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AN 201 INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY

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POWER RELATION

INTRODUCTION

POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- ▶ scope of the subfield
- ▶ historical development of this subfield
- ▶ current trends

SCOPE OF POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- ▶ the study of processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement
- ▶ use of power by the members of the group concerned with these goals.
- ▶ politics as a process of competition to influence outcomes.

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- ▶ begun in the 1940s
- ▶ Structural-Functionalism: 1940s-50s
- ▶ From Structural to Agency: 1950s-60s
- ▶ Post-colonial and globalization: 1970s-now

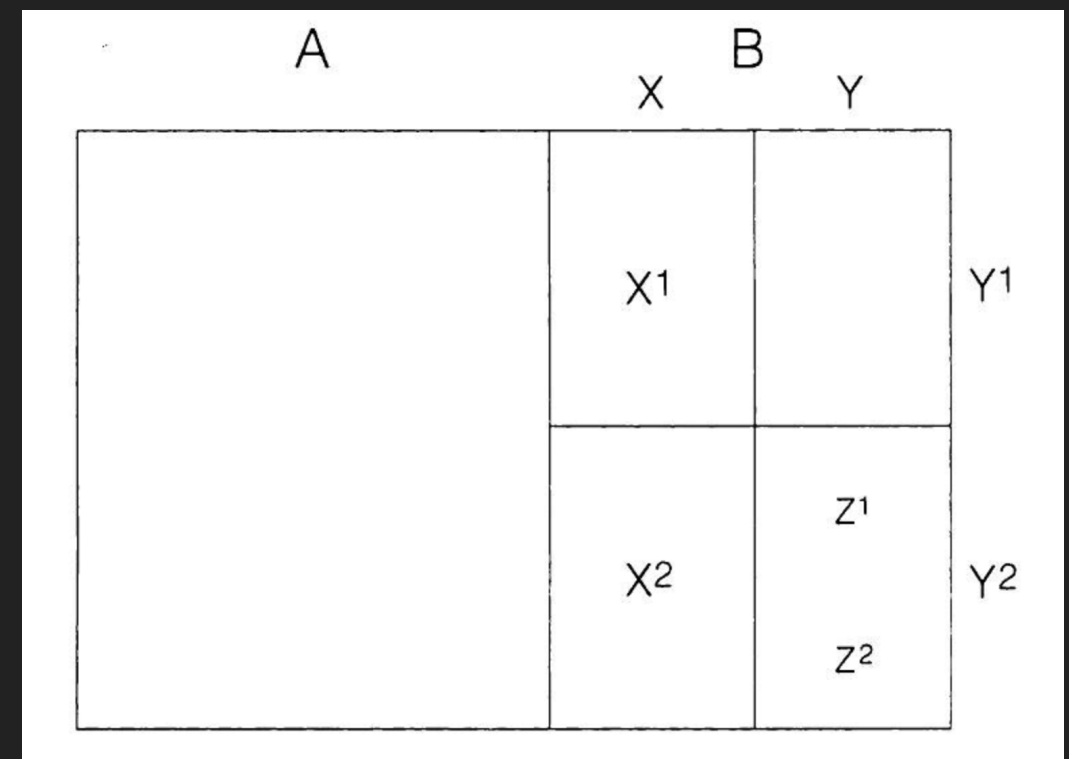


Map showing approximate area (shaded) occupied by the Nuer.



THE NUER, 1940

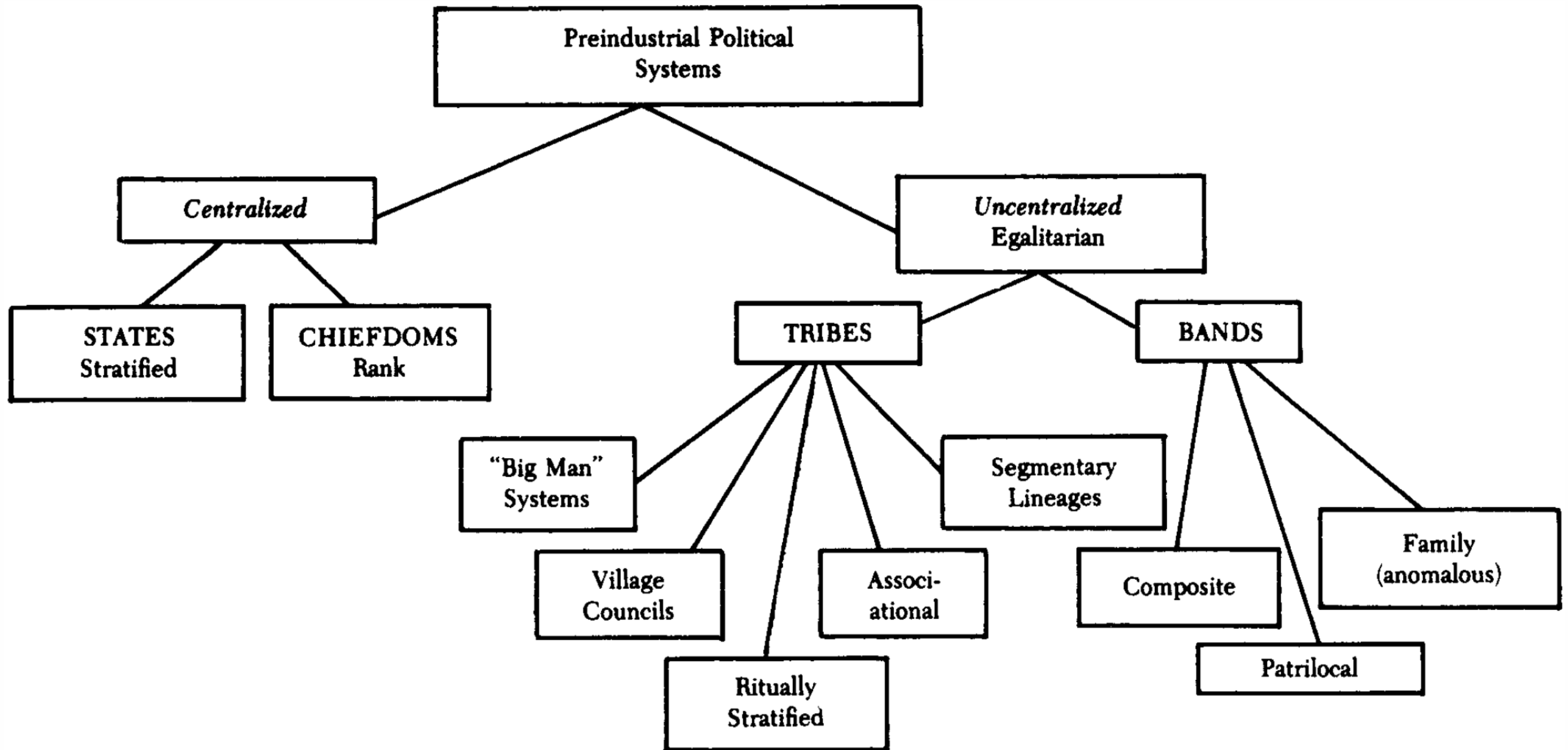
- ▶ E. E. Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973)
- ▶ 'segmentary opposition'
 - ▶ Descendents of close kin stand together against more distant kin (descendents of) brothers are allied against (descendents of) cousins, cousins against second cousins etc.
 - ▶ Thus, even very distant kin will automatically put their conflicts to the side and unite against any threat from groups of non-kin



STRUCTURAL-FUNCTIONALISM

- ▶ stateless societies, pre-nation-state societies
- ▶ kin-based, informal power relations, customary law
- ▶ indigenous notion of authority and justice conflicts with Western notions during the era of formal colonial rule.
- ▶ focus not on political contact and change but on the structure of government and the systematic nature of political organisation
- ▶ Franz Boas' works among Native North Americans, Robert Redfield's fieldwork in Tepoztlan in Mexico and Malinowski's studies in the Pacific Islands, exemplified the growing interest in political anthropology equally in Europe and America.

Figure 2.1
Preindustrial Political Systems



Sources: Eisenstadt 1959; Fried 1967; Service 1971.

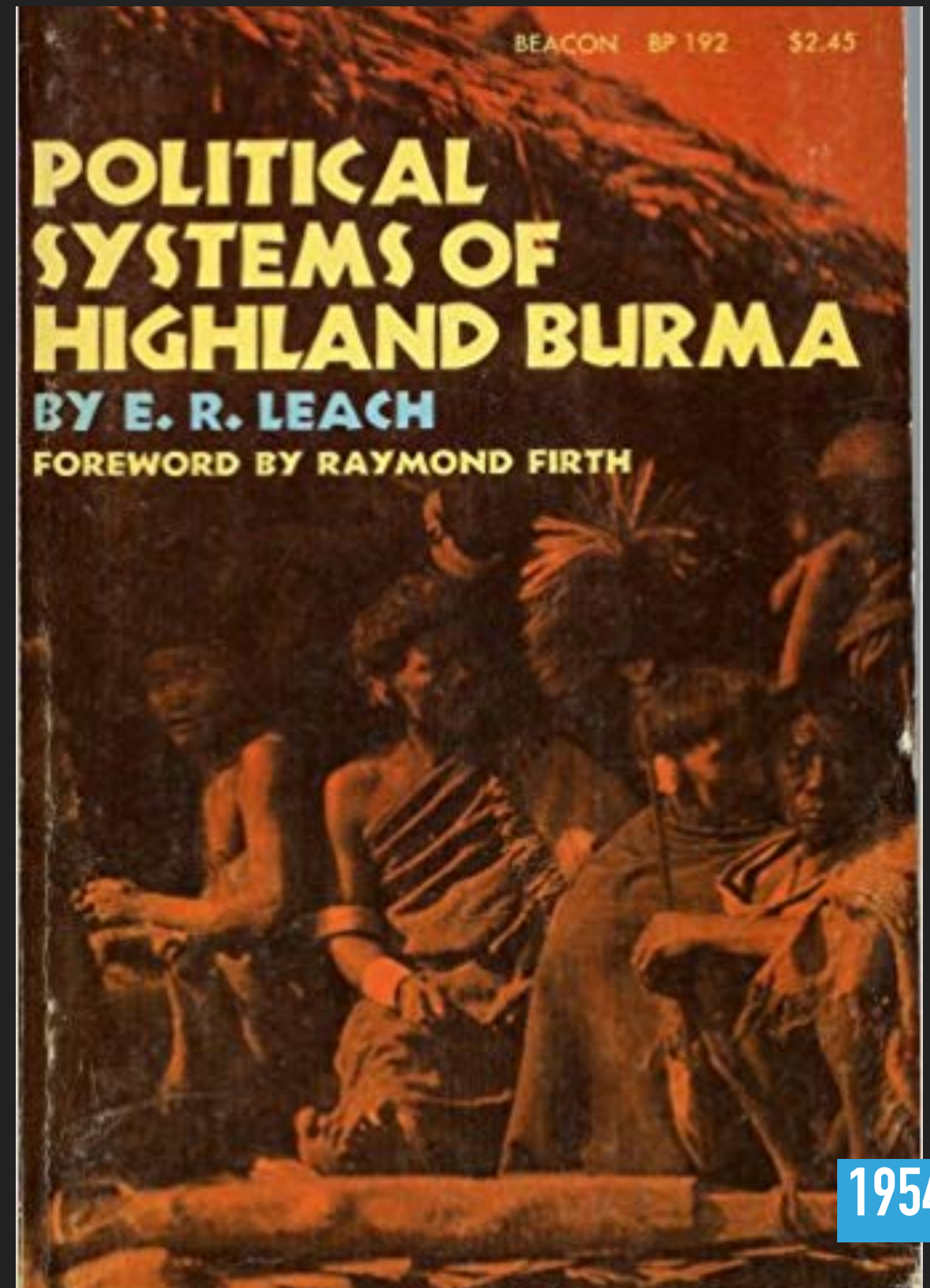
Table 2.1
Preindustrial Political Systems: An Evolutionary Typology

	<i>Uncentralized</i>		<i>Centralized</i>	
	<i>Band</i>	<i>Tribe</i>	<i>Chiefdom</i>	<i>State</i>
<i>Type of Subsistence</i>	Hunting-gathering; little or no domestication	Extensive agriculture (horticulture) and pastoralism	Extensive agriculture; intensive fishing	Intensive agriculture
<i>Type of Leadership</i>	Informal and situational leaders; may have a headman who acts as arbiter in group decision-making	Charismatic headman with no power but some authority in group decision making	Charismatic chief with limited power based on bestowal of benefits on followers	Sovereign leader supported by an aristocratic bureaucracy
<i>Type and Importance of Kinship</i>	Bilateral kinship, with kin relations used differentially in changing size and composition of bands	Unilineal kinship (patrilineal or matrilineal) may form basic structure of society	Unilineal with some bilateral; descent groups are ranked in status	State demands suprapatrikinship loyalties; access to power is based on ranked kin groups, either unilineal or bilateral
<i>Major Means of Social Integration</i>	Marriage alliances unite larger groups; bands united by kinship and family; economic interdependence based on reciprocity	Pantribal sodalities based on kinship, voluntary associations, and/or age-grades	Integration through loyalty to chief, ranked lineages, and voluntary associations	State loyalties supercede all lower-level loyalties; integration through commerce and specialization of function
<i>Political Succession</i>	May be hereditary headman, but actual leadership falls to those with special knowledge or abilities	No formal means of political succession	Chief's position is not directly inherited, but chief must come from a high-ranking lineage	Direct hereditary succession of sovereign; increasing appointment of bureaucratic functionaries
<i>Major Types of Economic Exchange</i>	Reciprocity	Reciprocity; trade may be more developed than in bands	Redistribution through chief; reciprocity at lower levels	Redistribution based on formal tribute and/or taxation; markets and trade
<i>Social Stratification</i>	Egalitarian	Egalitarian	Rank (individual and lineage)	Classes (minimally of rulers and ruled)
<i>Ownership of Property</i>	Little or no sense of personal property	Communal (lineage or clan) ownership of agricultural lands and cattle	Land communally owned by lineage, but strong sense of personal ownership of titles, names, privileges, ritual, artifacts, etc.	Private and state ownership increases at the expense of communal ownership
<i>Law and Legitimate Control of Force</i>	No formal laws or punishments; right to use force is communal	No formal laws or punishments; right to use force belongs to lineage, clan, or association	May be informal laws and specified punishments for breaking taboos; chief has limited access to physical coercion	Formal laws and punishments; state holds all legitimate access to use of physical force
<i>Religion</i>	No religious priesthood or full-time specialists; shamanistic	Shamanistic; strong emphasis on initiation rites and other rites of passage that unite lineages	Inchoate formal priesthood; hierarchical, ancestor-based religion	Full-time priesthood provides sacral legitimization of state
<i>Recent and Contemporary Examples</i>	!Kung Bushmen (Africa) Pygmies (Africa) Inuit (Canada, Alaska) Shoshone (U.S.)	Kpelle (W. Africa) Yanomamo (Brazil, Venezuela) Nuer (Sudan) Cheyenne (U.S.)	Precolonial Hawaii Kwakiutl (Canada) Tikopia (Polynesia) Dagurs (Mongolia)	Ankole (Uganda) Jimma (Ethiopia) Kachari (India) Volta (Africa)
<i>Historic and Prehistoric Examples</i>	Virtually all Paleolithic societies	Iroquois (U.S.) Oaxaca Valley (Mexico) 1500–1000 B.C.	Precolonial Ashanti, Benin, Dahomy Scottish Highlanders	Precolonial Zulu (Africa) Aztec (Mexico) Inca (Peru) Sumeria (Iraq)

Sources: Abrahamson 1969; Carniero 1970; Eisenstadt 1959; Fried 1967; Levinson and Malone 1980; Lomax and Arensberg 1977; Service 1971.

POLITICAL SYSTEMS OF HIGHLAND BURMA

- ▶ Edmund Leach (1910-1989)
- ▶ ethnic relations and politics: the Kachin and the Shan
- ▶ gumlao (egalitarian) vs gumsa (hierarchical)
- ▶ individual strategy and economic interests



ACTION THEORY

- ▶ politics defined as
 - ▶ the processes involved in determining and implementing public goals and in the differential achievement
 - ▶ use of power by the members of the groups concerned with these goals
- ▶ process and action theory (individual's choice, strategy; structural change, process)

Table 5.1

Three Theoretical Perspectives in Political Anthropology

	<i>Structural-Functionalism</i>	<i>The Process Approach</i>	
		<i>Process Theory</i>	<i>Action Theory</i>
<i>Goals</i>	To show how particular institutions serve to maintain the equilibrium of the whole society	To define the processes involved in political competitions and in implementing public goals	To describe individual strategies for gaining and maintaining power
<i>Unit of Analysis</i>	A society, tribe, social group, etc., usually treated as an ideal whole; this group was considered for analytical purposes as a closed system insofar as little regard was paid to the wider environment	The "political field," a flexible and relative concept referring to any area in which political interaction takes place; may involve a part of society or extend beyond social or ethnic boundaries	The "political arena," an area in which individual actors or small groups vie for political power. Political arenas may be, or be comprised all or in part of, factions, patron-client relations, parties, elites, and other informal parapolitical groups
<i>Analytic Approach to Time</i>	Synchronic: society is viewed as though outside of time, in ideal present	Diachronic, or "in time": analysis may focus on actual history or on ideal processes of change through time	Diachronic, but often focused on the actions of individuals within the duration of the anthropologist's fieldwork
<i>Attitude toward Change</i>	In some writings, there was simply no interest expressed in change; society was treated in a purely structural fashion; in other writings, change (in the sense of adaptive adjustments of the parts) was emphasized, but the whole was seen to be in equilibrium	Conflict, tension, and change are viewed as the normal condition of society	Change within a political arena is virtually constant, though there may be a relative stability of the wider system
<i>Key Terms</i>	Structure, function, equilibrium, integration	Process, competition, conflict, power, legitimacy, support	Strategy, manipulation, decision making, roles, goals, games, rules
<i>Examples</i>	<i>African Political Systems</i> , ed. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard <i>The Nuer</i> , by Evans-Pritchard	<i>Political Systems of Highland Burma</i> , by Leach (transitional) <i>Political Anthropology</i> , ed. Swartz, Turner, and Tuden	<i>Schism and Continuity in an African Society</i> , by Turner <i>Lugbara Religion</i> , by Middleton "Political Anthropology: Manipulative Strategies," by Vincent, in <i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i> 1978

CURRENT TRENDS

Typology of Primary State Development

	Old World				New World	
	Mesopotamia	Nile Valley, Egypt	Indus River Valley, India	Yellow River Valley, China	Mesoamerica	Peru
1000						
AD						
BC						
1000						
2000						
3000						
4000						
5000						
6000						

Figure 3.1
Typology of Primary States

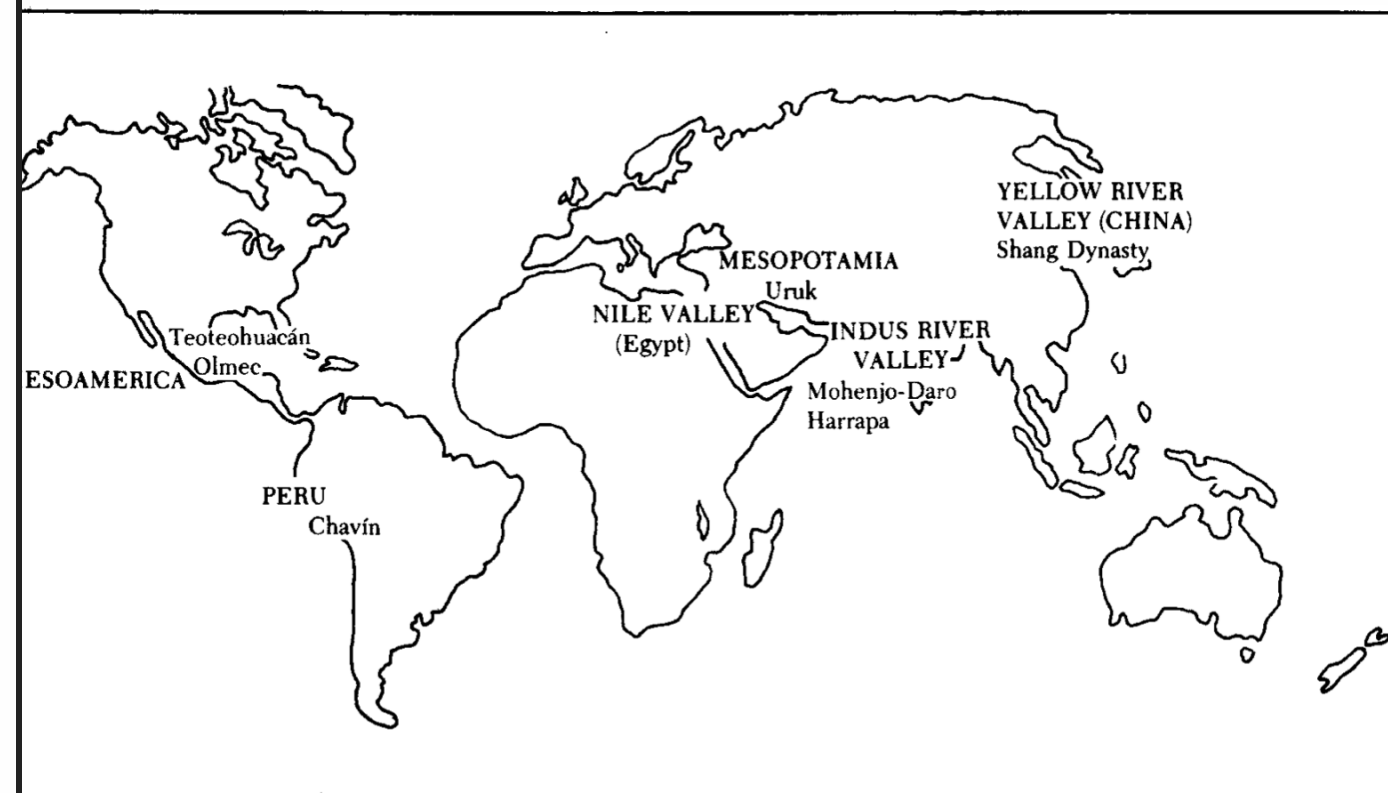


Table 3.1
Typology of 21 Early States

	Inchoate	Typical	Transitional
Examples (and period covered in sample)	Ankole (Uganda) 1650–1900 A.D. Hawaii 1700–1850 A.D. Norway 900–1100 A.D. Tahiti 1700–1800 A.D. Volta (Upper Volta and Ghana) 1400–1900 A.D. Zande (Sudan) 1750–1850 A.D.	Angkor (Cambodia) 1150–1300 A.D. Axum (Ethiopia) 25–625 A.D. Egypt 2950–2500 B.C. Inca (Peru) 1425–1532 A.D. Kachari (India) 1800 A.D.– Mongolia 1200–1325 A.D. Scythia (Ukraine) 400–725 A.D. Yoruba (Nigeria) 1400–1900 A.D.	Aztecs (Mexico) 1425–1521 A.D. China 250 B.C.–225 A.D. France 900–1100 A.D. Jimma (Ethiopia) 1825 A.D.– Kuba (Zaire) 1850–1900 A.D. Maurya (India) 1100–1275 A.D.
Trade and Markets	Of limited importance.	Developed at the supralocal level.	Fully developed and of great importance.
Mode of Succession to Office	Predominantly hereditary.	Hereditary and by appointment.	Mainly by appointment.
Ownership of Land	Private ownership rare. Mainly communal ownership of land and livestock.	Private ownership of land limited, but increasing ownership by the state.	Private ownership of land important for both aristocracy and common people.
Judicial System	No codification of laws and punishments. No specialized formal judges.	Incipient codification of laws and punishments. Formal judges and general (nonspecialized) functionaries who decide cases.	Codification of laws and punishments complete. Administration of justice in the hands of formal judges.
Taxation	Irregular voluntary tribute and occasional labor.	Regular tribute. Major works undertaken with aid of compulsory labor.	Well-defined taxation system with complex apparatus to insure regular flow.

Source: Claessen and Skalník (eds.) 1978.

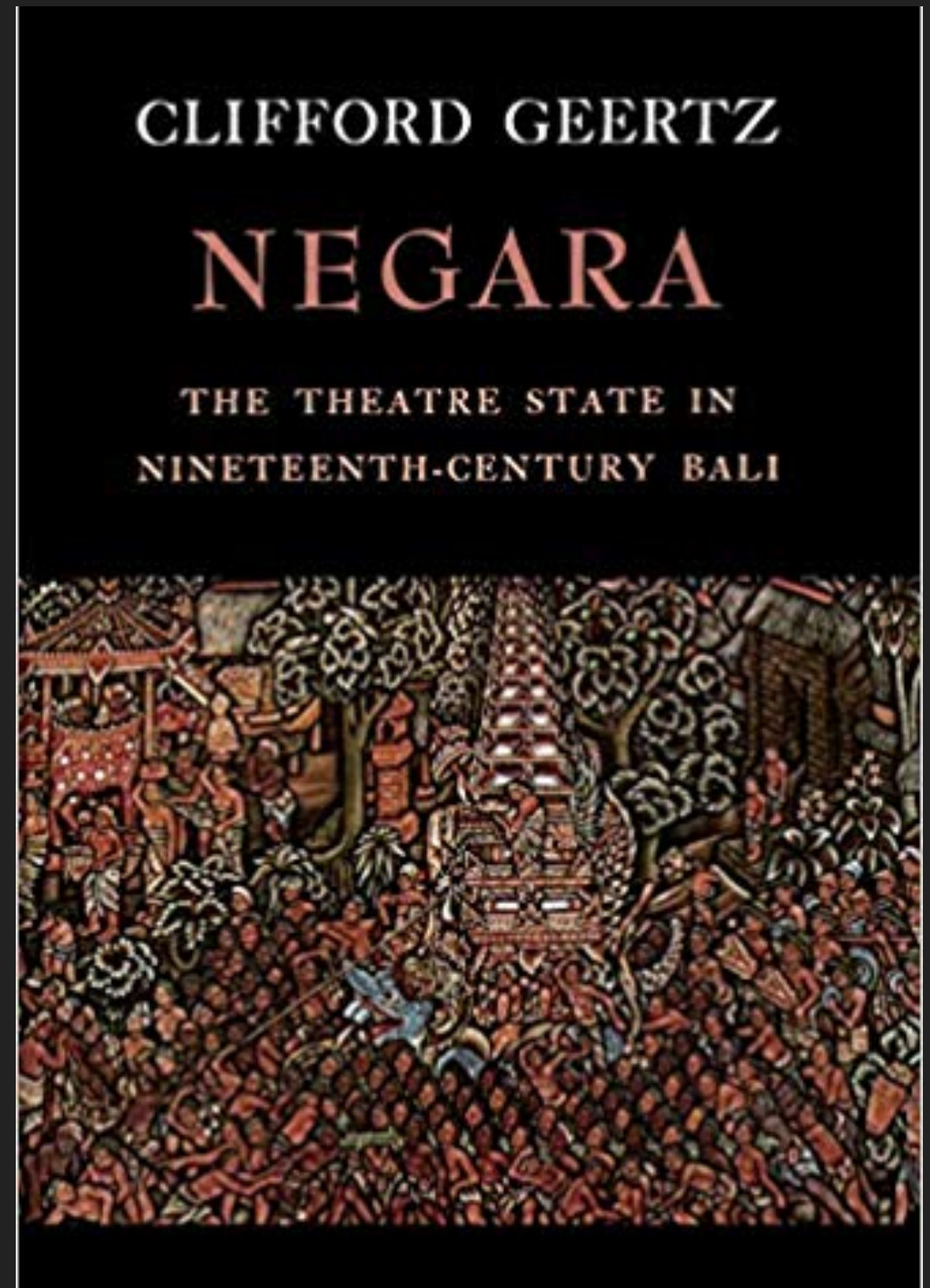
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NEGARA (1980)

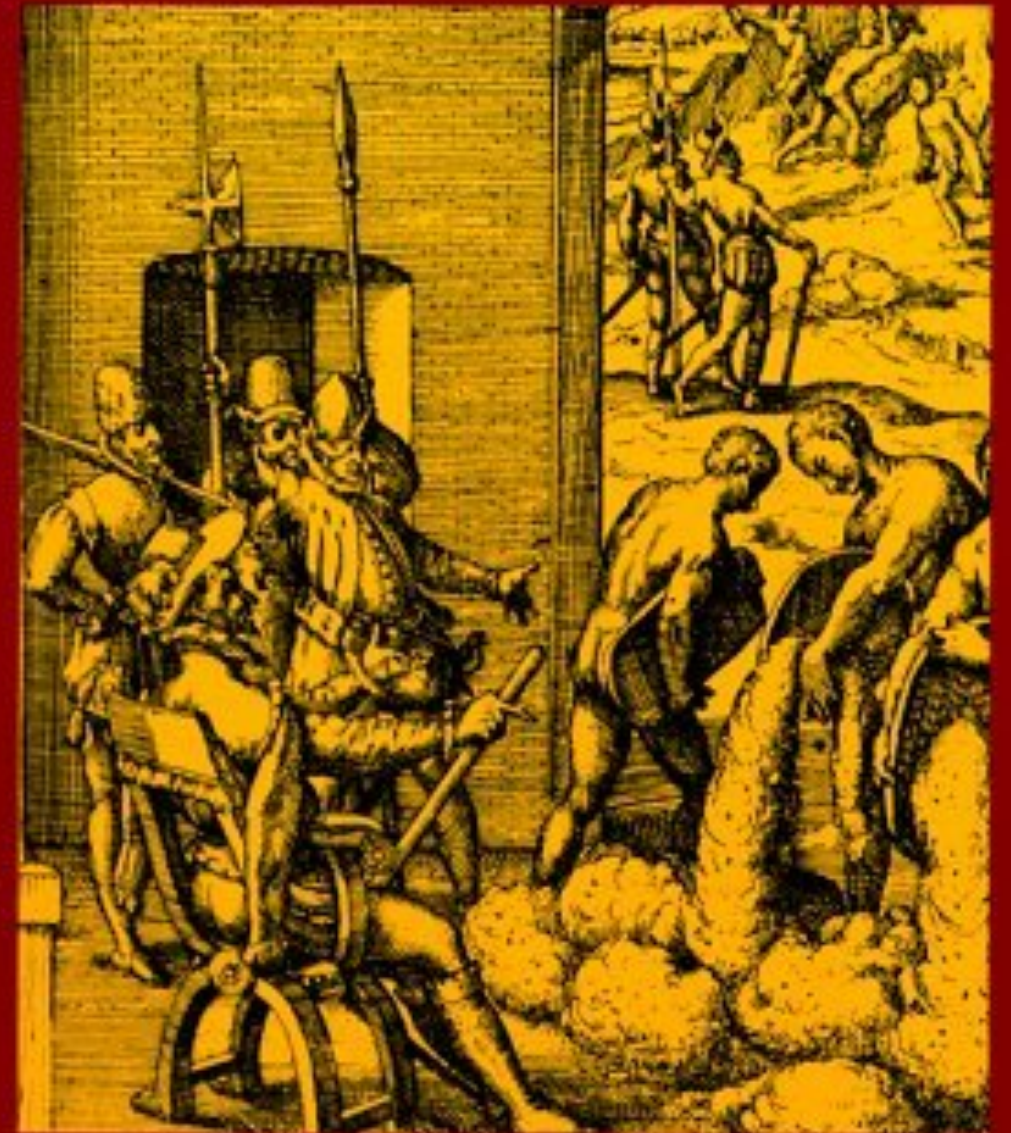
- ▶ Clifford Geertz (1926-2006)
- ▶ The state formation based on economy, political organization and symbol
- ▶ the symbolic aspect of state formation and maintenance



EUROPE AND THE PEOPLE WITHOUT HISTORY, 1982

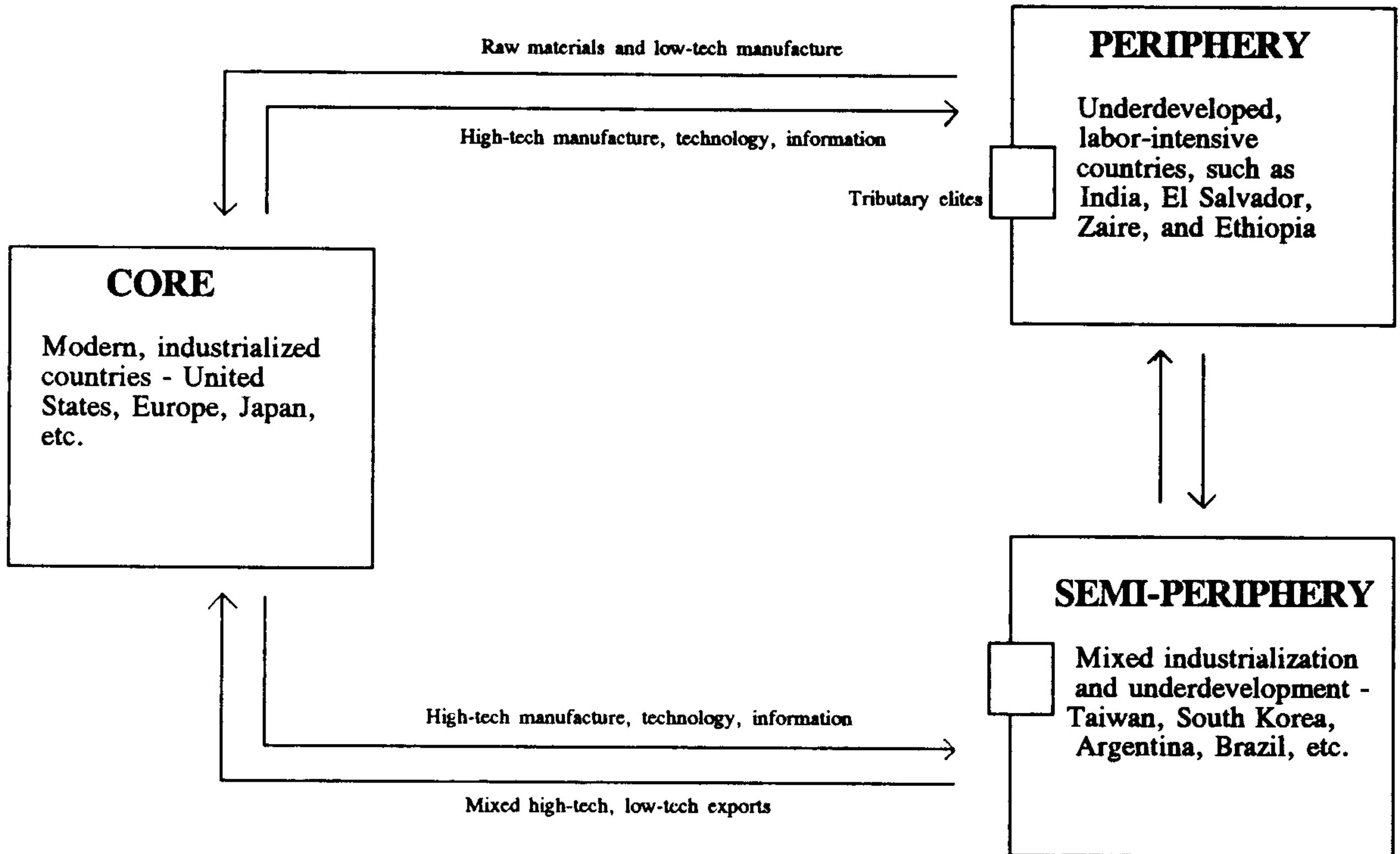
- ▶ Eric Wolf (1923-1999)
- ▶ world system
- ▶ how world capitalism change the power relations in societies worldwide.
- ▶ history, economy, colonialism, capitalism

Europe and the People Without History



With a New Preface
ERIC R. WOLF

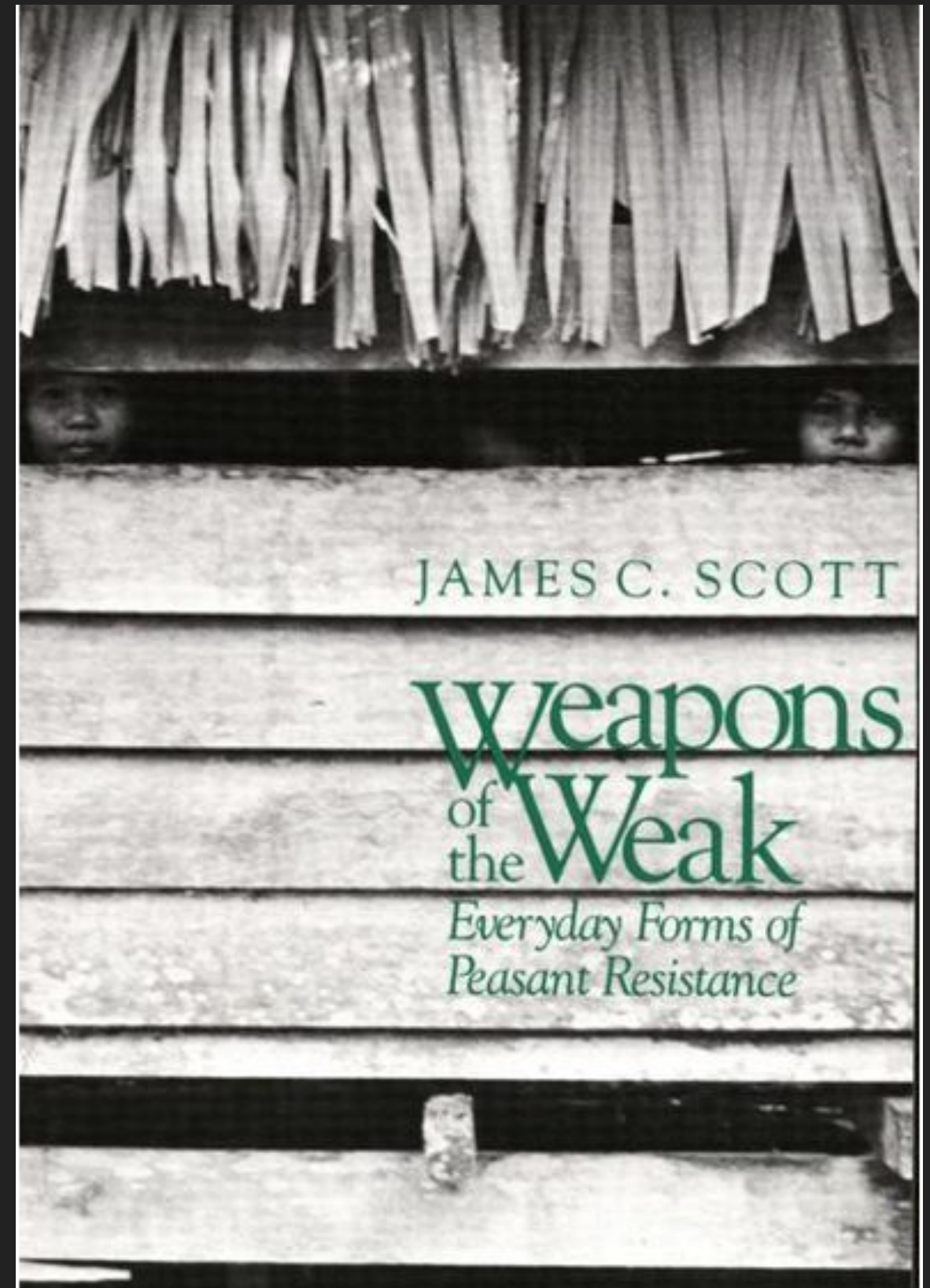
Figure 11.1
The Capitalist World System



Source: Shepherd 1987 (on "tributary elites"); Wallerstein 1974.

WEAPONS OF THE WEAK, 1985

- ▶ James C. Scott (1936--)
- ▶ the peasant (the weak) resist against the capitalist via everyday resistances
 - ▶ from verbal resistances to actions
 - ▶ but never a revolution



POST-COLONIAL POLITICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- ▶ from the study of stateless societies to anthropology of state
- ▶ post-colonialism, subaltern studies, local knowledge, the global south
- ▶ politics in the global scale and the small society
- ▶ the return of Marxism
- ▶ both structure and human agency, both repression and resistance
- ▶ politics is not only found in political arena, but politics also exists in economic relations, gender relation, ethnic relations.