introduction to anthropological approach; scientific object of social and cultural anthropology; focus on cultural perspective of human varieties; the pointlessness of racial and ethnic hatred.

Workload
2 hours

Important keywords
Social anthropology, cultural anthropology, culture system, institution, myth, rite, totem

1.1 Anthropological Approach to Study of Culture

What is anthropology? The term consists of two Greek words, *antropos* and *logos* which are usually translated as *a human being* and *study*. Anthropology is thus a scientific discipline focused on human beings.

Social anthropology is a science about human beings in society.

In the field of anthropology, there is an important term – *culture* which is of the Latin origin – the word *colere* means *cultivate* or *grow*. Cultural anthropology is then a branch of science which deals with "cultivated people", i.e. the aspects of humanity which are learned.
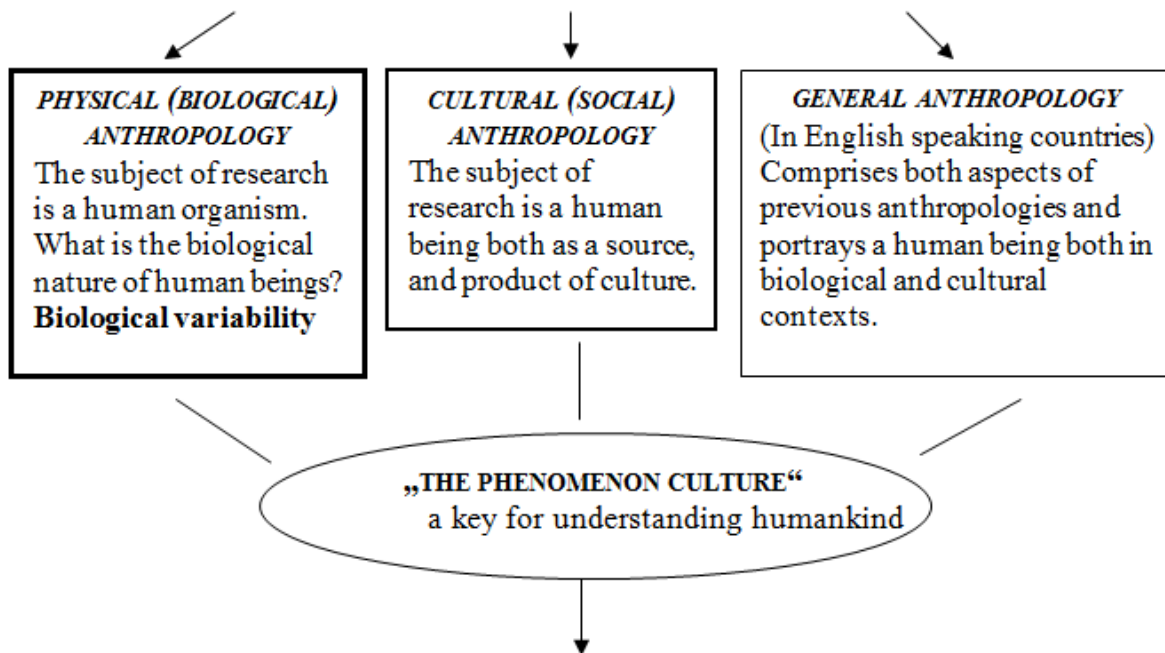
Culture comprises a basic ambiguity. On one hand, all people are equally cultured (civilized) which makes them *similar*; on the other hand, due to their culture, people acquired various abilities, ideas, attitudes etc., and are thus *different*.

Eriksen (2008, p. 13–14) offers a short definition of anthropology: "Anthropology is the comparative study of cultural and social life."

Most frequently, the subject of anthropology comprises three aspects. *Physical Anthropology* examines the biological variability of humans, i.e. physiological specifics of individual populations. Physical Anthropology naturally focuses also on the research of human phylogeny based on skeletal findings. Anthropology is not only concerned with a far future of humankind but, among other things, investigates the impact of lifestyle on human physiognomy. *Cultural and Social Anthropology* approaches a human being as an originator, and a product of culture. This form of scholarly interest is typical with travelogues and books of travels which still surprise us with a variety of human forms. General Anthropology aims to make a synthesis of the both above-mentioned approaches.

BIOLOGICAL EVOLUTION + CULTURAL EVOLUTION ⇒ HUMAN AS A BIOCULTURAL BEING

PHYSICAL (BIOLOGICAL) ANTHROPOLOGY	*CULTURAL (SOCIAL) ANTHROPOLOGY*	*GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY*
The subject of research is a human organism. What is the biological nature of human beings? **Biological variability**	The subject of research is a human being both as a source, and product of culture.	(In English speaking countries) Comprises both aspects of previous anthropologies and portrays a human being both in biological and cultural contexts.

„THE PHENOMENON CULTURE"
a key for understanding humankind

Anthropology as a synthetic approach to human beings

MYTH AS ANTHROPOLOGICAL THINKING
- Questions: What are human beings? What is their origin? Why are they mortal?
- In distant past, the explanation was found in myths, fables and magic.

A mythical image of the world is, according to Budil (1997), **the system of classification and cognition which anchors the normative order of culture**. According to the topics of individual myths and the types of question which they are supposed to answer, the myths can be divided into the following basic groups:

Myth	Topic
Cosmogonic	Origin of the world
Theogonic	Origin of the gods
Etiological	Origin of peculiar things in nature or certain events and customs
Heroic	Origin and foundation of a particular culture

1.2 Concerning (Physical) Anthropology

The effort to classify the colourful spectrum of races and ethnic types represented an important stimulus which contributed to the formation of the **Ethnic Anthropology**.

Physical Anthropology deals with the variability, morphology and physiology of humankind over time and space.

Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), a German physician and natural scientist, suggested using the term **anthropology as a label for the natural history of human beings**.

In 1775, a new discipline emerged which systematically examines the morphological changes in species grouped into the genus homo.

Blumenbach was convinced that humankind is the only species which is further divided into various races.

The term race has its semantic origins in the Arabic language – the word *rás* refers to *origin* (or *head*). It was first used in 1684 by a French physician Bernier; as late as in Blumenbach's system, the term became naturalized.

In 1795, Blumenbach classified races according to the skin colour and geographical distribution into the five basic groups:
- the **Caucasian** race (Europe and adjacent area)
- the **Mongolian** race (East Asia incl. China and Japan)
- the **Ethiopian** race (native inhabitants of Africa)
- the **American** race (native inhabitants of the "New World")
- the **Malayan** race (Pacific Islanders and Indigenous Australians)

He was convinced that the humankind came into existence **at one place** from which it spread into the world.

The author explains the emergence of new races as **"degeneration"**.

Blumenbach **hierarchized** the taxonomy of races according to the aesthetic aspect – from the Caucasian ideal of physical beauty to Negroid and Mongolian races – starting thus the era of judgemental approach to human varieties which gradually became a dangerous tool of social discrimination.

Petrus Camper (1722–1798), a Dutch physician, was another pioneer of physical anthropology.

He pointed out that all people have the same physiological constitution of skin despite various skin colours. He introduced the **theory of monogenesis**, i.e. the single origin of black and white people.

EVOLUTION

Georges Louis Leclerc de Buffon (1707-1788), a French natural scientist, introduced a hypothesis of the developmental variability of species over time.

The changes in environment significantly affect variability. Particularly, he pointed out the changes in climate within different geological eras.

He supported Camper's monogenetic theory of human origin – ethnical variability is a consequence of the ecological, geographical, biological, and sociocultural factors.

Jean-Baptiste Pierre Antoine de Monet, Chevalier de Lamarck (1744–1829), a French natural scientist:

The cause of the species variability is primarily an organism's ability to actively react by purposeful adaptation.

Compared to Darwinism, the Lamarck's theory of evolution lacks any ideas about the importance of natural selection.

Lamarck was convinced that living beings originate from the non-living entities thanks to the so-called "fluida".

He significantly contributed to the coinage of the term **biology**.

Charles Darwin (1809–1882), the English natural scientist, portrayed the **principles and mechanisms of the biological evolution**.

Thanks to the fossil findings and the differences within the same species on the Galapagos Islands and elsewhere, he understood the principle of **the evolution of species** and **the process of adaptation – the adaptation of living systems in response to the changing external environment**.

He also introduced his **theory of the species' changeability over time** and the **theory of natural selection**.

He discovered the existence of natural selection and that members of the same species slightly differ from each other (variability). Note: H. Spencer – "survival of the fittest"

The constitution of Anthropology as biocultural discipline

In the second half of the 19th century, the widely conceptualized **evolutionist biology** gradually emerged and was understood as a scientific discipline about the origin and development of human beings and culture.

Human being was approached not only as a biological entity, but also as an **originator, and a product of culture**.

James Cowles Prichard (1786– 1848), an English scientist and physician introduced the topic of **human variability** in the context of **ethnology** the aim of which is to describe the history of tribes as well as races, and determine their mutual relationships in different human populations. Prichard belongs among the advocates of the **monogenetic theory** of human origin.

Moreover, he believed that the original skin colour of the humankind was black, not white.

Physical anthropology in the United States was connected with the group of scientist who, in the first half of the 19th century, established **the American school of Anthropology**.

They share an idea of the **polygenetic origin** of humankind (they challenged the idea of single origin of human races).

Louis Agassiz (1807 – 1873) was a Swiss natural scientist who came to the USA in 1940s and settled there for good. He was a supporter of polygenism; he analysed a geographic distribution of species and concluded that there were different geographical centres of human origin, and thus human races.

A personal experience with African Americans gave an axiological aspect to his reflections which significantly disqualified this population; he described the African Americans as: lazy, playful, sensual, imitative, obsequious, of good spirit, flexible, unstable in their objectives, loyal, gentle, dissimilar to any other race, and like children who grew up and look like adults but who still have a children's mind. Agassiz was convinced that they are not capable of living with the white population in the basis of social equality without becoming a cause of social disturbances.

The conception American anthropology was also significantly influences by a scientist of the Czech nationality, ***Aleš Hrdlička*** (1869–1943) who studied medicine in New York and anthropology in Paris. His research focused of the distribution of the Indigenous people of America. He hypothesized that their race originated in Asia and that the Neanderthals were the direct predecessors of the man of today.

Race as epistemological tool of human diversity exploration

Samuel Georg Morton (1799–1851) was an American scientist and physician. His theory is a classic example of the misuse of the **anthropometry** to justify the racial stratification. He assumed that the size of cranium is connected with intelligence and thus collected evidence to support the idea of polygenism.

However, he did not take into consideration that:
- the size of cranium is connected with a person's body size,
- men have bigger crania than women (his sample of "black" crania comprised a larger proportion of women's crania).

Franz Boas (1858–1842), an American anthropologist of German descent, vigorously opposed to any manifestations of racism in the field of anthropology. The significance of his contribution to physical anthropology consists in the effort to overcome the descriptive character of traditional research of a human organism's morphology, variability and functions. His research of physical characteristics of European immigrants and American inhabitants showed that the morphological changes are connected with the change in the living conditions. He claimed that the traditional idea of the absolute stability of human types must be evidently dismissed together with the belief in the hereditary racial superiority.

In 1950, a book by **J. B. Birdsell**, **C. S. Coon** and **S. M. Garn "Races: a Study of Race formation in Man"** was published. They focused on the selective pressures (especially climate) which affect a genotype. They divided human species into 30 races according solely to the anatomical signs.

In research of human variability, the term race had been used as a taxonomic unit to signify an **intraspecific population** which differs from other populations of the same kind in **geographical distribution** and shared **biological features** inherited from **mutual ancestors**.

Traditional taxonomies usually divide human population into the three large human races:

1. Black, **Negroid race** (tropical Africa south from Sahara),
2. Yellow, **Mongoloid race** (eastern, central and south-eastern subtropical Asia)
3. White, **Europoid race** (most of Europe, from the eastern border of Europe to the west of Asia)

The anthropologists' effort to portray the variability of human population in the context of race is complicated by:
- the **biological variability** of indigenous populations,
- and the **amalgamation**, i.e. the blurring of distinctions via race mixing.

Molecular genetics
Steve Jones claimed that the general genetic differences between races are not much bigger than the differences between the individual states of Europe or Africa. Individuals, not races, are the bearers of main differences in functional genes. Therefore, a race determined by the skin colour is no higher biological entity than a nation the identity of which has been created by only a very short common history.

Monocentric theory – the "Mitochondrial Eve" hypothesis – Homo sapiens sapiens has come into existence quite recently (200 – 140 000 years ago) at one place only (most likely in the Sub-Saharan part of Africa).

The authors of the theory, **Mark Stoneking, Rebecca Cann, and a molecular geneticist Allan Wilson** analyse the mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) from the samples of placenta of 147 women from five different geographical areas. The results showed that the "Mitochondrial Eve" comes from Africa from where her offspring had started to spread into the whole world approximately 100 000 years ago. "Despite the white skin, we are all African."

Summary

Anthropology came into existence thanks to a natural human interest in their origin as a tool of understanding differences and similarities of human characteristics. Based on the Physical Anthropology which focuses on the research of human physiological characteristics, the new anthropology emerges which deals with the cultural specifics of the individual human populations.

Study Questions

What is the object of study of Anthropology?
What is Anthropology and which of its sub-branches there are?
Explain the "Mitochondrial Eve" hypothesis.

Recommended Literature

MURPHY, R.F. Úvod do kulturní a sociální antropologie. Praha: SLON, 2001. ISBN 80-85850-53-2

SOUKUP, M. Základy kulturní antropologie. Praha: Akademie veřejné správy o.p.s., 2009. ISBN 978-80-87207-003-1

SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3

2 Anthropological Approach to Culture
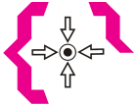
Objectives

The objectives of this section are to portray culture as a phenomenon of all mankind which affects a person's relationship to the external world, natural and social, as well as the relationship to oneself; and to emphasize the role of culture in deepening of the knowledge of human kind .

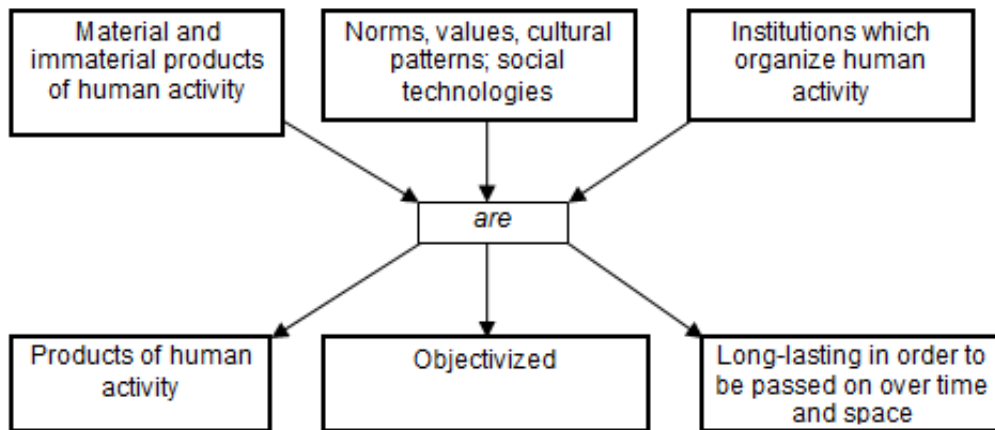## Workload

3 hours

Important Keywords

axiological approach, cultural phenomena, cultural and social interpretation of culture, symbol

2.1 The term "culture"

Culture is a word, term, notion, concept and conception. From an etymological perspective, the meaning of the word culture is derived from farming and cultivation of the farmland. The antecedent of the word culture was "coulter" which means ploughshare. The Latin radix of the word culture is "colere" which means to cultivate as well as inhabit. The understanding of culture as a cultivation of nature leads to the idea of a cultivation of man by means of the upbringing, and education (Horáková, 2012, p. 62, 64).

Generally, the word culture is used at several levels. The most common use is connected with the art, an artistic experience, and an intellectual activity; culture also relates to a high level of lifestyle, and aesthetic values. The lifestyle, i.e. the way people live their lives, is the closest term to the anthropological approach to culture.

Scheme 1: Cultural phenomena

Material and immaterial products of human activity	Norms, values, cultural patterns; social technologies	Institutions which organize human activity

are

Products of human activity	Objectivized	Long-lasting in order to be passed on over time and space

The following text provides a brief review of the term culture as i tis understood in European tradition.

The term culture was extensively used already in the 20th century.

It originated in the Antiquity → agri cultura (cultivation of land)
→ Cicero – philosophy – culture of spirit

Germany:

17th century – Pufendorf's work – the term was used as an opposite to the nature, as an individual term which comprises all human products (especially social institutions, clothing, language, knowledge, morals, and customs).

18th century – culture was understood as a refinement of all the spiritual and physical powers of man or a whole nation.

In his work "Ideas towards a Philosophy of the History of Man", Herder universalized the use of the term:

- culture as a tool of adaptation – people substitute their physical deficiencies in the fight for existence
- culture as a universal attribute of humankind
- there are no uncultured nations, there are only the less cultured and more cultured societies

In the 19th century, it is Humboldt who wrote about culture(s), and a German historian Klemm who introduced a prototype of wide and descriptive definitions of culture.

Great Britain:

Edward Burnett Tylor's definition of culture meant a scientific revolution: "Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."

A. L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn analysed more than 150 definitions of culture. Each culture comprises the following characteristics:

- it is a product of human activity,
- history – it emerged over time and space,
- selectivity – it plays a role in the process of selection and development,
- it can be acquired by learning,
- it is based on the patterns which differentiate one culture from another,
- it is specifically a human phenomenon, i.e. it is not only an exclusive matter of an individual but is shared with other people, affects social ties and comprises a number of characteristic integral units.

From an anthropological perspective, a culture comprises everything which is of non-biological nature, which is socially communicable, of social nature, and which may be a constituent of social development (including art, ideology, religion, personal relationships, behaviour, and technology).

"The culture of a society is the way of the life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation." (Linton)

The three approaches to culture:

1. *traditional axiological approach*: culture is a sphere of positive values which contribute to the cultivation and humanization of people, and the progressive development of human society. Culture includes such spiritual values as art, science, literature, education, upbringing, noble and advanced ideas etc.

2. *global anthropological approach* – culture comprises not only the positive values, but also all the non-biological means and mechanisms thanks to which a person, as a member of society, adapts to the external environment. It does not have an evaluating function. Life is investigated as typical for a certain society.

3. *reductionist approach* – refers to the effort of reducing the extent of the term culture a mere cut-out of certain sociocultural reality. Semiotic approaches, for example, reduce the term culture to a system of signs, symbols, and meanings shared by the members of a society.

$$\text{SUBCULTURE}$$

Culture – general definitions:

"Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society." (Tylor)

"The culture of a society is the way of the life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation." (Linton)

… a complex of specific norms, values and patterns of behaviour, as well as a lifestyle, which characterize a certain group within a wider community or the so-called dominant (main) culture of which the group is a constitutive part.

- ➢ **SIGN**: a visible distinctive feature differentiating its bearer from the dominant culture; peculiar symbolism, language.
- ➢ **ORIGIN**: influence of several factors – in the context of social stratification (regular interaction between the members of a certain social stratum leads to the emergence of the common frame of attitude towards the social reality); in the context of ethnical differentiation/religious orientation/urban lifestyle/deviant behaviour (deviant behaviour a result of social learning within the specific subculture – subcultures diverge significantly from the dominant culture, even though they are never divided completely, i.e. prostitution, organized crime)
- ➢ **TENDENCY**: purposeful resorting beyond the boundaries of subculture (Jews).

CONTRACULTURE: a subculture which creates and reproduces norms and values which contrast significantly with the analogous norms and values of the dominant/main culture. The term does not refer to a mere need for difference but to a radical refusal and purposeful contradiction.

Youth subculture: *a type of subculture connected with the specific forms of behaviour of the youth; their tendency to certain value preferences, acceptance and/or refusal of certain norms; and lifestyle which reflects the living conditions.*
It emerges in societies where the differences in life a philosophy and lifestyle become historically and socially so conspicuous that a new, specific *cultural pattern* is formed. Because the various elements of lifestyle are not reserved only for the youth, it is suggested to replace the term youth subculture by the term partial culture to express the cultural togetherness of the youth and the whole society.

2.2 Anthropology as Science about Culture

Current anthropology is typical with a reductionist approach to culture. Opposed to the cultural materialists, and cultural ecologists' wide conception of culture as an adaptive mechanism, the cognitive and symbolic anthropology are based on the assumption that individual cultures are unique systems of knowledge, symbols, categories, rules, and organizational principles which are learned by a member of a society (Horáková).

George Ward Stocking (1928–2013) claimed that until 1895, culture had been understood as an intermediate state in the process of development from the primitive state to civilization (in the sense of the evolutionist approach to culture/civilization).

American cultural anthropologist Franz Boas (1858–1942) uses the term culture in plural (also Herder). He was the first author to vehemently enforce culture as the non-evaluative term. He supports the notion of difference between biology and culture, and cultural relativism (see the chapter about Boas).

In 1952, Kluckhohn and Kroeber in "*Culture: a Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions*" introduced the six different approaches to culture:

- Descriptive
- Historical
- Normative
- Psychological
- Structural
- Genetic

Roger Martin Keesing (1935–1993), an American cultural anthropologist, differentiates between the two basic groups of theories of culture:

1. **Culture as an adaptive system** (different cultures do not emerge as a result of biological evolution or gene activity but represent a means of adaptation)
   - systems which facilitate the adaptation of human societies to environmental conditions
   - cultural change is a process of non-biological adaptation,
   - infrastructure is the most adaptable aspect of culture,
   - ideational segments of culture have their adaptive consequences.
2. **Ideational theories of culture** – refer to the three different approaches to culture as a system of ideas:
   - A. **culture as a cognitive system**
   - B. **culture as a structural system** (myths, art, language, kinship)
   - C. **culture as a symbolic system** (culture as a system of symbols and meanings upon which social interactions are organized).

2.2.1 Clifford Geertz's Interpretation of Cultures

Geertz (1926–2006) is considered as the most important representative of the current symbolic anthropology. He was convinced that the aim of anthropology is not to discover principles, cultural patterns and norms but to interpret what he called the specific "webs of meaning". He considered these "webs" as an essence of the human social life which legitimate the structures of power and regulate human motives By means of the supply of meaningful objectives in the culturally structured world.

His view of culture is best characterized by the following quotation:

"…man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun; I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning."

In Geertz's view, the web is nothing else than a culture and the task of an anthropologist is to make sense of the cultural meanings and symbols, using the anthropological methods and techniques. Every culture is a unique and incomparable entity.

Geertz does not consider culture as a set of particular behaviour patterns but rather as a complex of mechanisms, plans, rules and instructions (similar to computer programmes) which control human behaviour. Thus, culture is not a result of the activity of human mind but a matter of symbolic systems which beyond us but of which we are a part.

Human being functions only thanks to the public system of meaningful symbols – the "Culture". In his work, Geertz himself focused on these symbolic systems, analysed them, and concluded that in the symbols, there are cultural patterns.

In his book, "The Interpretation of Cultures", he defines the symbol as any object, act, event, quality, and relationship which serves as a bearer of a "term" – a term is the meaning of a symbol.

According to Geertz, cultures exist in time and space thanks to individuals who bear them. Each culture represents an organized system of symbols and meanings in compliance with which social interactions take place.

According to Geertz, culture is public because the meanings which people give to their conduct are public as well. That is why culture must be described according to the meanings through which people perceive, experience and interpret the reality.

In this sense, culture represents a relatively autonomous layer of reality which is independent of an individual; a semiotic system based on public symbols constituted in a process of social interaction.

The following items may become a symbol: geometrical shapes (Christian cross, Jewish star), colours ("ecologic" green, "revolutionary" red), animals (as busy as a bee, as quiet as a mouse etc.), body parts and organs (tender heart, threatening skull etc.), tools (workers' hammer and sickle, "deadly" scythe) etc.

By means of the symbols, our values become permanent and easily communicable. Symbols are an external source of information which helps a person understand and organize the physical and social world.

The interpretation of culture must be, according to Geertz, based on the thorough knowledge of the sociocultural environment and situation, full understanding of the rules of social interaction, and analysis of the linguistic context. However, the anthropological research must not be reduced to the external, objective description of culture as it is reflected in the empirically observable behaviour.

Therefore, Geertz emphasized the deep understanding of the sociocultural phenomena and processes.

His demand of the interpretation of culture via categories of understanding is not based on the intuitive empathizing with private feelings and attitude of an examined person. Geertz was convinced that the understanding can be achieved by the empirical research of people's public manifestations in the process of social interaction – the research of shared reality.

His aim was thus to "collect" conclusions from tiny, intertwined data which are clearly and complexly specified. In his view, the cultural reality is a complexly structured and stratified system of meanings which is open to interpretations. In this system, any aspect of human behaviour and evidence of human phenomenon may be introduced in the new context, and reinterpreted by every other person entering the problem.

Clifford Geertz was one of the most famous anthropologists. His unique literary style and the controversial conception of anthropology as a literary genre attracted attention not only of other anthropologists, but also sociologists and social pedagogues. It was particularly his interdisciplinary approach (Geertz connected Sociology, Philosophy, Semiotics and the Art Theory with the findings of anthropological field research) which aroused interest of other social scientists. The crucial issue of his work was the ability of interpretation based on the semiotic theory of culture and a specific method of "condensed description". His work represents a model example of the current symbolic anthropology.

Summary

The social and cultural anthropology approaches human beings and their culture as a system of knowledge, symbols, categories, rules and organizational principles adopted by a person as a member of the society. In anthropology, there are three approaches to culture: axiological, anthropological and reductionist. Ward Goodenough (in Geertz) differentiates between the culture ant the social: "culture [is located] in the minds and hearts of men", i.e. culture consists of psychological structures which control the individual's, or groups', behaviour. Culture of a society comprises a person's knowledge and beliefs which regulate his/her conduct in order to be acceptable for other members of the society.

Study Questions

In what way(s) do the anthropologists approach the category of culture?
Explain the notion of cultural relativism.
What is the difference among the main/dominant culture, subculture and contraculture?

Recommended Literature

GEERTZ, C. *Interpretace kultur.* Praha: SLON, 2000. ISBN 80-85850-89-3
HORÁKOVÁ, H. *Kultura jako všelék?* Praha: SLON, 2012. ISBN 978-80-7419-103-9

3 Historical Milestones of Social and Cultural Anthropology
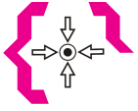
Objectives

The aim of this section is to present the anthropological approach in research, individual schools of anthropology, and provide a brief review of the development of this scientific field.

Workload

4 hours

Important Keywords

Evolutionism, paradigm, cultural circles school, psychological anthropology, institution, cultural relativism, structuralism

3.1 The Development of European Cultural Anthropology

- **Evolutionism: E. B. Tylor, J. G. Frazer, A. Bastian**

Second half of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century
European cultural-historical schools
Diffusionism – based on German anthropogeography (Ritter, 1779–1859; Ratzel, 1844–1904), the *Kulturkreis ("cultural circle") school*
The necessity of paying attention to cultural contacts of ethnic groups and nations – the past, migration, diffusion and the population density; **exogenous change** (as opposed to the evolution-related **endogenous change**)
Diffusionists emphasize: **1**. *geographical space rather than time*, **2.** *a concrete development rather than the abstractly determined stages of evolution*, **3.** *migration of individual ethnic groups and diffusion of cultural phenomena rather than the importance of invention and the universal evolution of the whole humankind.*
Smith: a representative of the Manchester school of British Diffusionism
Heliolithic School: Egypt was a centre of the worldwide cultural diffusion – the principle of continuity and geographical links within the world culture is a basic factor of formation of human thinking and conduct.

- **Functionalist and structural functionalist anthropology**

Half of the 20th century
Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown
The **field research** is of crucial importance

3 postulates: 1st postulate – the functional unity of society

2nd postulate – universal functionalism

3rd postulate – functional indispensability and objective usefulness of sociocultural phenomena

Malinowski: a theory of needs – 3 types:
- **Basic (biological) needs** – are crucial, their satisfaction is of the utmost importance
- **Instrumental (secondary) needs** – are based on the biological needs – culture
- **Symbolic**, and **Integrative needs**.

Theory of institutions: **Universal institutional structures**.
Radcliffe-Brown: anthropology is a "natural science about society"
Social value: any object or phenomenon which contributes to the welfare of society /fire, food, rain) – relation to habits and rituals
"**humorous" friendship – social conjunction** – friendliness that takes no offence at insults
"avoidant" friendship – social disjunction – the relationship is based on the opposite values than social conjunction

Gluckman: considers a **conflict** as the factor of integration and differentiation of society

Lévi-Strauss: Anthropology is a research of **binary oppositions** – a system element itself does not have any sense but acquires it by entering a relation of opposition to other elements;
- **Culinary triangle: the Raw – the Cooked – the Rotten**

ECOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY: Culture is a non-biological system of adaptation by means of which a person, as a member of society, forms his/her relationship to ecological environment. Cultural change is primarily understood as a process of adaptation. The most adaptive segment of culture are technology, economics and the elements of social organization which are directly connected with manufacture.

3.2 The Development of American Cultural Anthropology
CLASSICAL EVOLUTIONISM:
Morgan – research of the social organization of Native Americans
(family – fraternity – tribe – tribal federation)
- a draft of the development of matrimony and family (promiscuity – communal family – matrimony in pair – monogamy)
-

The development of humankind in the three developmental stages:
Savagery: "the childhood of humanity", primitive hunting tools; fire, bows and arrows, pottery; Eastern Hemisphere: domestication of animals

Barbarism: Western Hemisphere: maize, production of firebricks, smelting, iron

Civilization: alphabet, system of writing

COMPARATIVE BRANCH OF EVOLUTIONISM:

Frazer: the effort to reconstruct the stages of human thinking development (religions, magic, taboo, totemism, and development of political institutions)
"The Golden Bough" 1911–1915

HISTORISM:
Boas: culture is reflected in three dimensions — human + nature
human relationships
ethics, aesthetics, religion
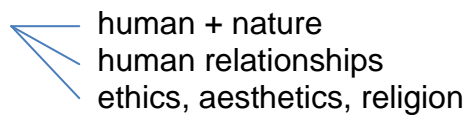
Wissler: cultural space, time perspective

CONFIGURATIONISM:
Sapir: understands culture as the abstracted configurations of the patterns of thought and conduct
Ruth Benedict: in her book, "Configurations of cultures in North America" (1932), she builds on the work of Sapir; emphasizes the differences in the lifestyles of Pueblo nations and the neighbouring Navajo culture.
Pueblo culture – introvert (Apollonian type) vs. Navajo culture – extrovert (Dionysian type). Benedict was criticised for the oversimplification and philosophical schematism. According to her, the **culture is analogous to human personality in that it is a more or less consistent pattern of thinking and behaviour**.
Her book "Chrysanthemum and the Sword" (1946) was an influential study of Japan.

Linton: 1945 - *The culture of a society is the way of the life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation."*
Different types of behaviour and their consequences are organized into a certain complex according to a certain pattern.
Kluckhohn: a model of binary oppositions – by means of testing, he strived to dicover the key values which people of selected culture prefer in relationships among people and in relationship of a person and the nature.
Kroeber: the founder of each historical culture is a model-decline-new model

3.3 Evolutionist anthropology
The beginnings of Anthropology coincide with its first paradigm which was dominant in the 19th century – the evolutionism. The then Anthropology was a science permeating all other scientific fields. The example is its connection with sociology through the notion of sociobiologism of H. Spencer. Evolutionism has been criticised in scientific circles because of its oversimplification and obsolescence.
In the 1960s, the neoevolutionist anthropology emerges to revive the evolutionism which is based on Positivism and the following five principles:
- Determination of the universal developmental stages of humanity
- Biological and psychological unity of humankind
- Comparative method the aim of which is to add the missing elements of individual stages
- Convergence theory (a law of limited opportunities)
- Research of anachronisms

Edward Burnett Tylor (1832–1917) was one of the most significant representatives of anthropology in its beginnings, the "founding father" of social sciences and cultural anthropology.

He introduced the term **animism** as one of the stages of "cultural savagery".

He is an author of "Primitive Culture" (1871), and of a definition of culture: *"Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."*

Another significant evolutionist was Lewis Henry Morgan (1818–1881), a British ethnographer, anthropologist and archaeologist who indulged in the study and field research of the life of Native Americans, and introduced the evolutionist theory of the development of society (savagery – barbarism – civilization).

The opposition to classical evolutionism emerged at the end of 19th century and criticized:

- Notional nature
- Schematism
- Inconsistent historicism
- Unsystematic field data collection
- One-sidedness and purposeful distortion of evolution models
- Underestimation of diffusion and migration processes

In the end, the evolutionism is substituted by the diffusionist anthropology

3.4 Diffusionism, Heliolithic School

Diffusionism is primarily a critical reaction to the theories and methods of evolutionism. Diffusionists emphasize:

- *geographical space rather than time,*
- *a concrete development rather than the abstractly determined stages of evolution,*
- *migration of individual ethnic groups and diffusion of cultural phenomena rather than the importance of invention and the universal evolution of whole humankind.*

The main principles of the diffusionist approach:

- the research of culture in space;
- individual cultures represent only temporarily integrated complexes of the autonomous cultural elements from various sources;
- the culture is an autonomous layer of reality organized by its own principles regardless of ecological, economic and demographic factors;
- the focus on the factors of exogenous cultural change – migration and diffusion;
- a cultural change is based on the contact between the members of different cultures, and the spread of cultural elements from one community to another. History of culture is, from this point of view, a result of coincidental contacts and exchanges among different cultures. Adopted cultural elements are then remodelled in order to comply with the patterns prevalent in their new environment, and integrated into the new cultural context;
- to a certain extent, diffusionists do not recognize the equality of cultures. They assume that cultural centres from which the elements and complexes spread are at a higher level than areas which adopt them;

- cultural determinism – everything which a human represents is determined by culture – culture forms a human;
- pluralistic approach to history – individual cultures can develop using their own means as they choose; thus, it is impossible to determine the universal, legitimate developmental stages of human culture. Therefore, a culture is considered a unique sociocultural structure with its own history.

Diffusionist schools:

1. Boas' Historicism
2. the Kulturkreis – German and Austrian school of "cultural circles" (Graebner, Schmidt)
3. British Heliolithic School (Grafton Elliot Smith)

Concerning the diffusionist theory, Eriksen observed that the sophisticated theories of cultural diffusion had never become a part of the scientific mainstream outside the German-speaking world but they had been thriving significantly in Berlin and Wien until the end of the World War II.

3.4.1 American diffusionism, F. Boas (1858-1942)

Anthropological School of F. Boas represented an original combination of impulses which arose from the works of Wilhelm and Alexander von Humboldt. F. Boas brought about a new era of anthropological thinking which is now called the classical era. Thanks to Boas, the anthropology became a respected, institutionalized scientific field with a sophisticated methodology and epistemology (theory of knowledge), independent programme, and a clearly determined object of research. His students had dominated the American anthropology for more than a half of century.

Franz Boas had been interested in history since childhood. He studied Natural Science – namely Geography and Physics. In 1883, he participated in the expedition to Baffin Island where he carried out a research on the Eskimo culture.

He worked for the Ethnographic Museum of Berlin as a senior lecturer. He dealt with the study of the native tribes of Northern America, especially the Kwakiutl Indians – the inhabitants of Vancouver Island – and their mythology, folklore, language and art. In 1889, he became the founder and the chief representative of the newly established Department of Anthropology at Columbia University, the centre of modern anthropological research.

Boas' approach is considered as interdisciplinary; it was based on the field research and empirical findings. Only data collected through empirical methods of inductive nature can produce consistent scientific theories. He refused to accept theories of culture as a philosophical, or any other, system based on speculations. His most significant publications include: Anthropology and Modern Life; Tsimshian mythology; and The Mind of Primitive Man.

Since 1920s, the decrease in numbers of indigenous tribes, primitive tribal communities and ancient cultures has become significant, and the modern anthropology shifted its attention toward minorities, ethnic groups and subcultures within the current modern society. Based on its research, anthropology can help resolve the pressing issues related to the protection of cultures from the complete assimilation.

3.5 Configurationism and its contribution to definition of culture

The principles and characteristics of configurationism:

- It is a systems theory of culture based on the holistic research of cultures as complexes of internally integrated cultural elements.
- Culture is not a set of coincidental groupings of cultural elements; it is based on a certain organizational principle which has an integrative and selective function.
- Culture is superorganic (a relative autonomy of culture) and also supraindividual – an enormous power which affects all human beings.
- Every culture is a system of cultural patterns (learned schemes of behaviour in standard situations) which are integrated around one dominant configuration which imprints a culture its unique and unparalleled shape.
- The core of every historical culture is a certain pattern which develops, absorbs anything which corresponds with its nature, and processes even those elements which were not initially intrinsic. During the process of development, the possibilities of a particular pattern decrease, the sphere of its influence diminishes; a reproduction of old pattern takes place – regression – after which the whole pattern perishes. From this perspective, every pattern, at first, aims at development and progress, and later degenerates and dies. Then, either the pattern regenerates of on a new basis, or is replaced by a new pattern. Culture, however, does not vanish because the society cannot exist without it. According to Kroeber, it is an accumulation of cultural contents which disintegrates, portrayed by a more or less unique set of habits which belong to a certain nation or a group of nations. The "death" of a culture does not mean its complete extinction but a replacement of an original pattern by a new one (Alfred Louis Kroeber).

3.5.1 Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887-1948)

Benedict is considered as the most significant configurationist. In 1919, she started to deal with the field of anthropology; and in 1921, she began to study at Columbia University under the leadership of F. Boas.

In her work, she emphasized customs: "No man ever looks at the world with pristine eyes. He sees it edited by a definite set of customs and institutions and ways of thinking".

She considers integration as a basic power of culture – individual cultures represent a coincidental accumulation of many different cultural elements which are coincidentally accumulated by diffusion and migration from various cultural areas. Thanks to the mechanism of integration, though, each culture adopts individual cultural elements in a form of more or less stable patterns of thought and behaviour. The creative source of integration is the individual minds of persons who select, modify and creatively recreate cultural patterns according to the norms of their own culture.

According to Benedict, it is necessary to search for the reason why culture affects people so strongly in its connection with the emotional base of human psyche. Supposedly, an individual is very strongly emotionally bound to the customs and habits of his/her culture that it is impossible for him/her to doubt them or refuse them.

She introduced a typology of Native American cultures which is based on her comparative research studies. She was inspired by the terms **Dionysian culture** and **Apollonian culture**.

Apollonian type is typical with a reserved attitude and self-control (Pueblo Indians).

Dionysian type is typical with a tendency to aggressive behaviour, individualism, and sensual ecstasy (Kwakiutls of Western Canada).

3.6 The culture and personality movement in anthropology

The movement had been emerging since the 1920s together with configurationism. It is also known as psychologism or psychological anthropology.

The typical feature of this era of anthropology was the effort to use psychological methods and techniques in the anthropological research.

A classic example of this application is mostly the use of projective methods, particularly the *Rorschach test*.

The movement was inspired by Sigmund Freud's work (culture emerged as an arbitrary social superstructure which helps people seize control over the nature and control human relationships; culture has a restrictive function – it regulates an individual's natural tendencies and instincts, makes him/her unhappy and supresses his/her feeling of complete freedom; cultural repression then negatively affects mainly the sexual life of a person).

The core of the movement is the so-called *cultural determinism* which is based on the proposition that culture has a crucial role in the formation of human personality – thanks to the processes of socialization and enculturation. The theorists of cultural determinism did not deny the existence of biological determinants but emphasized that a behaviour and experience of man is significantly influenced by culture represented by cultural patterns – learned schemes of behaviour in standard situations. From this perspective, a person is a product of customs, habits and taboos of the culture in which he/she was born.

Important keywords: basic personality structure, modal personality, basic personality (the core of personality common to all the members of a certain culture which reflects all typical traits and fundamental values).

Significant authors: Margaret Mead, Ralph Linton

3.6.1 Margaret Mead (1901 – 1978), cultural determinism

In 1923, she finished her studies at Barnard College of New York; Mead was a student of F. Boas.

In 1925, she gained a scholarship to leave for her first field research to Samoan Islands. The research should have confirmed Boas' hypothesis of the decisive influence of culture on the formation of human personality which comprised: experience, behaviour, social maturation and value orientation of adolescent women.

Results: adolescence in Samoa differs from the one of European and American cultures

In 1928, she published a book "*Coming of Age in Samoa*" which collected the arguments for the confirmation of Boas' hypotheses.

The book was hugely criticised. Derek Freeman, a specialist on Samoan culture, claimed that Samoan culture is different from Mead's description, and offered his arguments in a book "*Margaret Mead and Samoa: The Making and Unmaking of an Anthropological Myth*". He suggested that the reason of her error was her young age, inexperience and the influence of her mentor.

Despite the criticism and challenges, her book became a milestone in understanding the cultural and biological determinants of human behaviour and launched a long-term domination of the cultural determinism doctrine in American cultural anthropology.

Mead also summarized the results of research in New Guinea in her book "Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies". She conducted a research on male and female roles in three native tribes. She discovered differences in perception of male and female roles and concluded that the roles are played according to cultural principles which are determined by the society. The Arapesh tribe did not differentiate between the roles the same way as the members of Western culture; the whole society behaved according to the feminine patterns of behaviour/traits (empathy, sensitivity, harmony). The Mundrugumor tribe also did not differentiate between the roles but from the perspective of the Western culture, they manifested masculine patterns of behaviour/traits (aggressiveness, detachment, dominance). The members of the Chambuli tribe differentiate the male and female roles; however, exactly in other way around than we are used to in Western society. Mead claimed that it was feminine traits which prevailed more in the then society. Her research and published work contributed significantly to the discourse about gender.

Margaret Mead set the foundations of the modern psychological anthropology.

3.6.2 Ralph Linton (1893-1953)

Linton contributed significantly to the research of personality and culture. In 1937, he took charge of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University after Boas had left.

According to Linton, a scientist who studies society must begin his/her work with studying **culture** which Linton understands as *a configuration of learned behaviour and its consequences the components of which are shared and transmitted from generation to generation*.

Linton defined **learned behaviour** as that part of given cultural configuration the form of which was modified by a process of learning. He divides **the results of behaviour** into the two different classes of phenomena:

- o The first class comprises **psychological states** of a person – attitudes, knowledge and value systems;
- o and the second class represents **products of human activity** – artefacts (artificial human products).

Linton claimed that the anthropological research must portray the three qualitatively different *dimensions of culture*:

- ✓ **material phenomena** (artefacts)
- ✓ **kinetic phenomena** (manifested behaviour)
- ✓ **psychological phenomena** (knowledge, attitudes and values share by the members of society)

Material and kinetic phenomena represent a manifested aspect of culture, psychological phenomena are a hidden aspect.

Linton and Mead can be considered as the founders of psychological anthropology.

Summary

In the beginning, the social and cultural anthropology was inspired by evolutionism which is based on the so-called universal stages of human development (biological and psychological unity, comparative method, theory of convergence, the research of anachronism). Diffusionism aimed at surpassing the evolutionist view of culture; however, it turned out to be too notional. American anthropology in the first third of the 20th century was represented by a range of significant configurationists and psychological anthropologists. This era was typical with a search for the right approach to anthropology and correct research methods.

Study Questions

Characterize the research of personality and culture.
What is the nature of dispute over the results of Mead's research on Samoa Island?
What is the nature of cultural determinism?
What is the difference between the Dionysian and the Apollonian types of culture?
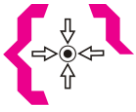
Recommended literature

BENEDICTOVÁ, R. Kulturní vzorce. Praha: Argo, 2007. ISBN 80-7230-212-7
ERIKSEN, T. H. Sociální a kulturní antropologie. Praha: Portál, 2008. ISBN 978-80-7367-465-6
SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3

4 Functionalist Anthropology and Structural Functionalist Anthropology

Objectives

The aim of this section is to introduce the main principles of functionalism and structural functionalism, and to explain the terms "function", "structure" and "social integration".

Important Keywords

Function, structure, hierarchy of needs, cultural reaction, instrumental needs, integrative needs, structural functionalism.

Workload

4 hours

> *The scientist is not a person who gives the right answers, he is one who asks the right questions.*
>
> Claude Lévi – Strauss

An individual is a social product but individuals create a society by their conduct. In structural anthropology, there is thus a model of relationship between a person and society on one hand, and a relationship between a structure and process on the other hand.

4.1 Social structure and social organization

A complex of social institutions and status relationships form a social structure of a society. It is assumed that in some sense, such a structure exists independently of individuals who at any time hold a certain position.

In his famous quote, Radcliffe-Brown expressed this fact as follows:

The actual relations of Tom, Dick and Harry or the behaviour of Jack and Jill may go down in our field note-books and may provide illustrations for a general description. But what we need for scientific purposes is an account of the form of the structure. (in Eriksen)

Social structure can be understood as a basic matrix of society without people; as a summary of responsibilities, rights, division of labour, norms, social control etc.; without the ongoing social life. The aim of such conceptualization is to develop an abstract model of society which could be used for the comparative purposes.

Radcliffe-Brown and his contemporaries wanted to highlight the functions of social institutions, the way institutions contribute to maintaining the society.

A problematic aspect of structural functionalism is a strong belief that the description of social structure can be equal to a good description of social life. If it were true, people would be predictable and their behaviour causal in accordance with the predetermined system of norms and sanctions.

Raymond Firth (1951) attempted to solve the problem by suggestion that there is a difference between social structure and social organization. From this point of view, the *structure* is an established complex of rules, customs, statuses and social institutions. On the other hand, the organization can be defined as a dynamic aspect of structure; in other words, it is *what people actually do, it is their decision-making and behaviour within a given structure*.

Functionalism

The conception of functionalist theories of culture which is mainly connected with the British functionalist anthropology caused that evolutionism and diffusionism became outdated.

The unifying methodological bases of early functionalism were the theses concerning the crucial importance of field research which were based on the three theoretical postulates:

1. Postulate of the functional unity of society
2. Postulate of the positive versatility of functionalism
3. Postulate of the functional indispensability and objective usefulness of sociocultural phenomena.

Ad 1) each element of social system, especially each institution, serves to maintain the whole unit;

Ad 2) each element fulfils some positive function for the sake of the whole unit;

Ad 3) assumption that every significant vital function is indispensable and indivisible component of social system.

4.2 Bronislaw Kasper Malinowski (1884 – 1942)

Malinowski was an anthropologist of Polish origin. His father, a founder of Polish dialectology and famous folklorist, worked at the Jagiellonian University of Krakow. Malinowski himself became the leading British anthropologist.

An important milestone of his scientific career was a research on Trobriand Islands (*Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922). The centre of his research was the analysis of the *exchange system Kula* – necklaces "soulava" and bracelets "mwali".

Kula is a complex system controlled by a set of traditional rules which significantly reinforce the solidarity. If it were studied separately without the context of other aspects of culture, the ceremony could never be fully understood.

Malinowski tried to portray the Trobriand culture as a functionally bound complex by means of the functional analysis of the preselected institution.

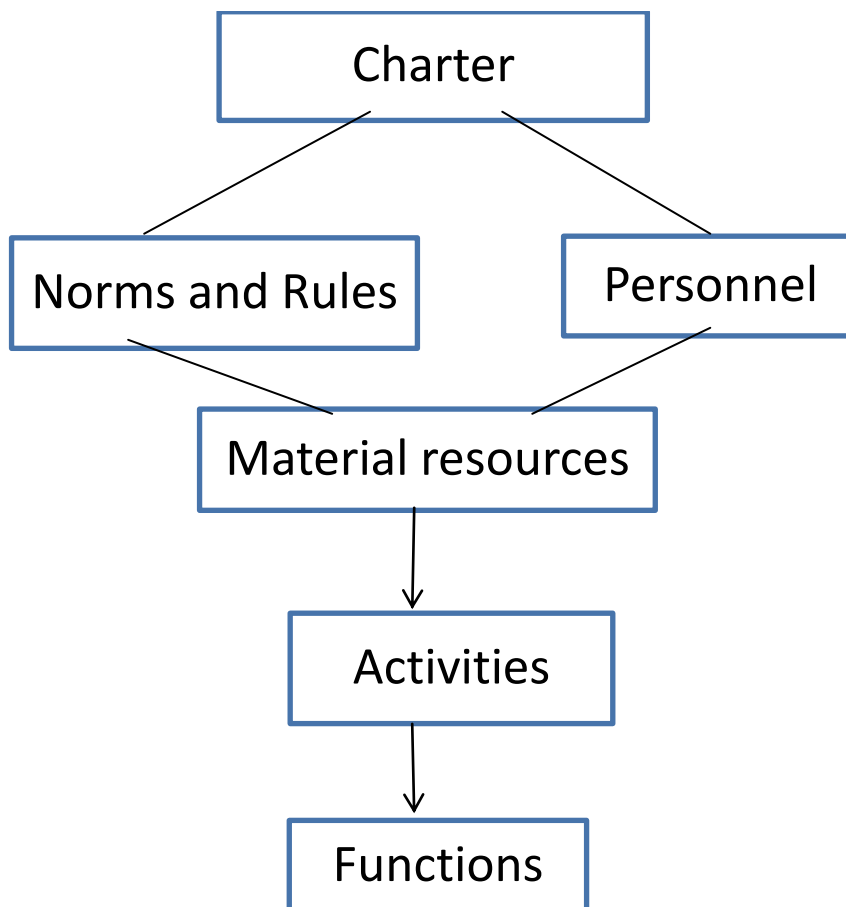The basis of his conception of human beings is the **theory of needs**:

1. basic, biological needs;
2. instrumental needs (production, transmission of cultural tradition)
3. integrative needs (science, magic, religion)

His **institutional analysis** is significant – culture represents a system consisting of the partially autonomous institutions. All the institutions share the same **universal structure**.

The definition of culture:

1) It is a beyond-biological, specifically human *means of adaptation* – instrumental system which helps a human face better the specific problems.
2) It is an *integrated totality* and *self-regulating system* which comprises all the aspects of the society's development, and mutually dependent elements.

The definition of institution:

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                    │     Charter      │
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                     /               \
        ┌──────────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
        │ Norms and Rules  │   │  Personnel   │
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                 ┌──────────────────────┐
                 │  Material resources  │
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                    │  Functions   │
                    └──────────────┘
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Charter – a system of target values**; Personnel –** a group organizes according to certain principles (authority, division of functions, responsibilities); **Material resources** of which a society disposes of; **Activities** – a genuine conduct of people; **Functions** – integrated result of the institution's overall activity which reflects the role which the institution fulfils within the system of culture.

Aspects of integration
1. Systems of propinquity and family relationships;
2. Social interests arising from the regional grouping, neighbourhood and possibilities of cooperation;
3. Physiological differences determined by sex, age and physical features;
4. Work-related and professional abilities and skills;
5. Social position based on the values, social status and the membership in volunteer organizations;
6. The use of power in political organizations.

The theory of cultural contacts

- The transformation of traditional African cultures should be studied as an intersection of three different worlds:
1. The world of original African cultures and indigenous institutions;
2. The world of Western culture the bearers of which were the white immigrants and settlers;
3. A qualitatively new sociocultural reality which is a unique synthesis of the mutually shared world of Europeans and Africans.

This new reality, which has its own focal point of cultural contacts, comprises specific configurations of the African and European cultural elements and complexes which would never emerge separately.

4.3 Alfred Reginald Radcliffe-Brown (1881–1955), structural functionalist anthropology

Together with Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown was a founder of the British functionalism, and an alumnus of Psychology and Ethics at the Trinity College in Cambridge. Between 1906 and 1908, he carried out his first field research on the Andaman Islands and then, in 1922, published "Andaman Islanders".

Unlike Malinowski who investigated sociocultural systems through the prism of culture, Radcliffe-Brown shifted the focus of his interest to the study of social structure laying thus foundations of the British branch of structural functionalist anthropology.

The typical feature of his approach to sociocultural reality was the application of the principle of analogy:

- Social anthropology as **a natural science focused on society** – similarly to Physics, Chemistry or Biology, it examines certain classes of structures.
- Analysis of the Andaman culture – **social value** – any object or phenomenon which contributes to the welfare of society (hunting tools, fire).
- **Customs and rituals expressing a social value** of an object or phenomenon fulfil a double function:
1. Emphasize the importance of given object for the members of society.
2. Help create a feeling of dependence.
- **Function** as an indispensable component of social integration and the way of social system's existence.
- **Structural functionalist analysis** does not serve to the study of a function itself but of its contribution to the maintenance of social stability, cohesiveness and solidarity, i.e. the analysis of a social structure's actual functioning.

- **Social structure** as the "organization of relationships among people".
- Radcliffe-Brown tried to surpass a certain ahistoricism of the functional analysis and focused on the issues of social evolution.

Edward Evan Evans-Pritchard (1902–1973), the decline of functionalist anthropology

Evans-Pritchard's deviation from functionalist approach was first observable in his study *Witchcraft* (1935). His shift in paradigm from the positivist analysis of external functions towards the analysis and interpretation of their internal meaning and purpose was evident in his other book, *Witchcraft, Oracles and Magic among the Azande* (1937).

- He assumed that a basis of the research of certain institution must be an analysis of functions depending on their contribution to the integrity and stability of the social structure.
- He emphasized the necessity to understand the **internal logic** and **sense** of given culture.

Evans-Pritchard determined the three basic stages of the anthropological research:

I. **Descriptive analysis** – collection, classification and description of the anthropological data in situ.
II. **Structural analysis** – uncovering of the structural organization of society and portray the given society as a complex system.
III. **Comparative analysis** – in order to determine the main features of structural forms and causes of their variability, he refused the extensive comparative intercultural analyses.

He tried to conceptualize the **anthropology as a discipline belonging to Humanities** which focused on the portrayal of the "**hidden logic**" of given cultures.

Summary

Functionalism was inspired by the work of E. Durkheim according to whom the society is an integrated complex independent of the psyche of its members. Functionalists approach the culture as a system in which every element fulfils a certain function. The basis of Malinowski's approach in functionalism was a hierarchical theory of needs, and reactions which later become needs. Radcliffe-Brown's approach is referred to as structural functionalism.

Study Questions

What is social institution?
What is the difference between an institution and organization?
Describe the institution of ceremonial reciprocal exchange called Kula.

Recommended Literature

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MALINOWSKI, B. Sex a represe v divošské společnosti. Praha: SLON, 2006. ISBN 978-80-86429-46-2

SOUKUP, M. Základy kulturní antropologie. Praha: Akademie veřejné správy o.p.s., 2009. ISBN 978-80-87207-003-1

SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3

5 Structural Anthropology
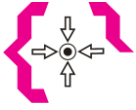
Objectives

The aim of this section is to present the sources of structuralism in anthropology, portray the structural approach in human reality in the context of binary oppositions, and present the work of C. Lévi-Strauss.

Important Keywords

Binary oppositions, social structure, universal structures, the "culinary triangle".

Workload

2 hours

The significant milestone in the development of European social anthropology was the 1960s which were typical with the reappraisal of traditional schools and movements.

The French structural anthropology, represented by the work of C. Lévi-Strauss, represents one of the most significant research orientations in Humanities. The ideological sources of structuralism were European philosophy, psychology and linguistics, French sociology, and American cultural anthropology.

Structural anthropology studies the internal organization and relations among the elements of given system. Basic axiom of structural anthropology is the assumption that relations are primary to elements. No element has a sense until it enters a system. Theory of binary oppositions is based on the assumption that the connection of opposites is the general attribute of human thinking and is reflected in all manifestations of human activity. People understand the world better because of its structuring. This has its logical limits, though, because the world is constantly moving and changing. People thus must constantly reappraise and enhance their knowledge. According to Lévi-Strauss, the type of society located in an isolated and relatively stable environment is the so called "cold" society. On the other hand, the so called "hot" society is dynamic and its members have to constantly adapt to new conditions.

Structural analysis was first applied in the study of kinship systems. Then, it was used to analyse such symbolic systems as totemism and mythology. According to this theory, a myth can be divided into individual elements which can be then analysed in terms of their mutual relationships and combinations. The current research focuses especially on the cultural phenomena in the context of social structure, with the emphasis on the study of the logic of rules, and the classification principles which organise and determine the sociocultural reality.

Generally, it is possible to state that structuralism played a significant methodological role in the elaboration of the systems approach in the study of culture, and in the convergence of Humanities and Natural Science.

5.1 Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908 – 2009)

C. Lévi-Strauss was born in Brussels to the family of a French portraitist. Between 1927 and 1932, he studied Philosophy at the Sorbonne in Paris. Later, he was shortly employed at secondary schools in Mont de Marsan, and Laon. In 1934, he became a professor of sociology in Sao Paulo. American cultural anthropology, particularly the work of Boas' school, became his continuous inspiration. Years 1938–1939 were a significant period of his life; after the end of his lectures in Sao Paulo, he acquired a financial help from the French administration to perform a field research in the centre of Brazil. The results of this research are recorded in his book, *Triste Tropiques*. During the WWII, he lived in New York and after that, he became a member of the Cultural Council of the French Embassy in United States. When he returned to Paris, he became the head of the Department of Comparative Religion Studies. His studies on methodology and anthropological theory were summarized in the publication named *Structural Anthropology*. In 1959, he established the Laboratory of Social Anthropology at College de France.

In terms of topics, his work can be divided into the three basic groups. The first group comprises the works dealing with *the study of kinship systems*: The Elementary Structures of Kinship, The Future of Kinship Studies etc. The second group deals with the research of *qualification systems*: The Family and Social Life of the Nambikwara Indians, Race and History, Totemism Today, Wild Thinking etc. The third and probably the most significant, group of his interest comprises the research of mythological systems and its interpretation. The tasks of the structural analysis of mythological systems first introduced in The Structure of Myths were elaborated in Lévi-Strauss' monumental work Mythologiques I – IV: The Raw and the Cooked, From Honey to Ashes, The origin of Table Manners, and The Naked Man.

His last works dedicated to the myths of Native Americans include The Jealous Potter and The Story of Lynx.

In three anthologies named Structural Anthropology, he dealt with the theoretical issues of the anthropological research of man and culture. The Way of the Masks dealt with Native American art and its relation to mythology, and can be considered as a structural contribution to the anthropology of art.

Lévi-Strauss' structural anthropology represents one of the most inspiring and influential anthropological schools of the 20th century. The thoughts of structuralism quickly surpassed the boundaries of anthropology and ethnology and were elaborated in sociology, psychology, literary studies, and the art studies. Lévi-Strauss' contribution to the development of anthropology consists not only in the paradigm of social anthropology as the new theoretical-methodological approach to the study of man an culture, but also in the deep humanism which pervades his whole work.

The methodological principles of Lévi-Strauss' structural anthropology:

1. Observable and conscious levels of phenomena are useful only as the basis for the research of principles and their organization.
2. The task of structural anthropology is to find the logical principles of classification which organize and determine the cultural reality.
3. Structuralists strive to formulate the mathematical laws of organization which they combine with the classical anthropological methodology.

Lévi-Strauss believed that the entire life of society depends on **hidden universal structures**.

Mythologiques

Because the Lévi-Strauss' work is extensive, let us portray his approach to anthropology by means of the book The Raw and the Cooked also known as Mythologique I.

The book is divided into five parts; individual parts are named so as to refer to music: overture, variations, symphony, cantata, canon, toccata and fugue, bird chorus etc. The names are by no means selected by chance; in the text, they have the irreplaceable, interconnected and very thoughtful sense.

The author explains that searching for the golden mean of logical thinking and aesthetic perception must have naturally found inspiration in music which has been going through the same process from everlasting. The music is similar to the myth which also overcomes the antinomy of elapsing historical time and stagnant structures. The purpose of both the music and the myth is realized through the listener. There is a relationship between the addressee and the communicator because the recipient finds out that he is designated by the message of communicator.

Mythology best demonstrates the objectified thinking, and empirically proves its existence. Myth is also analogous to language. A person who consciously uses the principles of phonology and grammar in speech and lacks the necessary knowledge and virtuosity would almost immediately lose track of his/her thoughts. Similarly, mythological thinking requires that its typical features stay hidden; otherwise the listeners could become the mythologists who cannot believe the myths because they indulge in their analysis. The purpose of the myth analysis is not and cannot be to demonstrate the way of people's thinking. In particular examples given by the book, it is at least doubtful that Indians of Central Brazil, fascinated by their mythical stories, could imagine the systems of relations to which the myths are simplified in the book. Author does not aim to demonstrate how people think in myths but how the myths "are thought in people" without their knowing and will to admit it.

Myth is understood as a certain substance, a story about some event which usually is of religious nature and refers to the sense of the world and human presence in the world. Lévi-Strauss' structural approach to anthropology emphasizes the interconnection of individual links which keep developing in the constant vortex of binary oppositions. By means of these oppositions and codes, people try to understand this impersonal and subconscious principle which is reflected in human reasoning. The subconscious categories of mythical thinking are the centre of the author's interest. Through mythological storytelling, scientists reach the core and nature of human thinking which is in savages' conception still crystal-clear. We can even say that they are unspoiled by the frequently excess rationality of the present society. Lévi-Strauss considers the subconscious as a mediator between the self and the other, as an area where the objective meets the subjective.

The book portrays more than hundred Native American tribes, for instance Bororo, Kayapó-Gorotir, East Timbira, Sherent, and Tukun tribe.

Apart from people, the animals also play a significant role; frequently, they have human and even godly attributes. At the end of the book, there is an illustrated bestiary which portrays, for instance, wild boars, agutis, parrots, harpys, monkeys, jaguars, condors, sloths, guinea pigs, anteaters, piranhas, turtles and so on.

Basic common topics of individual myths include: the origin of fire, water, decorations, funeral rites, tobacco, wild boars etc.

By means of the myth of fire, Lévi-Strauss searches for the link among the individual tribes.

Kayapo-Gorotirs tell a story of the pair of parrots which nested on a cliff. A native brought his brother-in-law to the cliff and told him to bring the parrots' young ones. The brother-in-law climbed the cliff and claimed that there were only two eggs. The native wanted them, and so his brother-in-law tossed them down. The eggs had changed into rocks and injured the native who, in anger, took away the ladder which his brother-in-law needed to get down. Thus, he had to stay on the cliff for several days and eat his faeces out of hunger. Then, he saw a jaguar that carried a bow and arrows. The boy wanted to call him but he was struck mute. The jaguar noticed him and started to chase his shadow. Finally, the jaguar saved the boy from the cliff and even offered him a cooked piece of meat which the boy had not known before because they had never had the fire. The jaguar brought the boy to his home. Every day, he went hunting and left the boy alone with his wife who did not like the boy and troubled him. One day, the jaguar advised the boy to shoot the wife with the bow. The boy had shot her and ran away to his village, scared. Other natives then found the jaguar's home, roasted the jaguar's wife, ate her and took away the fire. When the jaguar found out, he got enraged and started to hate all creatures, human beings especially.

Kuben-Krankens portray the myth in a very similar way. The differences include the following: the boy tosses the eggs intentionally, the jaguar carries on his back a boar caeteta, and his wife refuses to serve a roasted tapir to the boy. The boy, just as in the previous version, kills the jaguar's wife and takes away a cotton yarn, meat and embers. The natives of the boy's tribe change into animals and steal the jaguar's possessions.

In the similar myth of the Apinaya tribe, the young parrots fight back fiercely, the boy gets scared, the native leaves him there to starve and thirst. The jaguar at first chases the boys shadow, then asks for the young parrots which the boy tosses him; the jaguar then saves the boy. In this version, the part with the jaguar's wife is depicted in more detail. The jaguar provides the boy with a bow and arrows; the boy then kills his wife and flees to the village. The jaguar wants the boy to fulfil three tasks but the boy accomplishes only two of them. The boy meets a man-eater, gets beaten and put into the back basket which he manages to escape. He comes back to the village and tells what happened to him. Three animals (jacu, tapir, and jaho) help the natives find the jaguar who greets them kindly and gives them the fire as a present. This version is different in that the jaguar is kind.

The fourth tribe (East Timbira) portray the origin of fire much the same as Apinayas. However, in this version, the jaguar's wife is pregnant and hates noise. The boy eats roasted meat and his crunching enrages her so that the boy must flee. Thanks to the relay run, the natives manage to fetch the fire from the jaguar's house to the village. Jaguar's wife begs them for an ember but a toad spits on it and puts it out.

The Traho group of East Timbira tribe tell a fifth variation of the myth which concerns the cultural heroes Pud and Pudlere who live together with people and enable them using fire. One day, they leave the people and take the fire away with them. The fire is brought back thanks to the jaguar. The myth ends with the sentence: "If it were not for the jaguar, they (the natives) would eat their meat raw till today".

The last, sixth, variation of the myth which belongs to the Sherenth tribe begins much the same way as the previous ones. The boy drops from the cliff a white stone which turns into an egg and shatters. The boy is again left alone and stays on the cliff for five days. The jaguar carries the boy across three streams each one of which belongs to someone else (urubus, birds, and crocodiles). Again, the jaguar's wife does not like the boy who kills her, in the end, with a bow and arrows from the jaguar. The boy entrusts the secret of the fire to his uncle and the natives organized an expedition to fetch the fire.

In the following part of the book, the author tries to explain the symbolism of individual animals and products of nature which are present in the myths.

Lévi-Strauss does not aim to explain exactly the given myths, which is sometimes impossible. By his patient and detailed comparison, Lévi-Strauss provides a reader with a wider variety of possible interpretations.

In the book, the central opposition **nature vs. culture** is apparent. Basic attributes of the nature include universality and spontaneity whereas the culture is typical with specificity and normativity.

Lévi-Strauss' **"culinary triangle"** (the raw – the cooked – the rotten) reflects the basic characteristics of his approach to structural anthropology:

1. The objects of analysis are not the isolated cultural elements, but rather the **relationships** which connect them.
2. The aim of research is to find the **subconscious universal structures** common to all cultures instead of the explanation of differences between individual cultural phenomena.
3. The key to understand the cultural variability is the **logic of binary oppositions** through which people model the natural and sociocultural reality.

Summary

Lévi-Strauss' unique theory of human mind is inspired by structural linguistics, theory of exchange by Mauss, and Lévi-Bruhl's theory of "primitive mind". Structuralism is reflected in the anthropological approach to matrimony and kinship, and the theory of binary oppositions.

Study Questions

How does the structural anthropology approach the culture?
Explain Lévi-Strauss' understanding of myth.

Recommended Literature

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LÉVI-STRAUSS, C. Antropologie a problémy moderního světa. Praha: Karolinum, 2011. ISBN 978-80-246-2098-5
SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3
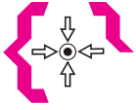
Objectives

The aim of this chapter is to present rites as a part of religion, magic and witchcraft, and to explain its position in the current society, and everyday life of individuals and groups.

Important Keywords

Witchcraft, magic, a rite of passage.

Workload

3 hours

The nature of rites as bearers of independently motivated factors is that they surpass their original function of communication, and are able to fulfil two other functions –the control of aggression, and the formation of bond among the individuals of the same kind.

<div align="right">K. Lorenz</div>

- In all cultures, the rites are performed which have the same function;
- It is a specifically human way of behaviour – the archetypal behaviour (C. G. Jung);
- Rites are organized by the rules which remain constant for a long time;
- With the change of society, some rites may lose their sense and if they are not given a new one, they soon disappear or become a form with no content;
- In problem situations, rites emerge spontaneously – human coping with crises;
- The rites which slow down the development or have a destructive effect may represent a call for help;
- We can create suitable rites together with children in the family, and the classroom.
- Rites may properly compensate common problems related to a child's ontogenetic development, a strain connected with the schoolwork, and adverse life events.
- The false ritualization affecting the communication is typical with the substitution of the original, deeply human content by an artificial "content". The original content may even completely disappear and the rite becomes just a mere recitation of the form, even though very sophisticated (in this context, recitation means an activity which is different from the true citation; whereas "citation", i.e. the use of an already expressed content, reflects the need to communicate a thought in a certain new context; recitation means a mere repetition of an already communicated piece of information, i.e. the "dilution" of a form, or the copying of an already verified one.

The purpose of the real rite is to mediate a relationship. A ritual act is an opportunity to recall the collectively shares values (in this sense, it is an

anamnesis). The rite connects the past and the future through the intensive experience of the present.

People subconsciously incline to mythical stories because they provide an image of their own lives. The attempts to deprive a "modern" man of the myth which is present in the ritual are fruitless. On the contrary, the forced "deritualization" of life gives rise to the "reritualization". People somehow yearn for the collective sharing of values, and perceive the rites as an opportunity to connect the "unusual" (unique, personal) with the "social", the "aesthetic" with the "social", and the "living" with the "inanimate" (Babyrádová).

Summary

All around the world, there are various rites which take place in various spheres of the sociocultural systems. Within the Anthropology of Religion, the anthropologists study the religion-related phenomena in the context of the specific sociocultural system. Anthropologists also deal with such issues as magic, witchcraft, sorcery and shamanism. They pay special attention to the study of various types of rites.

Study Questions

What is the nature of the rite of passage?
Characterize the rites of seclusion, liminality, and incorporation.

Recommended Literature

BABYRÁDOVÁ, H. *Rituál, umění a výchova.* Brmno: Masarykova univerzita, 2002.
ELIADE, M. *Mýtus o věčném návratu.* Praha Oikoymenh, 2002.
FREUD, S. Totem a tabu, vtip. Praha: Práh, 1991. ISBN 80-9000835-1-X
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SOUKUP, V. Dějiny antropologie. Praha: Karolinum, 2004. ISBN 80-246-0337-3

7 Myth

Objectives
The aim of this chapter is to characterize the myth as a part of the human notional world in different historical eras, highlight its psychological aspect, and modify its meaning for people of the modern era.

Important keywords
Myth, mythologem, archetype, animus, anima, numinous, theriomorphic symbolism.

Workload
3 hours

Mythical image of the world is, according to Budil (1997), the system of classification and cognition which comprises the normative order of culture.

M. L. Franz (1999) emphasizes that the cosmogonic myths are the deepest and most important of all the myths. They concern with the origin of the world and reflect the creation of a certain culture; they portray a fight between a hero and a snake, dragon, or water monster, which symbolizes the victory of the Order over the Chaos (Theseus, Jason, Oedipus and his victory over the Sphinx, Apollo's and St. George's victories over the dragons). The hero's main act is, most frequently, the defeat of a monster, which, according to Jung, represents a long-desired victory of consciousness over the subconscious. Day and light are the synonyms for consciousness; night and darkness represent the subconscious. The ritual fight with a dragon was frequently connected with the rite of initiation – obtaining social status. Dragons and snakes were often identified as "lords of the lands" in situations when the newcomers – the raiders – clash with the local autochthonous population, defeat it, and form the new culture, i.e. they "suppress Chaos and create a new Order". These myths exist also in the Czech Republic, predominantly in the border area.

The cosmogonic myths are very typical for cultures the development of which was never entirely interrupted. Japanese culture does not belong among the primitive ones but belong to those which have never been separated from their original primitive roots and retained their continuity. In their cosmogonies, the indigenous peoples and cultures which retained their continuity, tend to list the immense numbers of their godlike, semi-godlike, and royal ancestors. In the numerous chains of deities, there is a distinct tendency which ends with the birth of man; even though the processes may seem chaotic, there is a hidden development. For instance, in the Japanese myth, the first deities are absolutely indefinite and vague. The archaic man's thinking clang to divine archetypes. Everything which was related to archetypes and beyond the everyday experience acquired a privileged position in the archaic society, and became sacred. C. G. Jung described the basic relation "archetype – myth" as follows: "In the individual, the archetypes occur as involuntary

manifestations of unconscious processes whose existence and meaning can only be inferred, whereas the myth deals with traditional forms of incalculable age… The spontaneous manifestations of the unconscious and its archetypes intrude everywhere into his conscious mind, and the mythical world of his ancestors… The archetype does not proceed from physical facts, but describes how the psyche experiences the physical fact".

Prehistoric cultures and later civilizations relied on mythical archetypes when creating institutions and social norms. M. Eliade differentiates between the three basic categories of mythical archetypes:

1. rites which repeat and mediate the original myths of creation and founding acts of gods, heroes and ancestors;
2. archetypes symbolizing the centre of the world;
3. archetypes the imitation of which are the objects of our world.

Jung's opinions on the nature and function of archetypes

Archetype and instinct: archetype is a mental structure of human unconscious mind which emerged at the evolutional level Homo by the transformation of animal instincts. Archetype as an image of instinct is a psychological and spiritual goal which attracts human nature. Similar to the basic biological plan (behaviour patterns), the archetypes can change over time, affect the creation of the conscious (rectification, modification, and motivation), and behave as instincts. Archetypes and instincts are two opposites for which applies that the "opposites attract". The archetype is, according to Jung, the self-depiction of instinct.

Archetype as a symbol: the archetype itself is not illustrative; however, its effects – archetypal ideas – enable the illustration. Archetypal idea is a motive – a mythologem. Mythologem helps better express the nature of experience; as a symbol, it helps mediate the experience, and experience events together. The deeper layers of mind lose the individual uniqueness with the increasing depth and darkness. The more archaic and deeper (more physiological) is the symbol, the more collective and universal it is. The symbol is a living body which loses its magical power as soon as we are able to decipher it; the efficient symbol thus must have an inimitable quality. The humanity has always had powerful images which provided a powerful protection against the threateningly living aspect of the depths of human mind.

Archetype as a source and the means of change: greater issues of life including the sexuality are always related to the archetypes of the collective unconscious; these images may keep and compensate them. The archetype is a companion of neurotic and psychotic disorders; they behave similarly as the neglected body organs or the organic functional systems. If accomplished consciously, the synthesis of the conscious and unconscious contents, and the awareness of archetypal effects on the contents of the conscious are, according to Jung, the peak performance of human intellectual effort and concentration of psychological strengths. The archetype can be discovered by the active imagination. Jung states: "Like all numinous contents, archetypes are relatively autonomous; they cannot be integrated simply by rational means, but require a dialectical procedure, a real coming to terms with them, often conducted by the patient in dialogue form, so that, without knowing it, he puts into effect the alchemical definition of the *meditatio*: 'an inner colloquy with one's good angel'."

Developmental nature of archetypes: the archetypes are the organs of "prerational" psyche, eternally inherited typical basic structures, originally with no specific content. The specific content of archetype emerges within the individual life, and the individual is reflected in these forms.

Culture and interpretation of archetypes: the archetypal ideas are different from the archetypes themselves. Archetypes represent the elements of patterns, principal meanings. The nature of archetypes is not capable of being conscious; it is transcendental. The archetypal nature depends on the development of the cultural differentiation of the conscious, i.e. the search for a new interpretation which corresponds with the achieved level of culture. The relation between the archetype and the individual's development in confrontation with the society is very important. Jung emphasizes that the archetypes are the efficient protection against the superiority of social consciousness and the corresponding mass psyche. The mass psyche destroys the sense of the individual and thus the whole culture.

Archetype as the bearer of structure: the archetypes are factors and motives which organize psychological elements into archetypal images in a way that is recognizable only by its effects. Every archetype includes the core of an idea, meaning and/or of a special pattern of behaviour. Jung considers the confrontation with archetype or instinct an ethical issue; only people who face the necessity of the assimilation of the unconscious, and the integration of personality, can appreciate his urgency. The archetypes help create the concrete ideas, and distinguish events and persons in the individual life. The examples of archetypes: birth and death, hero, wise old man, great mother, child; certain archetypes grew independent of culture, nation and ethnicity: persona, animus and anima, shadow, great mother, wise old man etc.

The Animus and Anima represent the two modalities of the same archetype. They offer the same benefits, as well as dangers, to both sexes. The Animus helps women understand and appreciate the masculinity of men, an employ (to a certain extent) the masculine traits in their behaviour. The meaning of Anima for the men is analogous. Jung claims that "the Anima is also a factor of the utmost importance in the feeling life of a man where she 'intensifies, exaggerates, falsifies, and mythologizes all emotional relations with his work and with other people of both sexes'"; if the Anima is of strong constitution, it makes a man more "effeminate" (hot temper, jealousy, sensitivity, vanity, and unconformity).

According to Jung, *Anima* is a predecessor of moods, reactions, impulses and psychological spontaneity; Anima lives and makes us live, it is a chaotic urge to live, a hidden knowledge. The "precursors" of Anima are the forest nymphs, fairies, daughters of the kings of spirits; Lamiae, Succubae who fooled young men and sapped their lives; Undines, Sirens, and Banshees.

Each sex comprises, to a certain level, the other sex because biologically, the masculinity is determined only by a higher number of male genes. In this context, Jung speculates about the possible cause of homosexuality which he considers as the identification with Anima; "it is rather a matter of the incomplete detachment from the hermaphroditic archetype, coupled with a distinct resistance to identify with the role of a one-sided sexual being". It is interesting that most of the cosmogonic deities are bisexual, and the hermaphrodite represents the unity of the strongest and the most striking opposites.

Anima comprises both positive and negative aspects of life: "everything the anima touches becomes numinous – unconditional, dangerous, taboo, magical. She

is the serpent in the paradise of the harmless man with good resolution and still better intentions". Depending on the circumstances, Anima may represent our most intimate conflicts as well as our boldest actions. Anima reflects the most the basic conflict of a human being equipped with animal instincts, a human being fighting with his/her mind and its demons.

The Shadow archetype represents an individual's animal aspect, the tendency to primitive forms of life typical for the animal ancestors ("exterior paint" of the civilization on the animal which hides in us); it is an analogy of Freud's *id* and emphasizes the reality and spontaneity of human being. According to Jung, the realization of the Shadow consists in becoming aware of the inferior part of one's personality connected with the experience and suffering of the whole human being. If a person is willing to perceive his/her own shadow and bear the awareness of it, he/she is only halfway through the task – a person has revealed his/her personal unconscious; the Shadow is, however, the living part of personality which wants to live with it in a certain form.

The Mother archetype represents everything maternal, gracious, caring, tolerant, providing growth, fertility and nourishment; the place of magical transformation, rebirth; everything which is hidden, dark, an abyss, the realm of the dead; everything which is engulfing, tempting, poisonous, spreading feat, unavoidable (for instance, Mary who in Middle Ages' allegory also represented Jesus' cross; goddess Kali who represented the good and passion as well as the darkness; the Mother archetype of the Antiquity was represented by the mother goddess and witch; in Middle Ages, it was a queen and the Church). Jung stated the following three basic attributes of Mother: 1. cherishing and nurturing goodness, 2. orgiastic emotionality, and 3. Stygian depths. The existing mother complex may inadequately support a daughter's female instinct, and a son's inappropriate sexuality.

The Child archetype: the Child usually represents a harbinger or the first-born of the new generation (dwarves, little animals, baby Jesus, elves); hidden natural powers or a treasure which is difficult to reach. The Child is, according to Jung, the preconscious aspect of childhood in collective mind; the Child is something which grows to be independent. The essential attribute of this archetype is its focus on the future in the sense of preliminary conception of future development. The Child as a bearer of culture is often identified with the factors which enhance the culture (fire, metal, wheat, corn). The Child is a being of the beginning and the end; it symbolizes preconscious and postconscious nature of man.

The phenomenology of Spirit in fairy-tales: the archetypal manifestation of the Spirit consists in the existence of autonomous archetype which is universally present in the preconscious aspect of human mind. The archetypes of Spirit in the form of man, animal or elf always emerge in situations which require the insight, understanding, good advice and decision, and a hero is not able to face them alone. According to Jung, the archetype compensates this spiritual deficiency with the contents which should fill the gap. Usually, an old man appears who symbolizes knowledge, understanding, prudence, wisdom, sharp-wittedness, intuition and moral aspects (good will, willingness to help). The wise old man represents the purposeful thinking and concentration of both moral and physical powers. The old man's intervention (the help to a hero) is the spontaneous objectification of archetype. The questions of who, what, how, what for etc. lead to the recognition of the present situation and the goal; the wise man knows which ways lead to the goal, and shows them to the hero. Like other archetypes, also the wise old man comprises the "evil"

aspect – the medicine man, feared creator of poisons as well as healer (Merlin – the good and the evil). In connection with the wise old man, there is often the so-called theriomorphic symbolism – the animals as helpers.

The archetypes manifested in myth and rites undoubtedly influence even our "western" culture. A wide range of renowned researchers of different developmental eras of human thinking repeatedly point out the danger related to the absence or loss of rituals in the modern industrial society (C. G. Jung, M. Buber, E. Fromm, K. Lorenz etc.). The archetype (myth, ritual) can be considered as a "map" of the biological and social world – of its image. Without this structure, people would be confused and unable to act purposefully and consistently; they would lack the fixed point which organizes all the impressions of every individual (Fromm, 1992).

Summary

The myth answers the questions: What is a human being? What is the origin of human beings? Why are they mortal?

The mythical image of the world is a system of classification and cognition which anchors the normative order of culture.

The myth can be divided into the following groups according to their topic and questions which they answer:

Myth	Topic
Cosmogonic	Origin of the world
Theogonic	Origin of the gods
Etiological	Origin of peculiar things in nature or certain events and customs
Heroic	Origin and foundation of a particular culture

Study Questions

What was the purpose of myth in traditional society?
What is the connection of myth and Weber's "disenchanted" society?
What is archetype?

Recommended Literature

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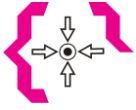FREUD, S. *Totem a tabu, vtip.* Praha: Práh, 1991
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8 Current Topics in Social and Cultural Anthropology

Objectives

This section aims to portray an inspiring image of the current anthropology, i.e. postmodern anthropology, and to show the change (typical for modernism) in the approach of man towards the objective world, the nature, and – most importantly – other people.

Important Keywords

Enchanted world, deconstruction, secularization, symbolization, postmodernism, reflexivity relativism.

Workload

3 hours

Introduction

As M. Soukup states, postmodern anthropology castigates classical anthropology and deconstructs its key concepts as well as classical works. Postmodern anthropology was mainly inspired by the French philosophical thinking, primarily the works of M. Foucault, R. Barthes, J. Derrida, F. Lyotard and others.

According to Lyotard, in postmodernism, there failed the metanarrative stories which legitimized anthropology as "the study of the others". Postmodernism deconstructs such categories as "anthropologist", "informer", "field research", "us and them", and the concept of "culture" itself. Anthropologists lose their position of power over the examined community. Figuratively, "the others" read their notes over their shoulder.

Geertz himself states that in the resulting anthropological description, "this fact — that what we call our data are really our own constructions of other people's constructions of what they and their compatriots are up to — is obscured because most of what we need to comprehend a particular event, ritual, custom, idea, or whatever is insinuated as background information before the thing itself is directly examined".

M. Soukup adds that from now on, the task of anthropology is to search for ways in which the ethnographies can be written and read.

8.1 The changes in portrayal of man on the background of culture (Jacyno)

Malgorzata Jacyno is a contemporary Polish sociologist who pays attention mainly to the intellectual impulses of Pierre Bourdieu's sociology. Bourdieu is one of the authors who significantly inspire social and cultural anthropology, especially in the field of perception, the study of symbols in our society, and the issue of social space.

In her book, Jacyna describes, among other things, the two similar scenarios of possible changes and similar portrayals of "modern man".

The first conception is that of Max Weber. Protestantism, as Jacyno interprets, destroyed the possibility to live simply. This impossibility was visible in the growing absence of support and authority of the church. The church thus abandoned people, regarding God and the life. The consequence of refusal of the church's means of salvation was the necessity to confront not only "the life in a whole", but also human life in general.

Former ritual practices, with their flamboyance and literality, demonstrated the connection between the life of an individual and his/her salvation. The renunciation of these means which had become the guarantee of the connection between the life and salvation necessarily led to a question: what to do in such cases with one's life and how to experience it regarding the Creator's messianic plan?

Discipline, related to the everyday life and borrowed from it, became the way out of the trap. One of its steps was the simple division of life into work, family life, business and what was "naturally" selfless. The second step consisted in the division of life into even smaller portions. The challenge comprised in the question "what to do with one's life?" was thus heeded. The messianic plan was fulfilled by means of small actions which are planned and controlled but, this time, rational.

Michel Foucault reached the same conclusion in his work which deals with the turning point related to the modernization of power. He claimed that modern power had descended from its throne when the traditional means of controlling people had become exceptionally unprofitable and inefficient due to the population growth. The efficiency of traditional power was based upon the death threat. In order to escape the punishment – torture, mutilation, death, taxes, military draft – one could just "run to the woods".

In modern era, the actual object of control and the "political object" is the life itself.

For a person of modern era "the 'right' to life, to one's body, to health, to happiness and to the satisfaction of needs, and beyond all oppression or 'alienation', the 'right' to rediscover what one is and what one can be" (Foucault) becomes commonplace.

This conformism, connected with the desire for "conventional happiness", is a programme of an individual's everydayness which thus becomes a centre of attention of philosophers, sociologists and, finally, anthropologists. The object of their study – a man of modern era (including, for instance, the indigenous people outside our cultural sphere) – is the new challenge for anthropology.

Taste

Concerning the issue of discipline, it can be stated that the disciplined life enables a control of incoming stimuli. Self-discipline is nothing else than a continuous, systematic pressure on people's mind which is the taste. The taste helps form the disciplined life in accordance with the will of its "owner".

The interesting fact about the taste is that it is not under the control of a person, but a person is under the control of his/her taste. Utilitarian individualism represented by the middle class primarily ordered that taste must have some function. According to Bourdieu, the function can be to *confirm the class differences on the daily basis*.

Choice

A modern man who is the object of anthropological research is not thus a prisoner of ideas about the external causality of everything that concerns him and take place around him (unlike an indigenous man); it is a person free from these influences but a prisoner of other – i.e. human and social – determinants. A belief that "I am the one who makes a choice and nobody else" leads to a confrontation which became the fate of the "new middle class"; it also leads to the encounter with the specific "political object", i.e. life, and with its "concretization", that is with an individual's own life which results in the question: "how to live?"

New economic logic

The "new middle class" created the new economic logic and applied it everywhere. This logic renounced asceticism, abstinence and "the art of production", and substituted them by hedonism, extravagance and "the art of consumption".

According to Bourdieu, Berkeley's vision of the world enables living on credit and benefit from freedom, strictly speaking from its part because the realization of the essence or nature of the mentioned freedom is always as if delayed to the acts which confirm or represent the reality of its possession.

Exhausting work connected with utilitarian individualism takes the form of workaholism which became a distinctive feature of the 1980s and the "business culture".

Disadvantages of this culture include the lack of ingenuity, initiative and responsibility for one's fate; it is the "culture of dependency" in a caring country.

8.2 Anthropology of contemporaneous worlds (Augé)

Marc Augé, a French ethnologist and the author of the work An Anthropology for Contemporaneous Worlds, deals with the contemporaneity, perspectives of anthropological research, and the general status of anthropology in the context of social sciences.

Augé criticizes the procedures and interpretations of the past anthropology and outlines the three strategies which should be applied in the contemporary anthropological research: historicity of the field, rationality of science, and the approach to a man of different culture as the contemporary of the observer. In this context, he castigates the disregard to examined person. The members of different culture have never been considered as productive; we have never been interested in what they had thought about but only in the way they had been thinking.

Disenchanted world

Also Augé's view includes the Weber's notion of the disenchanted world in the modern era. This view inspires also the contemporary anthropology. The motive of disenchantment is not only related to the Nietzschean "death of God", but also portrays into which role the religions and witchcraft rituals put the human beings in given society.

Enchanted world is the world of distrust and unrest which tries to interpret, enchant and repulse; the world which, too, comprises calculation, observation and

thinking, but within a universe in which identification is more than knowledge. This cognitive effort presumes the possibility of mistake and the existence of unknown.

In the enchanted world, which can be described by a less poetic term "the world of identification", is any mistake always provisional and the unknown does not exist: the purpose of ritual techniques is to enable everyone "to identify with them".

The revision of anthropology

Concerning the "purification" of anthropology, Augé provides five models of revision. He claims that "an examination of models of criticism developed by the discipline will show us how it is abandoning – gradually and perhaps only in spite of itself – the mirages of escape, exile, or exoticism".

Five models of the revision of anthropology:

1. **The "purloined letter" model:** consists in the question "how could our predecessors not have seen or taken into account a fact that was right before their eyes?"
2. **Model of evidence:** consists in provision of empirical evidence concerning a particular fact to balance a general theoretical formulation. The purpose and consequence of the evidence is the enhancement and completion of general model.
3. **"Offside" model**: an anthropologist is declared offside because of the particular empirical object he has chosen or the particular way he treats it. That is, he is accused by a significant part of the profession of having situated himself beyond the limits of the game in progress, of trying to "mark a goal" from a position beyond the last defender of anthropological legitimacy.
4. **Model of transferred guilt**: every anthropologist has a slight tendency to beat his mea culpa out of his neighbour's or predecessor's chest. The problem is to figure out whether the critique remains epistemological.
5. **"Dialogue of the deaf" model:** an author is reproached for having spoken of what he did rather than something else; more exactly, his right to define his own analytic perspective and construct his own intellectual object is contested.

Other issues concerning the development of anthropology

One of the greatest links between history and anthropology (ethnohistory) is, for instance, the perception of historicity, or, historical consciousness. This issue was examined, among others, by Lévi-Strauss who distinguishes between the two basic forms of historicity: the first is typical for society which struggles to maintain its existence and the second is typical for society which tries to benefit from its inequality the energy and develop (e.g. differentiation between the left wing and the right wing, liberals and conservatives).

It must be remembered that the old understanding of anthropology and history is to a certain extent exhausted these days, and that "the history of great events" and ethnocentrically focused anthropology are dead. It is now impossible to employ, for instance, the evolutionist paradigm which artificially connected the general scheme of development with the elements of reality, and explained the "primitive" from our "enlightened" point of view. Interpretations were affected by great ideologies and theories. Analogically, there is a change in the understanding of history.

Anthropology had to bury its exoticism and was forced to deal with the new topics – the dissimilarities determined no more by different culture, but by a different profession, place of residence, social situation etc.

The current situation brings two new theories which affect our thinking: the first is the theory of consensus according to which the history has the only purpose – the connection of market and liberal democracy; and the second is the postmodern theory of cultural relativism which portrays the sometimes excessively diverse world. The problem is whether the theories of consensus and postmodernism are capable of creating the systems interpretation of current reality, and of portraying its unknown aspects. How can we think about the unity of planet and the diversity of its worlds at the same time? Can these two conceptions mean "the end of history" and, basically, the end of anthropology?

Modernism and postmodernism

Contrary to the classical understanding of modernism according to which it breaks myths entirely by secularization and reason, the new approach considers modernism as the creator of new myths and ideas which are no more focused on the origin and the particular community, but rather on the versatility, and the emancipation of man.

Currently, the new secularization emerges, the secularization of politicized and economized reason that breaks the former emancipatory and prospective myths and ideas, and the morals; and everything starts to be determined by science and technologies. Therefore, in current situation when the collective memory keeps disappearing, when the past fell apart into "dead symbols" and the present is unsure of its identity, the new myths are born: the myth of liberalistic philosophy of the end of history, and the myth of consensual reason. However, the question is whether this impersonal, purified and "de-ideologized" language has still something to tell. That is why the consensual reason must become an object of serious examination.

It must be noted that it is not entirely correct to refer to the journey of human beings as from the primitive irrationality towards modern rationality; it is rather a journey from the rationality of myth, through the rationality of philosophy, to the rationality of science. The theory of deconstruction – postmodernism – also becomes an object of examination. Augé did not entirely accept the American form of postmodernism and emphasized Lyotard's conception of the postmodern situation which concerns some components of all societies (there is not just one and only postmodern society).

This is connected with the change in approach to the culture in modernism (metaphorically, the culture as a text which an ethnographer deciphers over the indigenous' shoulder; tends to melt all the differences in the melting pot of unified history regardless of the existing differences), and postmodernism (which brings a dialogue and plurality of testimonies). According to the author, the new anthropology is based neither on the theory of consensus, nor the theory of postmodernism; all of this, however, implies a problem which has to be further investigated.

Three concepts contributing to the legacy of anthropology

Augé also describes three basic concepts which determine the legitimacy of anthropology: **plurality, diversity, and identity**. These concepts might have been be, and were, understood differently and even used promiscue.

"The others" exist elsewhere in the world, are distant, and have different customs, manners and culture. That is why, between the 16th and the 18th centuries, there were doubts about the value of the mainstream culture, and awareness that the others are neither worse not better. Concerning the value of the others, M. de Montaigne mentions in his works that certain relativism is accompanied by a shared humanity which unifies the cultural diversity.

The anthropological evolutionism (Taylor, Morgan) is connected with the change of approach to diversity, and the relativization of plurality: i.e. the developmental scale and the notion that individual cultures are just some stages on the journey towards a unified civilization. This conception comprises the need for making the "primitives" and "barbarians" civilized (who would, paradoxically, lose their humanity).

The end of the 19th century was a turning point in observation and the anthropologists discovered the cultural and social diversity, and the "otherness" of individuals, within their own society. Plurality can apply to any difference, not only the exotic curiosities. It is not necessary to emphasize, then, that identity and diversity are interconnected: the others are formed by the others and by the other.

The main part of this chapter includes several conceptions of rite and their interpretation (for instance, by Gérard Athabe):

1) Rite as a special form of social activity.
2) Entire ritualized social practice organized with respect to particular conventions.

Why is so much attention paid to the ritualized activity? Because it strives to stabilize still problematic mutual relations (it connects diversity and identity); however, it is not just a mere repetition, but also interpretation and coping with the new situations, as well as formation of relations and meaning.

According to Augé, the problem of the western world and the entire crisis of modernity may consist in the prevalence of the language of identity (class identity, language of politics, addition and exclusion), rather than the balanced ratio between the language of identity and the language of diversity. Nevertheless, the relationship to the other is the foundation of any individual identity. In consequence, one does not see the other, but a stranger – a "dago". This is connected with the homogenization, the individualization of cosmologies and worldviews. In the "western" culture, this phenomenon is reflected for example in the failure of integration policy, growing nationalism etc.

Theatralization of the world is related to the medialization of our entire life. The "knowledge" of the world is provided by the mass media which offer us many scenes and images whereas the reality remains misrepresented. The media "teach" us how to live our lives, how to relate to our bodies, how to be satisfied and how to consume. The relationship to the world thus mediated is incomplete, abstract, and unreal (for example, billboards instead of landscapes). Theatralization also affects our perception of other people; it constantly imposes the illusion on people that they know everything, which is connected with the certainty that they cannot do anything. The world thus spreads scare and anxiety.

The same applies to politics and the politic rituality – a politician has a chance to succeed only as a TV star, regardless his/her expertise. He/she has to comment on everything, to build his/her public image (the media force to use a certain rhetoric even such persons who would otherwise tend to express themselves in a more personal way, those who at least wish to believe in what they are saying, and say at

least a part of what they really think). Let us hope, together with Augé, that the political ritual may end up well even for the "common people".

Conclusion

The question is whether the effort to confirm the position of anthropology is a sign of the fact that the anthropologists themselves grope in the dark regarding the definition of anthropology. Anthropology as the study of man indeed took many forms – from the collection of anatomical, archaeological and ethnological data, through the cultural anthropology (comparison of cultures), to structural anthropology which dealt with the analysis of social structures understood as the logical system by which are people unconsciously organized in institutions and behaviour within their groups.

Anthropology and anthropologists have to fight hard for their position in society alongside with such classical and clearly defined scientific disciplines as philosophy, psychology, sociology, historiography etc. Its ambition is to become the "overarching" field because it is based on the findings of all these sciences.

Summary

At the end of the 20th century, anthropology found itself in an entirely new situation. The research topics related to cultures outside of our cultural sphere became exhausted. Indigenous societies were described elaborately (i.e. their way of life, way of thinking, functions of their institutions etc.). Their gradual transition to the attributes of modern life brought further knowledge, however, the findings were not revolutionary. Anthropology thus shifted focus on the groups from our cultural sphere and examined the particularities of subcultures and immigrant groups. Such research should portray the world which evolves dynamically. One of the ways of research, described by Augé, is the revision of existing anthropological findings and the revision of anthropology, which can result in the uniqueness and originality of the anthropological approach.

Study Questions

Explain the term "disenchantment of the world".
What is meant by the "theatralization" of the world?
How do you understand the models of revision of anthropology?

Recommended Literature

AUGÉ, M. Antropologie současných světů. Brno: Atlantis 1999. ISBN 80-7108-154-X
GEERTZ, C. *Interpretace kultur.* Praha: SLON, 2000. ISBN 80-85850-89-3
JACYNO, M. Kultura individualismu. Praha: SLON, 2012. ISBN 978-80-7419-104-6
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Final test:

1. Which of the following statements is the most accurate definition of social and cultural anthropology?
    a) "Anthropology is the comparative study of cultural and social life."
    b) "Anthropology studies a man in his natural environment."
    c) "Anthropology is the study of the ethnical variability of humankind".

2. The etymological origin of the term *race*:
    a) is Arabic - „*rás*" – beginning, head;
    b) is Greek – raso – darkness, covered;
    c) it has no origin, i.e. it is a neologism.

3. The polygenic theory concerns:
    a) the theory of different human varieties;
    b) the localization of the centre of the origin of homo sapiens sapiens;
    c) the portrayal of differences in physiology.

4. Which of the anthropologists misused the anthropometry to demean the African Americans?
    a) J.C. Pitchard
    b) S. G. Morton
    c) A. Hrdlička

5. Franz Boas (1858-1942), an American anthropologist of German origin, was strictly against:
    a) the division of human races into 5 basic groups;
    b) the division of anthropology into biological a. and cultural a.;
    c) the racism in anthropology.

6. In anthropology, the term *amalgamation* means:
    a) the blurring of distinctions between the races by their mixing;
    b) the adaptation of human skin to the external climatic conditions;
    c) the stability of human varieties.

7. The "mitochondrial Eve" hypothesis is based on the statement that:
    a) the modern type of man emerged approximately 300 000 years ago and everybody have the same genetic basis;
    b) modern people are the consequence of the crossbreeding of hominids – the leading anthropologist of the research team was Eva Cronvald;
    c) homo sapiens sapiens emerged relatively recently (200 – 140 000 years ago) at one place (presumably in Sub-Saharan part of Africa).

8. Antropologist Edward Burnet Tylor is a typical representative of:
    a) Diffusionism
    b) Structuralism
    c) Evolutionism

9. Henri Lewis Morgan is a representative of … and ….:
   a) Evolutionism … and divide the development of humankind according to technology;
   b) Evolutionism … and divides the stages of human development into savagery, barbarism and civilization;
   c) Diffusionism … and divides the stages of human development into savagery, barbarism and civilization.

10. Diffusionism promotes the:
    a) exogenous change;
    b) endogenous change;
    c) gradual change.

11. Which main anthropological theory includes the Heliolithic School?
    a) Evolutionism;
    b) Structural functionalism;
    c) Diffusionism.

12. Which of the main anthropological theories prefers: geographical space rather than time, a concrete development rather than the abstractly determined stages of evolution, and migration of individual ethnic groups and diffusion of cultural phenomena rather than the importance of invention and the universal evolution of the whole humankind?
    a) Functionalism;
    b) Diffusionism;
    c) Historicism.

13. In anthropology, the name of B. Malinowski is connected with:
    a) the three types of needs (basic, instrumental, symbolic) and the theory of institution;
    b) the pyramid of needs (physiological, safety, belonging, esteem, self-actualization) and the theory of organization;
    c) the theory of kinship and the family division.

14. Which of the following definitions of culture is Linton's?
    a) "The culture of a society is the way of the life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share and transmit from generation to generation".
    b) "Culture, or civilization, taken in its broad, ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society."
    c) „Culture is a configuration of learned behaviour and its products which are shared and transmitted by the members of a certain society".

15. Which of the following anthropologists dealt with the gender relationships in traditional societies?
    a) Ruth Benedict
    b) Margaret Mead
    c) Linda Sapir

16. Describe the term *"cultural relativism":*

17. Which types of ritual do you know? Characterize one of them in detail.

18. Explain what taboo means and give a concrete example.

19. What is the purpose of the rite?

20. Answer YES – NO:
    1. Ruth Benedict is the author of the research of the Japanese;
    2. The culinary triangle comprises: the raw, the cooked, the rotten;
    3. S. Freud is the author of the book Totem and taboo.

INVESTICE DO ROZVOJE VZDĚLÁVÁNÍ