

ECONOMIC ANTHROPOLOGY

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Summary

This chapter explores the main contributions and debates of Economic Anthropology, a field that has been developing considerably since the beginning of the 20th Century and that still enjoys a great vitality. It aims to provide a state of the art, always necessarily limited but general enough to help the reader to locate and understand the objectives of economic anthropology and its main areas of research. The introduction presents a synthetic definition of this sub-field, it outlines its main chronological phases, and it highlights the most relevant influences involved in its emergence. Forceful criticism of the precepts of neoclassical economics and a concern for the relationship between society, environment and economy, have been two central pillars of its initial development. Then the chapter describes and explains the three main theoretical roots of classical economic anthropology: substantivism, formalism, and the contributions of Marxist anthropology and its most representative schools. In line with the Marxist discussion two influential themes of analysis within this subfield are presented: peasant studies (especially in Latin America and Asia) and development, along with the discussion of moral economy and its main assumptions. Following a coherent narrative, the second part of this chapter is divided in three parts, and it focuses on production, distribution and consumption, as well as on details of what we consider to be the major substantive contributions: the analysis of primitive money, gift-exchange, the prestige economy, spheres of exchange, types of exchange (barter, market, silent trade, and so on), types of reciprocity and the social life of things, among others. The last section attempts to present some of the newest developments and future research directions.

1. Introduction

The following chapter aims to provide the state-of-the-art of Economic Anthropology and illustrate, in an inevitably limited way, its main lines of research and contributions.

Economic Anthropology is a scholarly subfield of social and cultural anthropology that attempts to explain *economic life* in its widest historic, geographic, and cultural scope. It focuses on the mechanisms that support, taking one of Karl Polanyi's titles, the *livelihood of man*, including the processes of production, circulation, and consumption in pre-capitalist and capitalist societies alike. Economic anthropology describes the systems within which people do these things, how such systems are organized, how they operate, how they relate to other systems, how a social group produces what it wants, needs, and desires; how those goods are exchanged, the role of the different social sectors in the economic provisioning of the community, how and why those goods are consumed, and so on. But the interest of economic anthropology exceeds these utilitarian questions when the anthropological gaze turns to the complex nature of production, exchange, and consumption, and the link between these and culture, symbolism and the individual. Beyond this specific goal, economic anthropology also touches upon fundamental philosophical issues on human nature, and reframes the concept of economy as one of the key terms of modernity under a critical spotlight.

In the history of economic anthropology we can distinguish the influence of some main currents of Western social thought, notably German and French socialism, British utilitarians, and the French tradition of critical rationalism from Rousseau onwards (Hann and Hart, 2011: 53). The German school, with the influence of Karl Bücher and Richard Thurnwald, gave priority to the study of work, modes of production, and technology. For Bücher, gifts and exchange were instrumental in the rise of the economy, and he remarked that only in the last stage of economic development becomes the market relevant. He insisted upon the need to contextualize economic activity and pointed out that market principles and methodological individualism could not explain all economic behavior. On the other hand, Bronislaw Malinowski, pioneer of social anthropology, can also be regarded as one of the founders of British economic anthropology with his classical work on the Trobriand Islanders of the East coast of New Guinea. The complex exchange of goods between islands on the basis of generosity called into question the notion of *homo economicus*, showing instead that exchange could be organized without money or markets. The islanders' economic behavior challenged taken-for-granted notions of private property, work, and economic exchange. In the American tradition, the influence of Thorstein B. Veblen and John R. Commons foregrounded institutional economics. In American anthropology the leading figure was Franz Boas. His description of the *potlatch* illustrated the role of destruction of goods in the acquisition of prestige and political authority, while rural Mexico was also very fertile ground for American economic anthropology, with the works of Foster, Robert Redfield and Lewis, on the one hand, and the materialism of Leslie White, Steward and his students on the other, as we will see. In the French tradition, Marcel Mauss' *Essay sur le don* (1925) has been most influential. For Mauss, the idea of a free market based on an individual contract is as impossible as the idea of total collective altruism.

Regarding the historical development of the field, and following Hann and Hart's (2011) chronology, it is possible to outline at least four stages: from the end of the 19th Century to the 1940s; from the 1940s to the 1950s; between the 1950s and the 1960s, and since the 1970s to the present day.

From the end of the 19th Century until the 1940s, economic anthropology *avant la lettre* was mainly interested in determining whether the economic behavior of primitive peoples was dominated by the same principles of rationality and efficiency that motivated economic action in the West. In the 1920s very few scholars paid attention to the general problems common to economics and anthropology. Instead they focused primarily on the ideas that primitives people held about economic matters (Seddon, 1978).

Until then, anthropology had produced only a handful of fundamental but fragmentary works on the subject: Malinowski's "*The Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders*" (1921) and *Coral Gardens* (1935); Raymond Firth's *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori* (1929) and *Primitive Polynesian Economy* in 1939; Thurnwald's *Economics in Primitive Communities* (1932); Viljoen's *The Economics of Primitive Peoples* (1936), and Goodfellow's *Principles of Economic Sociology. The Economics of Primitive Life as Illustrated from the Bantu peoples* (1939) completes the initial scenario. These works shared a concern with defining the new field of study, but also collected extensive and valuable data on livelihoods, technology and economy, such as harvest profits, agricultural production, division of labor, etc. Even as late as the 1950s, economic anthropology was primarily descriptive and ethnographic in orientation and couched in a generally social-structural theoretical framework that focused on how each culture made a living.

Between 1940 and 1950, an average of only four major articles and books were published in economic anthropology each year worldwide, and from 1951 to 1956 the average went up to only ten per year. In 1952 Melville Herskovits published *Economic Anthropology. A Study in Comparative Economics*, an extension of his earlier book *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples* (1940). In this work he tried to apply the principles of economics to the study of "primitive" societies, engaging in a vivid exchange with the economist Frank Knight, in 1941. Nevertheless in 1957, with the publication of Karl Polanyi's *Trade and Market in the Early Empires*, a lively and long-lasting substantivism/formalism debate started, and the number jumped up to twenty-seven (Wilk and Cligget, 2007).

All in all, the field was definitively established between the 1950s and 1960s, in the midst of the Cold War, when the epistemological and methodological debate between substantivists and formalists was at its heights, leading thereafter into a brief Marxist period in which cultural ecology and the study of peasants were central.

From the 1970s onward, with the worldwide neoliberal expansion, interest in globalization processes in Western society resulted in a plethora of new topics that have further expanded the field during the last years. Economic anthropology nowadays covers a wide array of topics including uneven development, globalization, ethical consumption, mass media, ethnic enterprises, financial markets, property, virtual

commons, sustainability, fair trade, post-socialist economies and new forms of work, to mention just a few.

In perspective, the overall contribution of classical economic anthropology was centered on two main areas: the confrontation with the neoclassical economics, on the one hand, and the study of the relationship between society, culture and environment, on the other. However, the second trend has been gradually subsumed under the already autonomous subfield of ecological anthropology – and it surely deserves a state-of-the-art in its own.

Regarding the first area, anthropology has challenged the very notion of the Economy and its genealogy and development. Current definitions of economy refer to concepts such as ‘management’, ‘efficient conservation of resources’, ‘practical affairs’, ‘money and wealth’ and ‘market’. But economy has not always had this meaning. The word economy originally comes from the Greek *oikonomia*, meaning ‘household management’ (including the garden and its products, slaves, women, artisans, etc.) and Aristotle (383-322 BCE) is generally credited with having provided its theoretical definition. Yet the concept, as we understand it today, emerged from a long historical Western discussion on the *theory of value* and the making of the Economy as an autonomous entity (Dumont, 1977 and Barber 1967). Lately it was used by the French physiocrats in the 18th Century to determine the interdependencies between wheat price fluctuations, land, property and social classes (i.e., Quesnay’s *tableau economique*). Classical and neo-classical economists thereafter created a particular conception of the economy, regarded ultimately as the *science of scarcity* (i.e., how to allocate limited resources to unlimited ends), implying therefore a very specific conception of human nature. In fact, the history of economic anthropology can be explained largely as a debate against the precepts of neoclassical economics as stated by marginalists (Stanley Jevons in England Carl Menger in Austria and Leon Walras in Switzerland). These precepts stipulate that economics is the science of allocating scarce resources to infinite wants and purposes (*principle of scarcity*); that the unit of analysis is the individual acting rationally to meet his/her needs and maximize his/her limited resources (methodological individualism); that it is possible to establish predictive and mathematical models of that behavior (deductivism), and that every human being is thought to maximize through rational decisions (specific understanding of human nature).

In general, and although one might find a lot of common grounds and mutual interests (Ensminger, 2002), collaboration between Economics and Anthropology has been infrequent, and these discussions have rarely transcended the field of anthropology itself except in the unusual case of *institutional economics*. The reason for this lack of dialogue between the disciplines is due to both epistemological (i.e., the method and techniques employed) and ontological (e.g., the meaning of economics) differences. Nevertheless, after the cultural and postmodern turn in the 1990s, economic anthropology is undergoing a revival and offers some promising paths. The appearance of outstanding works such as that of the anthropologist David Graeber on ‘debt’, the influential work of political economist Elinor Ostrom on the social management of the commons, and the economist Thomas Piketty on the increasing inequalities in 21st Century capitalism, touch upon the essentials of economic anthropology: the social and cultural side of economic processes.

2. Classical Theoretical Debates: Substantivism, Formalism and Marxism

Substantivism, formalism and Marxism can be regarded as the three classic theoretical foundations of economic anthropology. Some consider the period in which these developments took place as the Golden Age of economic anthropology.

2.1. Formalism versus Substantivism: Cornerstone of Economic Anthropology

In his influential book *The Great Transformation* (1944), economic historian Karl Polanyi established the foundations of substantivism. In this book he traced the development of modern market capitalism from earlier systems, and foresaw the imminent collapse of our civilization. In his view, modern capitalism had elevated profits and market logic above society and human values, turning everything into a commodity (Polanyi, 1944; Wilk and Cligget, 2007). Economics had developed alongside market capitalism, acting as the ideological vehicle of the system, helping to keep capitalism going by making it seem natural (Dumont, 1977). Nonetheless Polanyi thought that the market economy could not penetrate all spheres of social life, as there are realms of social interaction that naturally remain outside the price mechanism, and given that social forces will react to keep market dynamics out of the very core of social relations. He further argues that trade and markets have historically functioned embedded in society rather than outside, and that strong ritual restrictions have existed in different places and times to ensure market peace and to avoid its indiscriminate expansion. In this way we find, for instance, trade without permanent traders in the old-Mesopotamian Tamkarum and the Metic in classical Greece; partial traders like the Vikings and Tuareg people, and different types of trading activities such as the *silent trade* practiced by Phoenicians and Banyan merchants in Zanzibar.

Echoing Max Weber's (1922) previous distinction between material and economic rationalities, in "*The Economy as Instituted Process*" (1957) Polanyi defined two meanings of the word economy: *formal*, meaning the study of rational decision-making; and *substantive*, referring to the material acts of making a living. According to Polanyi, only in the historical development of the modern West had the two come to have the same meaning, for only in modern capitalism was the economic system (substantive) fused with rational economic logic (formal) in order to maximize individual self-interest. And only in our market society, for the first time in history, had the four uses of money coincided (medium of exchange, storage of value, payment and standard of value). According to Polanyi, the economy, as we understand it, is a historical construct, an anomaly. The emergence of market economy responds to a relatively recent historical process while in primitive societies the economy is *embedded* (i.e., integrated, ingrained, inserted) in other social institutions that operate on other principles than the market: kinship relations, religious institutions, commitments among neighbors, ritual activities, etc. The institutionalization of such a separation occurred specifically in England in the 19th Century, when land and labor become marketed commodities, and Capitalism was unleashed in the tide of industrial development. It is true that pre-capitalist cultures engaged in multifaceted economic activities, but not within the framework and values of the rational economic logic that is characteristic of the competitive marketplace.

Polanyi proposed three main ways of economic integration; i.e., reciprocity, redistribution, and exchange. He believed that modern formal economics only studied the latter and was unable to comprehend the first two because of their different logics. Economic anthropologists usually agree, however, that both logics (formal and substantive) are present in all social systems, including capitalism, albeit in different guises and proportions (Gudeman, 2001).

Polanyi's thesis had its followers and detractors within economic anthropology. While the former are usually known as substantivists, the latter defined themselves, following Polanyi's own division, as formalists. The debate between formalists and substantivists in economic anthropology can be regarded as its *rite the passage*, and it was developed mainly during the 1940s and 1960s. While the main substantivist position stressed that economy is a type of human activity and that scarcity is not an existential condition of humanity but only a condition of the capitalist market economy; formalists maintained that the maximizing rationality was to be found in all societies and in all kinds of behavior.

Marshall Sahlins' *Stone Age Economics* (1972) presents a strong substantivist argument. Drawing on ethnographic data he argued that foragers are, in fact, an *affluent society*. According to his thesis, hunter-gatherers do not suffer from poverty, as had often been assumed, but instead live in a society in which all their wants are easily satisfied. Hunter-gatherers share, Sahlins points out, the *Zen road to affluence*, according to which human material wants are finite and few, and their technical means on the whole adequate. This controversial thesis shows that foragers and Western societies take separate roads to affluence, the former by desiring little, the latter by producing much more than needed. The theory touches therefore upon cultural issues such as material accumulation, needs and desires, the role of production, and the ideal of "the good life".

In the early 1960s there was a serious concern in the social sciences with establishing a more rigorous and 'scientific' methods and modes of theorizing, and for some anthropologists the goals of economics seemed particularly appealing. From this perspective Polanyi's thesis came under criticism. Formalists were concerned with objectivity and methods, and they focused on decision-making and choice, expanding their range of analytical techniques to include game theory, linear programming and decision trees. Formalists held that all people are rational but that the environment and resources act as ultimate constraints. Maximizing, they held, does not require money or markets (since even love or security can be maximized) and all societies do face rational choices between different possibilities. In this way, formalists argued, all societies, past and present, exhibit rational behavior and scarce ends and means, thus economic change is inevitable when new opportunities are available. In primitive societies the shortage is such that choices are extremely limited (Herskovits, 1952). For the formalists, it is possible to explain some of the apparently non-economic characteristics of non-Western people's such as resistance to change, unresponsiveness to shifts in demand, supply, and prices, and preference for labor rather than capital intensive operations, by understanding behavior as ultimately economic, reducible to balancing costs against benefits.

In contrast to Polanyi's historical account, formalist asserted that market exchanges were common in medieval Europe and elsewhere long before the Industrial Revolution. In their view substantivism was unrealistic and indulged in wishful thinking. In any case, it would no longer be relevant as the global market economy increasingly penetrated all parts of the world. Anthropologists Robbing Burling, Harold Schneider, Edward LeClair, Franck Cancian, and Scott Cook were prominent among formalists. According to Schneider, "formalism implicitly or explicitly held the belief that non-Western, indigenous people are economic men in one sense or another and that economic change is inevitable when new opportunities are available" (1975: 272), as shown by Epstein's work in South India, by Salisbury in his study of Vunamami, and by Ortiz referring to the Paez of Colombia. However, the work of anthropologists Lee, Edel, Firth, Barth and Ortiz can be also be regarded as formalist to a lesser extent, as they did not try to establish predictive models and their vision of the *economy* was a little more flexible.

Good examples of the application of formalism can be found in the works of Richard Lee (1969) and his use of the transactional model of input-output economics in the analysis of Kung bushman in the Kalahari Desert; as well as Edel's (1967) work on Jamaican fishing villages. Raymond Firth, despite calling for the universal application of "economic science", masterfully explored the processes of saving, credit and capital formation in context, describing the role of institutions such as magic, religion, kinship and political structure in the economy of inshore Malay fishermen, the Polynesians (1939), and the Tikopia (1936, 1959), a relatively isolated and scarcely 'developed' society of the under-populated Solomon Islands. In a similar vein Fredrik Barth (1967) and Sutti Ortiz (1973) explored individuals' saving and investment strategies in relation to processes of socioeconomic change, but with full development of the social and cultural context in which such practices occur.

The discussion between formalists and substantivists did not end, but fizzled out. There is a discrepancy at the heart of this debate that was never fully resolved, between distinct scientific visions: one deductive and formal (formalism) and the other empirical and inductive (substantivism) (Kaplan, 1976). Although these ideas can be found in earlier anthropologists, the fundamental positions can in fact be traced to a much older debate, that of the *Methodenstreit* (the German word for the "method dispute"), the controversy around economic methodology that started in the 1880s and lasted for more than a decade between the Austrian and German (Historical) Schools. The debate was concerned with the place of general theory in the social sciences and the use of history to explain the dynamics of human action.

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Fassin, Didier (2005) "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France", *Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. 20, Issue 3, pp. 362-387. [Here the author approaches the immigration policies in Europe in the last three decades and its increasingly restrictive character].

Ferguson, James (1990). *The Anti-Politics Machine: "Development", Depoliticization and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Through a detailed case study of Development Project in Lesotho, Ferguson exposes here the discourse and the practice of 'development' to a highly explicit and critical scrutiny].

Fine, Ben; Leopold, Ellen (1993). *The World of Consumption: The Material and Cultural Revisited*. New York: Routledge. [This book presents an updated analysis of the cluttered landscape of studies of consumption in the 1990's].

Firth, Raymond (1936). *We, the Tikopia. A Sociological Study of Kinship in Primitive Polynesia*. Boston: Beacon Press. [Recognized as a major work when first published, this title has, over the years, become a classic in social anthropology].

Firth, Raymond (1939). *Primitive Polynesian Economy*. London: Routledge & Sons, Ltd. [This is another classic in British economic anthropology from one of the founders].

Firth, Raymond (1959). *Social Change in Tikopia. Re-study of a Polynesian Community after a Generation*. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. [Re-visiting Tikopia a decade after his first visit, Raymond Firth here examines what impact the forces of modernization had on Tikopia society with regard to economics, law, politics and social affairs].

Firth, Raymond (1966). *Malay Fishermen. Their Peasant Economy*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd. [This is still a comprehensive analysis of the particular situation of the fisheries in Kelantan and Trengganu (Malaysia)].

Foster, George M. (1967). "Peasant society and the image limited good", *American Anthropologist*, 67:293-315. [Here Foster presents a model of the cognitive orientation of peasants regarding their economic actions].

Foster, George M. (1962). *Traditional cultures: and the impact of technological change*. New York: Harper & Row. [It deals with the effect of technological change in traditional societies, and with its ethics, motivations and challenges].

Friedman, Jonathan (1974). "Marxism, Structuralism and Vulgar Materialism", *Man*, New Series, Vol. 9(3): 444-469. [Friedman poses a theoretical discussion differentiating Marxism from Structural-Marxism from he calls "Vulgar Materialism"].

Geertz, Clifford (1963a). *Agricultural Involution. The Process of Ecological Change*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [This is a remarkable account of Indonesian agricultural history (primarily covering the period of Dutch control) that draws on ecology, sociology, and economics].

Geertz, Clifford (1963b). *Peddlers and Princes. Social Development and Economic Change in Two Indonesian Towns*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [This is a study of two Indonesian towns that analyzes the process of economic change in terms of people and behavior patterns rather than income and production].

Gibson, K. R. & Ingold, T. (eds.), (1993). *Tools, language and cognition in human evolution*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. [The topics explored here include the parallels between speech, manual gesture and other modes of communication links between the cognitive processes involved in language].

Ginsberg, Eli (ed.), (1964). *Technology and Social Change*. London & NY: Columbia University Press. [Ginsberg provides here comparisons of the tool-using skills and imitative abilities of humans and non-human primates].

Godelier, Maurice (1966). *Rationality and irrationality in economics*. NLB. Original from, the University of Michigan, 1972. [This presents an analysis of social and economic systems and why they appear and disappear throughout history].

Godelier, Maurice (1996). *L'enigme du don (The Enigma of the Gift)*. Paris: Fayard. [Here Godelier reassesses the meaning of gifts in social life by focusing on sacred objects, which are never exchanged despite the value they possess].

Goodfellow, D.M. (1939). *Principles of Economic Sociology. The Economics of Primitive Life as Illustrated from the Bantu Peoples of South and East Africa*. Philadelphia: P. Blakinton's Son & Co., Inc. [This presents a pioneering approach to the economy of traditional African societies].

Goody, Jack (1982). *Cooking, Cuisine and Class. A Study in Comparative Sociology*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Goody sets here his own observations on cooking in West Africa, examining why a differentiated 'haute cuisine' has not emerged in Africa, as in other parts of the world].

Goody, Jack and S. J. Tambiah (1973). *Bridewealth and Dowry*. Cambridge University Press. [This deals with transmission of property at marriage under comparative lenses].

Gouldner, Alvin W. (1960). "The Norm of Reciprocity: A Preliminary Statement", *American Sociological Review* 25: 161-178. [Gouldner deals here with reciprocity, one form of economic integration according to Polanyi].

Graeber, David (2001). *Toward An Anthropological Theory of Value. The False Coin of Our Own Dreams*. Palgrave. [This is a comprehensive synthesis of economic, political, and cultural theories of value].

Graeber, David (2012) "On social currencies and human economies: some notes on the violence of equivalence", *Social Anthropology* (2012) 20, 4 411-428. [Graeber discusses here debt and its underlying violence, and human economies].

Graeber, David (2012) *Debt. The first 5000 years*. Melville House Publishing. [Economic history states that money replaced a bartering system, yet there isn't any evidence to support this axiom. Graeber presents a stunning reversal of this conventional wisdom].

Gregory, Chris A. (1982). *Gift and Commodities*. London: Academic Press. [This classic provides both a critique of neoclassical economics and development theory, a critical history of colonial Papua New Guinea, and a comparative ethnography of exchange in Melanesian societies].

Gregory, Chris A. (1997). "Beyond Gifts and Commodities", In *Savage Money. The Anthropology and Politics of Commodity Exchange*. Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers. [Here Gregory expands and deepens the debate between commodities and gift in economic anthropology].

Gudeman, Stephen (1986). *Economics as Culture*. International Library of Anthropology. Routledge. [The book argues that economies and economic theories are social constructions, and that the central processes of making a livelihood are culturally modeled].

Gudeman, Stephen (2001). *The Anthropology of Economy: Community, Market, and Culture*. Blackwell. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. [This book illustrates that, across cultures, economy can be understood as a combination of both community and market forces].

Gunder Frank, André (1966). *The Development of Underdevelopment*. Monthly Review Press. [Gunder Frank develops and influential theory here on economic development and power].

Hamada, Tomoko (1991). *American Enterprise in Japan*. Albany: State University of New York. [This presents ethnographic account on the cultural and economic issues concerning an American company in Japan].

Hammond, Peter B. (1966). *Yatengo. Technology in the Culture of a West African Kingdom*. New York: The Free Press. [This presents an early approach to the relationship between technology and traditional African societies].

Hann, Chris (2010) "Moral Economy", In Hart, K., Laville, J. L., and Cattani, A. D. (eds.) (2010). *The human economy*. London: Polity Press. [Here Hann provides a synthetic synthesis of the notion of moral economy in economic anthropology].

Hann, Chris and Hart, Keith (2011). *Economic Anthropology. History, Ethnography, Critique*. Cambridge: Polity Press. [A recent textbook on anthropology of economy written by two of the most prominent figures of the field].

Hann, Chris (ed.) (1998). *Property relations: renewing the anthropological tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Rejecting liberal economic and Marxist views on property, the contributors to this volume renew the anthropological perspective, applying it to a range of ethnographic cases].

Harris, Marvin (1968). *The Rise of Anthropological Theory. A History of Theories of Culture*. New York: Crowell. [This is one of the key documents explaining cultural materialism, the theory associated with Harris's work].

Harris, Marvin (1979). *Cultural materialism: The Struggle for a Science of Culture*. New York: Random House. [This presents Harris's first full-length explication of the theory with which his work has been associated].

Hart, K., Laville, J. L., and Cattani, A. D. (2010). *The human economy*. London: Polity Press. [The authors defend here the argument that the object of a human economy is the reproduction of human beings and of whatever sustains life in general].

Hart, Keith (1973) "Informal Income Opportunities & Urban Employment in Ghana", *The Journal of Modern African Studies* (Cambridge) 11, 1. [This is an important text where Hart develops the notion of informal economy].

Hart, Keith (2005) "Notes towards an anthropology of money", *Kriticos* Vol. 2. [This provides a synthetic approach to money under anthropological scrutiny].

Harvey, David (1992). *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change*. Wiley-Blackwell. [Here Harvey seeks to determine what is meant by 'postmodernity' in its different contexts and to identify how accurate and useful it is as a description of contemporary experience].

Herskovits, Melville J. (1940). *The Economic Life of Primitive Peoples*. A.A. Knopf. [This is one of the founding titles of economic anthropology, defending a strong formalist position].

Herskovits, Melville J. (1952). *Economic Anthropology. A Study in Comparative Economics*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. [This is an updated revision of the previous title with extensive and new data].

Hertz, Ellen (1998). *The trading crowd. An ethnography of the Shanghai Stock Market*. Cambridge University Press. [Hertz's anthropological study here sets the stock market and its players in the context of Shanghai society, and probes the dominant role played by the state, which has yielded a stock market very different from those of the West].

Hewitt, Cynthia (1984). *Anthropological Perspectives on Rural Mexico*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London. [A recommended book for anyone interested on rural issues and peasantry in Mexico].

Hobart, Mark (ed.) (1993). *An Anthropological Critique of Development. The Growth of Ignorance*. London: Routledge. [Here Hobart links the destruction of traditional knowledge and the pervasiveness of development policies].

Ho, Karen (2009). *Liquidated. An Ethnography of Wall Street*. Durham. Duke University Press. [In this work Karen Ho punctures the aura of the abstract, all-powerful market to show how financial markets, and particularly booms and busts, are constructed].

Holmstrom, Mark and Michel S. Laguerre (1980). "On Social Anthropology of Work", *Current Anthropology*, Vol. 21, No. 4 (Aug., 1980), pp. 526-528. [This presents a review of the general field of the anthropology of work].

Hoogvelt, Ankie (2001). *Globalization and the Postcolonial World. The New Political Economy of Development*. Palgrave Macmillan. [This presents a description of the diverse impacts of globalization in sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, East Asia, and Latin America, identifying different postcolonial responses in each of these regions]

Ingold, Tim (1997). "Eight themes in the anthropology of technology", *Social Analysis* 4: 106-138. [This is an insightful essay on eight major topics around the anthropology of technology]

Jameson, Fredric (1991). *Postmodernism, or the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism*. Durham: Duke University Press. [Here Jameson argues that postmodernism is the cultural response to the latest systemic change in world capitalism]

Judy-Ballini, Monique and Bernard Juillerat (eds.) (2002). *People and Things: Social Mediations in Oceania*. Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press. [This is a collection of eleven essays, each analyzing forms of gift-giving, exchange, or ritual use of objects in the culture of Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia.]

Jevons, Williams S. (1875). *Money and the Mechanisms of Exchange*. London: Kegan Paul, Trech, Trübner & Co. [This is an influential descriptive essay on the past and present monetary systems of the world, the materials employed to make money, the regulations under which the coins are struck and issued, the natural laws which govern their circulation, etc.]

Jordan, Ann T. (2010). "The importance of Business Anthropology: Its Unique Contribution", *International Journal of Business Anthropology*, Vol. 1(1) [An updated review and apology of the sub-discipline of business anthropology]

Kahn, Joel and Joseph R. Llobera (1981). *The Anthropology of pre-capitalists societies. Critical Social Studies*. London and Basingstoke: The Macmillan Press. [This is a collection of essays product of years of debate among anthropologists who claim inspiration from Marx's mature work].

Kapferer, Bruce 2005. (Ed). *The Retreat of the Social: The Rise and Rise of Reductionism*. Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford. [This is a collection of essays dealing with contemporary notions of the social and of society].

Kaplan, David (1976). "La controversia formalistas-substantivistas de la antropología económica: reflexiones sobre sus amplias implicaciones", en Godelier, M. (ed.), *Antropología y economía*. Anagrama, Barcelona. [This discusses a revision of the debate between substantivists and formalists]

Kaplan, David H. (1997). "The creation of ethnic economy: Indochinese business expansion in Saint Paul", *Economic geography*, 73 (2), p. 214-233. [In Saint Paul, Minnesota, refugees from Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have established a set of businesses within a geographically specific section of the city]

Kearney, Michael (1996). *Reconceptualizing the Peasantry. Anthropology in Global Perspective*. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, Inc. [This is a critical review of the concept of peasant, placing the peasantry within the current social context of the transnational and post-Cold War nation state offering alternative theoretical views]

King, Victor T. and William D. Wilder (2003). *The Modern Anthropology of South-East Asia*. London and New York: Routledge. [This is a comprehensive introduction to the social and cultural anthropology of South-East Asia]

Knowles, Caroline (2014). *Flip-Flop: A Journey Through Globalisation's Backroads*. Series Anthropology, Culture and Society. Pluto Press. [Original ethnographic study following the commodity through its diverse global dimensions]

Kopytoff, I. (1986). "The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process", in *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. A. Appadurai, ed. Pp. 64-91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Bridging the disciplines of social history, cultural anthropology, and economics, this essay marks a major step in our understanding of the cultural basis of economic life and the sociology of culture]

Kroeber, A. L. (1925). *Handbook of the Indians of California*. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin No. 78. Washington, D.C. [This monumental work from a foremost American anthropologist includes demographics, linguistic relations, social structures, folkways, religion, material culture, and much more]

Kyle, David (2001). *Transnational Peasants: Migrations, Networks, and Ethnicity in Andean Ecuador*. JHU Press. [This examines the lives of people from four rural communities in two regions of the Andean highlands of Ecuador, providing an intriguing historical and sociological exploration of a contemporary migration mystery]

Lee, Richard (1969). "Kung Bushman Subsistence: An Input-Output Analysis", In D. Damas (ed.). *Contributions to Anthropology: Ecological Essays*. Ottawa. [Lee offers here a detailed input-output model of Kung hunter-gatherers subsistence practices]

Lemonnier, Pierre (1992). *Elements for an Anthropology of Technology*. Anthropological Papers. Museum of Anthropology, University of Michigan, N° 88. [This is an excellent introduction to the Anthropology of Technology]

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1949). *Les structures élémentaires de la parenté*. Paris: Presses universitaires de France. [A fundamental contribution to the study of kinship in anthropology].

Lévi-Strauss, Claude (1958). *Anthropologie Structurale*. Paris: Pion. [Here Claude Lévi-Strauss displays his major contribution to structural anthropology].

Lewellen, Ted C. (2002). *The Anthropology of Globalization. Cultural Anthropology Enters the 21st Century*. Westport, Connecticut and London. Bergin and Garvey. [Here Lewellen provides an insightful understanding of globalization under the anthropological lenses].

Lewis, David (2005) "Anthropology and development: the uneasy relationship". In: Carrier, James G., (ed.) *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*. Edward Elgar, Cheltenham, UK, pp. 472-486. [In this paper Lewis analyses the relationship between Development and economic anthropology].

Lewis, Oscar (1956). *Five Families: Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty*. New York: Basic Books. [Through five case studies Lewis provides a clear ethnographic account of the Mexican peasantry].

Light, Ivan (1972). *Ethnic Enterprise in America. Business and Welfare among Chinese, Japanese, and Blacks*. Berkeley: University of California Press. [This is a classic contribution to the analysis of ethnic economies in United States].

Light, Ivan and Gold, S. J. (2000). *Ethnic Economies*. San Diego: Academic Press. [This edited volume provides theoretical basis for the study immigrant entrepreneurship, their upward mobility and inter-ethnic relations].

Lins Ribeiro, Gustavo and Arturo Escobar (eds.) (2006). *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power*. Berg: Oxford. [Critically examining the international dissemination of anthropology within and across national power fields, here contributors discuss *hegemonic* and *secondary* anthropologies].

LiPuma, Edward and Benjamin Lee (2004). *Financial Derivatives and the Globalization of Risk*. Duke University Press. [Here LiPuma and Lee provide a look at the obscure but consequential role of financial derivatives in the global economy].

Lipovetsky, Gilles (1987). *L'Empire de l'éphémère : la mode et son destin dans les sociétés modernes*. Paris: Gallimard. [This text helps to grasp a better understanding of consumption and social existence in modern societies]

Lustig-Arecco, Vera (1975). *Technology: Strategies for Survival. Basic Anthropology Units*. Stanford: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. [An orthodox approach to technology and the 'arts of subsistence' is presented here].

MacCracken, Grant D. (1988). *Culture and consumption. New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities (Midland Book)*. Indiana: Indiana University Press. [This book compiles and integrates highly innovative work aimed at bridging the fields of anthropology and consumer behavior].

Malefyt, Timothy de Waal and Robert J. Morais (2012). *Advertising Anthropology. Ethnographic Practices and Cultural Perspectives*. NY: Berg. [This book is written by anthropologists for anthropologists as well as students and scholars interested in advertising and related industries such as marketing, marketing research and design].

Malinowski, B. (1921). "The Primitive Economics of the Trobriand Islanders", *Economic Journal* 31, pp. 1-16. [Here Malinowski details the Trobriand economic practices].

Malinowski, B. (1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. [This volume can be considered the founding document of economic anthropology, and remains the best one to read].

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1935). *Coral Gardens and their Magic. A Study of the Methods of Tilling the Soil and of Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands*. Allen and Unwin. [At the beginning of the 20th century the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski was one of the first to explore the Trobriand Islands and its inhabitants, providing a wonderful account of their economics and social organizations]

Malinowski, Bronislaw y Julio de la Fuente (1957). "La economía de un sistema de mercados en México (un ensayo de etnografía contemporánea y cambio social en un valle mexicano)", *Acta Antropológica*, Época 2, Vol. I (2). [In English: Drucker-Brown, Susan (ed.) (1982). *Malinowski in Mexico: Economics of a Mexican Market System*. Routledge & Kegan Paul, London] [Malinowski and Fuente's provide here an anthropological and pioneering approach to markets in Latin America].

Mars, Gerald (1982). *Cheats at Work: Anthropology of Workplace Crime*. London: Allen & Unwin. [This books draws from the fields of management, criminology and the social sciences to explore workplace cheating, or occupational crime.]

Martin, Gerry (2000). "Stasis in complex artefacts: the Japanese Sword", In John Ziman (Ed.). *Technological Innovation as an Evolutionary Process*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [Martin analyses here the reason why the Japanese sword design and technological development has remained intact during centuries]

Maurer, Bill (2005). *Mutual Life, Limited: Islamic Banking, Alternative Currencies, Lateral Reason*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. [This documents ongoing efforts to remake money and finance by Islamic bankers who seek to avoid interest and local currency proponents who would stand outside of national economies].

Mauss, Marcel (1925). *Essai sur le don. Forme et raison Forme et raison de l'échange dans les sociétés archaïques*. Paris: PUF. [This is an acclaimed and classic study of the gift].

Mayo, Elton (1933). *The Human Problems of an Industrialized Civilization*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard. [Here Mayo discusses the Hawthorne experiments, relating the findings about human relations within the Hawthorne plant to the social environment in the surrounding Chicago area].

Meillassoux, Claude (1964) *Anthropologie économique des Gouro de Côte d'Ivoire. De l'économie de subsistance à l'agriculture commerciale*. La Haye : Mouton & Co. and École Pratique des Hautes Études. [Here Meillassoux links the incorporation into the world economy was accompanied by the transformation of the expropriation of the land].

Meillassoux, Claude (1975). *Femmes, greniers et capitaux*. Paris: Maspero. [Here Meillassoux draws both on his fieldwork in Africa and on the anthropological literature to provide a detailed theoretical

analysis of the self-sustaining agricultural community and its articulation with capitalism through the process of colonization].

Meillassoux, Claude (1986). *Anthropologie de l'esclavage: le ventre de fer et d'argent*. Paris, Presses Universitaires de France (Translated in 1991 as *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*). [This is a controversial examination of precolonial African slavery looks at the various social systems that made slavery on such a scale possible and argues that the institutions of slavery were far more complex than previously suspected].

Micheletti, Michele (2003). *Political Virtue and Shopping: Individuals, Consumerism, and Collective Action*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan. [This book presents a new way of viewing everyday consumer choices and the role of the market in our lives, illuminating concerns about sweatshops, responsible coffee, and ethical and free trade].

Miller, Daniel (1987). *Material Culture and Mass Consumption*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. [Drawing on a range of examples from Western and developing cultures, this book offers a re-reading of the contemporary society as the product of both individual and collective identity and behavior].

Miller, Daniel (ed.), (1995). *Acknowledging Consumption. A Review of New Studies*. New York: Routledge. [This is an invaluable introductory orientation to consumption studies in the social and human sciences].

Mintz, Sidney W. (1985). *Sweetness and Power. The Place of Sugar in Modern History*. New York: Viking Penguin Inc. [This is an influential analysis of the history of a single commodity, sugar, and its meaning within power relationships].

Moeran, Brian (1996). *A Japanese Advertising Agency: An Anthropology of Media and Markets*. Routledge. [This book is written by an anthropologist who spent twelve months doing fieldwork in a major Tokyo agency and who has spent the past 30 years studying and living in Japan].

Mollona, Massimiliano (2009). *Made in Sheffield: An Ethnography of Industrial Work and Politics*. Dislocations. Berghahn Books. [This is Mollona's narrative of the embodied lives of the factory workers and their tools brings the theory of local and transnational networks of production to life].

Mosse, David (2013). "The Anthropology of International Development", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 42:227–46. [This review examines how international development has been studied by anthropologists, both as a particular form of institutional practice and as the terms of global economic and cultural integration].

Narotzky, Susana (2005). "Provisioning", In Carrier, J. G. (ed.), *A Handbook of Economic Anthropology*. Cheltenham & Northampton: Edward Elgar. [This is a wider theoretical perspective on consumption, focusing on the different forms that provisioning for goods and services can take].

Nash, June (1979). *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us: Dependency and Exploitation in Bolivian Tin Mines*. Columbia University Press. [In this anthropological study of a Bolivian tin mining town, Nash explores the influence of modern industrialization on the traditional culture of Quechua and Aymara speaking Indians].

Nash, Manning (1967). "Market and Indian Peasant Economies", in Shanin, Teodor, *Peasants and Peasant Societies*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books. [This is a contribution to the study of peasant markets].

Oliver-Smith, Anthony (1996). "Anthropological Research on Hazards and Disasters", *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 25: 303-328; Oliver-Smith, A. (1999). *The Angry Earth. Disaster in Anthropological Perspective*. New York: Routledge. [Oliver-Smith summarizes here the main contribution of the anthropology of disasters and hazards].

Ong, Aiwa (1987). *Spirits of Resistance and Capitalist Discipline: Factory Women in Malaysia*. Albany: State University of New York Press. [This work demonstrates the intimate dialectics of culture, economy, gender, religion, and class, and the meaningfulness of place amid the swirling forces of global Capitalism].

Ortiz, Sutti (1973). *Uncertainties in peasant farming. A Colombian Case*. University of London, Athlone Press. [This book examines the life and historical background of the Paez peasants of Colombia and their relationship with the land, including issues of tenure, inheritance and the allocation of resources].

Ostrom, Elinor (1990). *Governing the commons. The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action (Political Economy of Institutions and Decisions)*. Cambridge University Press. [Here Elinor Ostrom provides a unique body of empirical data to explore conditions under which common pool resource problems have been satisfactorily or unsatisfactorily solved].

Oswalt, Wendell (1973). *Habitat and Technology. The Evolution of Hunting*. NY: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. [This is a major, and original, contribution to the understanding of technology, ecology and evolution].

Palerm, Angel (1980). *Antropología y Marxismo*. México DF.: Editorial Nueva Imagen. [Here Palerm presents a collection of essays on Marxism and anthropology which has been particularly influential in Mexico].

Parry, Jonathan; Bloch, Maurice (1989). *Money and the morality of exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [This collection is concerned with the symbolic representation of money in a range of different societies, and more specifically with the moral evaluation of monetary and commercial exchanges].

Parry, Jonathan (2005). "Industrial Work", In James Carrier (ed.), *Handbook of Economic Anthropology*. Edgar Elgar Pub. [This is a comprehensive anthropological overview of industrialization in both Western and non-Western societies].

Pelto, Pertti J. (1973). *The Snowmobile Revolution: Technology and Social Change in the Arctic*. Menlo Park, CA, Cummings. [This presents a study of the social changes induced by the introduction of the snowmobile in arctic societies].

Pétrequin, Anne-Marie et Pétrequin Pierre (1993). *Écologie d'un outil : la hache de pierre en Irian Jaya Indonésie*. Paris: Editions du CNRS. [This proposes an ecological approach to a technological tool].

Pfaffenberger, Bryan (1992). "Social Anthropology of Technology", *Annual Review of Anthropology* 21: 491-516. [In this Pfaffenberger provides a synthetic review of the anthropological attention paid to technology, which has been generally scarce].

Piddocke, Stuart (1969). "The Potlach System of Southern Kwakiutl: a new perspective", *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*. Vol. 21. [In this Piddocke reviews the available data on the potlach ritual, a classic example for redistribution in economic anthropology].

Pike, Kenneth Lee (1967). *Language in relation to a unified theory of structure of human behavior*. 2nd Ed. The Hague: Mouton. [This is a significant work in developing a more integral view of language].

Piketty, Thomas (2014). *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Belknap Press. [This work reorients our understanding of economic history and confronts us with sobering lessons for today].

Plattner, Stuart (ed.) (1985). *Markets and Marketing*. Boston: Society for Economic Anthropology. [This collection of 15 articles is divided into four topics: central place analysis of marketplace systems, economic behavior in market contexts, markets in economic development, and markets in historical perspective].

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation. The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. New York: Farrar & Rinehart. [In this classic work of economic history and social theory, Karl Polanyi analyzes the economic and social changes brought about by the "great transformation" of the Industrial Revolution].

Portes, A.; Jensen, L. (1987). "What's an ethnic enclave? The case for conceptual clarity", *American Sociological Review* 52(6): 768-771. [In this work, Portes et al. develop further the notion of ethnic enclave clarifying some theoretical issues].

Portes, A.; Manning, R. (1986). "The Immigrant Enclave: Theory and Examples", in J. Nagel y T. Olzak (eds.), *Competitive Ethnic Relations*. Orlando: Academic Press. [This develops the influential notion of ethnic enclave].

Rappaport, Roy A. (1968). *Pigs for the ancestors. Ritual in the ecology of a New Guinea people*. New Haven: Yale University Press. [This is a classic case study of human ecology in a tribal society, the role of culture (especially ritual) in local and regional resource management, negative feedback, and the application of systems theory to an anthropological population].

Raymond, Firth (1929). *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. U. California. E.P. Dutton Press. [Bridging the gap between anthropology and economics, this work covers the class structure, land system, industry, methods of co-operative labor, exchange and distribution, and the psychological foundations of Maori society].

Redfield, Robert (1956). *Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [Here the author focuses on those processes of cultural and social change characterizing the relationship between folk and urban societies].

Redfield, Robert (1959). *The Folk culture of Yucatan*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. [This deals with acculturation comparing different communities in Yucatán].

Redfield, Robert (1960). *The Little Community and Peasant Society and Culture*. Chicago: Phoenix Books. [The Little Community draws on the author's own notable studies of the villages of Tepoztlan and Chan Kom to explore the means by which scientists try to understand human communities].

Redfield, Robert; Villa Rojas, Alfonso (1962). *Chan Kom, a Maya village that chose progress*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. [Redfield's Chan Kom study still remains a classic study on Mexican peasants].

Reygadas, Luis (2000). *Ensamblando culturas. Diversidad y conflicto en la globalización de la industria*. México: Gedisa. [This focuses on how different cultures change when work processes globalize].

Ritzer, George (1996). *The McDonaldization of Society. An Investigation into the Changing Character of Contemporary Social Life*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press. [This is an influential theory on how Fordism, fast food and 'modern societies' interlink].

Ritzer, George and Nathan Jurgenson (2010) "Production, Consumption, Prosumption: The Nature of Capitalism in the age of the digital "prosumer", *Journal of Consumer Culture* 10 (1): 13-36. [The authors focus here on the prosumer, an increasing relevant figure that sees to surpass the dual notions of consumer or producer].

Roscoe, Paul (2014). "A Changing Climate for Anthropological and Archaeological Research? Improving the Climate-Change Models", *American Anthropologist*, 116 (3):535–548. [This is a general review on climate change and anthropology].

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Hugo Valenzuela Garcia received his Ph.D. degree in 2006 from the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Spain, with a doctoral thesis on development and Malay fishermen. At present he is a Lecturer of Social Anthropology at the same university. He has conducted fieldwork among peasants in Malaysia and Mexico, and among Asian migrants in Barcelona and in the Catalan coast. His main research interests include ethnic economies, peasant economies, consumption, work, and the study of entrepreneurship. His teaching duties include Economic Anthropology, Human Ecology, Anthropology of Tourism, Globalization, and Emerging Processes of Work and Consumption. He has been visiting researcher at the Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, Universidad Nacional de Entre Ríos (Argentina), Durham University, University of Cambridge, University of Aberdeen, SOAS (London) and Visiting Professor for one year at the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-I (Mexico DF). He is co-founder of the EASA Network for the Anthropology of Economy.

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