A HISTORY OF THEORY IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY PRIOR TO 1980

Brian Schwimmer

Department of Anthropology, University of Manitoba, Canada

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Contents

Summary

Cultural anthropology, the study of the diversity of human institutions, thought, and behavior, has, not surprisingly, been marked by a substantial diversity of theoretical approaches during its short history. Many factors have generated a plethora of competing explanatory paradigms within the discipline. Different schools have emerged to offer conflicting approaches to epistemology, causation, and appropriate units of analysis. Additional complicating factors have included the presence of distinctive national traditions, diverse interdisciplinary connections, and changes over time. Treatment of theoretical schools will be divided into four periods marked by major changes in Western society and its relationship to the rest of the world, which have deeply affected how anthropologists have treated cultural difference:

1. 1840-1900: Europe's industrial expansion and colonization of Africa, Asia, and the Pacific;
2. 1900-1945: the development of colonial administrative systems;
3. 1945-1980: post war economic growth and the granting of independence to colonial territories;
4. 1980 onward: globalization of the world economy.

As developments in contemporary anthropological theory are treated at length in other chapters in this collection, only a brief overview theory in the post 1980 period will be provided.

1. Introduction: The Origins of a Discipline

Anthropology as a specialized academic disciple did not formally develop until the 19th century, the starting point for this overview. However, societies have always been

interested in its central concern: documenting and explaining differences in custom and belief between themselves and their neighbors. For example, the well-known Biblical story of Noah offers an ancient Hebrew account of the origins of different peoples of the Middle East. It details the reestablishment of humankind after the primordial flood according to the activities of Noah's three sons. Each becomes the ancestral founder of a distinct group, which migrates to a different region of the world. On the surface, the account suggests a common origin and fundamental unity among peoples. However, it also serves to mark difference. The three sons, and therefore their progeny, express contrasting moral characters. On son, Ham, is said to have abused his father after a drinking bout and, accordingly, his descendants, the Hamites, are judged as inferior to those of his brothers and are condemned to perpetual servitude. This narrative served two purposes for the ancient Hebrews: to mark their superiority to other peoples and to justify the subjugation of the Canaanites, a purported Hamitic group within their society. Many other folk accounts of cultural difference have followed the Biblical plan of viewing diversity according to ethnocentric premises that support the domination of one group over another.

To one degree or another, similarly biased and self-serving premises have typified Western thinking about other ways of life through most of its history. A supposedly more objective approach to understanding cultural diversity developed within the European Enlightenment. The critical thinkers of the age initially focused their attention on their own societies in an attempt replace feudal beliefs and institutions with ones based on rational and universalistic principles that would enhance human progress. Social philosophers such as Locke, Smith, and Rousseau, formulated economic and political reforms based on what they believed to be scientific principles freed from the tyranny of the political and religious establishments. Non-European cultures assumed a role in their schemes, not as alternative models of society, but as examples of early stages of a universal human history as it progressed from "savagery" to "civilization", thus marking a trend from which a utopian future could be envisioned.

By the 19th century, interest in non-Western societies took on a more immediate practical importance. As Europe industrialized, its economic and political influence expanded to every corner of the globe. Knowledge of foreign customs became important for facilitating communication and trade and the eventual imposition of European colonial rule. Merchants, missionaries, explorers, administrators, and settlers documented their observations of other peoples and built a record of their cultural beliefs, institutions, and practices. On the basis of mounting interest, "ethnology", as cultural anthropology was originally designated, emerged as a distinct discipline and became institutionalized within an infrastructure of scholarly societies, museums, and universities. Ethnological societies were established in Paris (1839), New York (1842), London (1843), and Berlin (1869) all of which published journals devoted to anthropological research. Further institutionalization proceeded with the creation of university departments and museums at the University of Berlin (1873), Oxford University (1884), and Columbia University (1892). In the United States, the foundation of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879 instituted a research program to collect ethnographic information on Native American societies, particularly within the territories of westward expansion. Five years later, the newly formed anthropology

section of the British Association for the Advancement of Science implemented a ten year survey of First Nations societies in western Canada. The first generation of scholars active in these institutions was of course composed of amateurs, but, by the turn of the century, a cohort of professional, university trained anthropologists had emerged.

2. Nineteenth Century: Evolutionist and Diffusionist Perspectives

Early anthropological theory drew its models from the universal histories of Enlightenment social thinkers. This tradition interpreted cultural differences as representative of developmental stages grounded in technologies of production. Societies progressively developed from hunting, to agricultural, and finally to industrial forms, each of which produced an increased amount of wealth. The main causal factor in the evolution of cultural forms, however, was related to mental rather than to material forces. Greater social product would allow society's leaders the leisure to develop the arts and sciences upon which further advances were to be based (Turgot, 2010, orig. 1750). As such, progress depended upon the evolution of consciousness. Societies attained different levels of advancement on the basis of the mental and moral capacities of their elite. This approach was further elaborated within the "evolutionist school" that became the initial paradigm within the new profession of anthropology. Evolutionary theorists fleshed out the depiction of stages of progress with ethnographic detail and extended the range of institutions covered in universal histories from technology and politics to other aspects of culture including, most notably, kinship and religion. They also established a link with biological anthropology, formulating race as the primary factor that explained cultural differences. The works of two major figures of the period, Lewis Henry Morgan, and Edward Burton Tylor, illustrate the basic principles and analytical methods of the school.

Morgan was an Upstate New York lawyer, whose contact with the indigenous Seneca community inspired an interest in Native American political and family organization and a personal involvement in the adjudication of aboriginal land claims. He also collaborated with the Smithsonian Institution to undertake ethnographic surveys of Native Americans in the West of the United States and Canada that laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Bureau of Ethnology. From his local and comparative studies he published *Ancient Society* (Morgan, 1877), a comprehensive volume laying out a universal history of cultural evolution in a worldwide perspective.

Morgan's model theorized that cultures and societies differed according to a progressive evolutionary sequence, identified according to the already formulated periods of savagery, barbarism, and civilization, which he further subdivided into upper, middle, and lower phases. He charted what he took to be cultural advances along two dimensions: the "progressive" or cumulative addition of technological innovations and the "unfolding" discovery of ever more rational and democratic social institutions. Morgan's particular contributions focused on kinship and marriage. He provided a detailed description of Seneca lineage organization as a kinship based political order characteristic of "lower barbarism", which he contrasted to higher forms based upon territorial allegiance that appeared in later stages. He also ranked different marriage systems in a progressive order, starting with a hypothetical initial stage in which

brothers and sisters married, ultimately advancing to the institution of monogamy, which he consider superior because it reduced the risk of inbreeding and gave fuller rights to women.

Morgan attributed the cultural advances he identified to the "evolution of moral and mental powers", which he thought to be dependent upon race. However, while he maintained that biology determined culture, he also suggested a feedback effect. Biological evolution led to higher levels of consciousness and cultural innovation, but these in turn led to further biological improvements. For example, in explaining the emergence of the middle stage of barbarism, he identified animal domestication as the source of the "pre-eminent endowments" of "the Aryan and Semitic" families because of the nutritious qualities of milk. This reasoning supported a paradoxical association between Morgan's scientific racism and his adherence to the principle of the "psychic unity of mankind" widespread within the evolutionary school. All people were not equal but would become so as more primitive groups evolved biologically and culturally to the same end-state as the more advanced.

Tylor was an English businessman who became interested in cultural diversity during a trip to Mexico. He subsequently undertook further ethnological research and publication, becoming Keeper of the Museum and Professor of Anthropology at Oxford, one of the first anthropologists to hold a formally recognized university position. His major work, *Primitive Culture* (Tylor, 1871), covered a variety of topics but focused on religion, placing specific systems of belief and ritual within a comparative and evolutionary framework. He viewed religion as the result of a basic human need to understand natural forces and events. At a primitive stage of human consciousness, people resorted to explanations that invoked supernatural causation. The earliest religions took the form of animism, which endowed natural objects with souls that accounted for their characteristics and behavior. Explanatory systems advanced to higher, more accurate, modeling of the world based progressively on polytheistic and monotheistic beliefs. In the final stages of cultural evolution, as people were able to formulate increasingly rational understandings of nature, scientific approaches would dispense with the supernatural, and religion would disappear. Tylor's other contributions included the refinement of the "comparative method" of the evolutionary school. He introduced a statistical procedure for discovering what he term "adhesions" or correlated associations of traits within cultures occupying similar "grades of civilization", attributable to the intellectual and moral capacities of the individuals who produced them (Tylor, 1889). His investigation, based on a sample of almost three hundred cultures, reflects the extent to which the ethnographic record had grown by the end of the century.

While the evolutionist perspective dominated anthropological thinking in the 19th century, other schools developed and controversies among them occurred. Diffusionism contested the evolutionist dictum of psychic unity and the assumption that similar cultural traits were the result of independent invention. It maintained that moral and intellectual differences and their racial underpinnings were fixed. Cross cultural similarities were explained by diffusion of ideas from more advanced peoples to more primitive ones. The theory became dominant in German and English anthropology at the turn of the century, particularly at Cambridge University and the

London School of Economics under the guidance of W.H.R. Rivers and Charles Seligman, respectively. Seligman's work, particularly his survey of African ethnography and culture history in *Races of Africa*, provides a good example of diffusionist methods. He attributed the origins of "advanced" African institutions, such as kingship, to ancient Egypt, a particularly active center of innovation (Seligman, 1930). He identified the agents of this development as a race of Hamites whose migrations throughout the continent were the sole source of its notable achievements.

3. Early 20th Century: Collectivist Paradigms

Evolutionist and diffusionist schools made important contributions to the development of anthropology as a specialized discipline. They promoted a secular and scientific view of human thought and behavior, supported ethnographic research and the compilation of data, and established associations and institutions which advanced the professionalization of the discipline. However, both approaches erroneously accounted for cultural diversity as a product of human consciousness and ranked difference on a scale of progressive advancement ultimately attributable to biological factors.

The turn of the century introduced a new approach to the study of culture that rejected the 19th century focus on race and consciousness and viewed individuals as the products rather than the producers of their cultures. This new cannon was adopted within several theoretical schools, the most prominent of which were structural-functionalism in France and England and ethnographic particularism in the United States. While differing in several respects, both traditions based their theories on broadly similar assumptions. They looked to collective forces, society in France and Britain and culture in the United States, as the critical determinants of individual thought and action. The individual was a blank slate upon which society imprinted a fixed set of beliefs and values within a broad range of human possibilities. Internalization of the standards of the community gave its members a worldview based not on rational deliberation but on habituation, which affected them on an unconscious level. Accordingly, social and cultural institutions were fundamentally arbitrary. Differences among them were not to be understood as outcomes of progressive advancement of either the individual or his or her culture.

The tenets of human plasticity and cultural relativism were associated in each school with a focus on "holism", the view that the elements that made up society or culture had to be understood, not as isolates, but as knit together with a "super-organic" whole. As such they were mutually consistent and coherent contributing an essential sense of harmonious order to perceptions of society and nature. This assumption led to a focus on stability and continuity within social and cultural processes in contrast to the evolutionist emphasis on change.

3.1. Structural-Functionalism in France and England

Emile Durkheim pioneered the development of sociology and anthropology in France. Through his appointment to the chair of the Science of Education and Sociology at the Sorbonne, he established sociology as a specialized discipline and formulated a model of society as a distinct object of scientific study. His interests were widely comparative,

incorporating cross-cultural research into the formulation of social typologies. One of his main disciples, Marcel Mauss, followed his mentor's ethnographic interests and established France's first academic anthropology department, the Institute Ethnographique at the Sorbonne in 1925 and participated in the founding of the Musée de l'Homme.

Durkheim's theories were based on the premise that society constituted a thing in itself, subject to laws and forces that could not be derived from the consciousness or actions of the individuals who composed it. He constructed his paradigm according to an organic analogy, analyzing the social body in terms of its "anatomy", and "physiology", (i.e. its structure and functioning). The study of social structure investigated the way in which different societies were constructed from component groups. Societies, thus differed according to group size, density, and to degree to which subgroups within a larger unit specialized in different tasks. The social structure served as the "substratum" or base which determined the character of the prominent social institutions. These institutions in return functioned to maintain the continuity of the social orders which generated them (Durkheim, 1982, orig.1894).

His structural-functional approach guided the comparative and historical investigations from which Durkheim derived a classification of society into two broadly different types according to whether groups were held together by "mechanical" or "organic" solidarity. The former is typical of small scale societies in which people interact on the basis of their common identity. The later involves large-scale organizations of specialized sub-groups that connect people through economic interdependence. Mechanically integrated societies produce institutions that take the form of "collective representations". These forms involve religious symbols and myths that stress common ancestry and collective values and bring group members together in rituals that encourage cooperation and harmony. In larger scale societies, population size and diversity weaken communal identity, and formal governmental institutions have to be introduced to replace collective representations as the main instrument of social order. This analysis entails an evolutionary model, in which small-scale, simple societies develop into large-scale complex ones with more centralized control. As such Durkheim focused on population dynamics as the main force for social change. However, he was reluctant to completely reduce social process to demography. In a crucial analysis of the origins of the division of labor, he proposed that higher densities allowed people to more fully pursue unique personal talents. However, he also maintained that density was not simply based on numbers of people, but on the number of interactions in which they were engaged, which he labeled "social density", the cause of which he did not investigate (Durkheim, 1964, orig. 1893).

Durkheim drew on ethnographic examples to support his analyses, including a book-length treatment of Australian totemism, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Durkheim, 2001, orig. 1912), which contended that religion functions to represent and maintain the social order. Many of his students also investigated anthropological topics. Marcel Mauss undertook a critical cross-cultural analysis of economic exchange in *The Gift* (Mauss, 1990, orig. 1923) based upon published ethnographic sources at the time. His main thesis was that the economy has critical social as well as utilitarian functions and that systems of exchange contribute to social solidarity. This
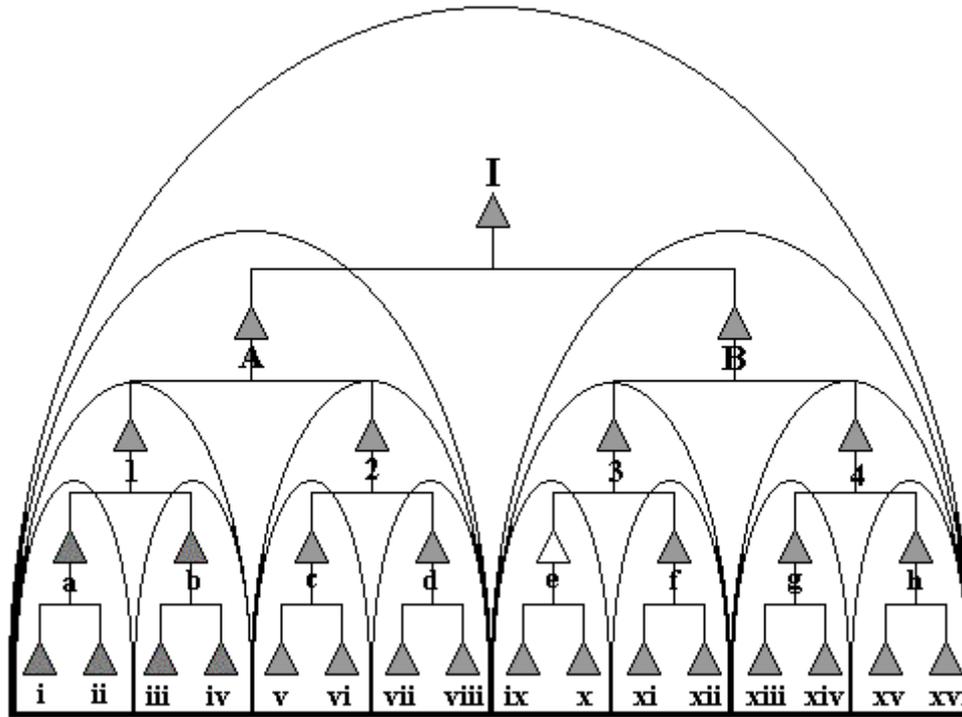
investigation pioneered the field of economic anthropology and influenced the "substantivist" school, which focused on economic institutions as reflecting and supporting social orders.

The Durkheimian approach deeply influenced British anthropology, primarily through the work A.R. Radcliffe-Brown. Radcliffe-Brown received a degree from Cambridge, under the influence of Alfred Haddon, a diffusionist, but came to reject the value of historical reconstructions. He looked to French sociology to formulate a model for understanding institutions and behavior in terms of their social contexts rather than their origins. He went on to teach in South Africa and Australia and at the University of Chicago, eventually returning to England and heading the anthropology department at Oxford in 1937. Radcliffe-Brown's approach to social structure differed from Durkheim's to some extent, focusing on social roles rather than groups as the basis of social structure. According to his formulation, society is made up, not of people, but of the roles that they occupy (Radcliffe-Brown, 1940). Roles entail adherence to specific norms and obligations, which mold the thinking and behavior of the individuals who perform them. They are mutually consistent and integrated into a comprehensive framework that insures the coverage of a full range of human functional needs. The institutions of society, particularly religion, function to influence people to conform to the demands that their roles dictate through the life course. Radcliffe-Brown applied this general theory to several areas of study making particular contributions to the study of kinship, which lent itself to analysis in terms of norms, rights, and obligations. Although assuming a different focus, British structural-functionalism reiterated Durkheim's emphasis on social cohesion and continuity and the social determination of thought, behavior, and cultural institutions. It also pursued cross-cultural comparison and typology, particularly in the development of political anthropology as a specialized field.

Political structure, particularly the presence of well-defined administrative offices, became a central interest for British structural-functionalists that fit well with its emphasis on roles, rights, and obligations. In pursuit of this focus, two of Radcliffe-Brown's disciples published African Political Systems (Fortes and Evans-Pritchard, 1940), a comparative analysis of the diverse governmental institutions within African societies. The results yielded a broad distinction between two forms: state societies and stateless ones. It went on to consider what caused a society to assume one form or the other. Reflecting on a rather small sample, the authors discounted the importance of either population size or density but suggested that internal diversity within a society might account for the formation of indigenous kingdomes within the continent, reflecting Durkheim's position on the origins of the state. Another issue that emerged from this investigation was that of the maintenance of social order in stateless forms. Religion was of course an important factor, but several studies in the volume identified other modalities.

E.E. Evans-Pritchard's classic treatment of the Nuer (Evans-Pritchard, 1940:272-295) provides an important example of the structural-functional understanding of political order in stateless systems. The Nuer form a stateless, semi-nomadic society, which has developed few institutions for resolving internal conflicts and in which open violence is common. Evans-Pritchard maintained, however, that violence is self-limiting. The

population is distributed on the landscape according to defined territories whose inhabitants trace relationships to each other according to descent from a series of ever more remote common ancestors. Groups which identify their memberships on the basis of a more recent progenitor are more closely connected than those which stem from a more distant one. Members of closely related groups sometimes engage in violent confrontations with each other but will eventually settle their differences in order to unite in conflicts that might arise with members of more distantly related groups (See Figure 1). Regular feuding thus functions to reduce the level of in-group violence and helps to define and reproduce the territorial system.

Individuals in conflict	Groups mobilized
ii vs iii	a vs b
iv vs v	1 vs 2
viii vs ix	A vs B
any member of I vs outsider	I vs outsider's group

Figure 1. Shifting conflict and alliance relations among the Nuer.

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Mintz, Sidney (1977) The So-Called World-System: Local Initiative and Local Response. *Dialectical Anthropology* 2,2, 253-270. [A consideration of Wallerstein's world system theory in the context of forms of slavery in the Americas. With some reservations it supports Wallerstein's contention that coercive labor relations in colonized areas developed in support of the emergence of free labor regimes in the West.]

Mitchell, J Clyde (1969) *Social networks in urban situations: analyses of personal relationships in Central African towns.* 378 pp. Manchester, Manchester University Press for the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia. [Introduction to a volume on the network approach to understanding urban social organization. Discusses the appropriate of a network model to depict the patterns of social organization based on individual choices of associates in complex, multiethnic, and stratified societies and reviews findings from the Zambian Copperbelt.]

Morgan, L. H. (1877) *Ancient Society: Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery through Barbarism to Civilization*, 560pp. London, McMillan and Co. [A classic treatment of cultural evolution. It ranks different societies according to stages of progressive advancements in technology, political organization, the family, language, religion, architecture, and property relations. Morgan explains differences in terms of race and intelligence.]

Moore, Henrietta. (1988). *Feminism and Anthropology*. 256 pp. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press. [A general overview of the literature on feminist anthropology, feminist theory, and anthropological studies of women and gender. Covers issue of gender status, kinship and domestic patterns, and gender and the state.]

Mullings, Leith. (2015). Anthropology Matters. *American Anthropologist*. 117, 1, 4-16. [Reviews the development of anthropological theory in the context of the social movements 1960s and 1970s and contemporary challenges to the survival and development of the discipline]

Nash, June. (1981) Ethnographic Aspects of the World Capitalist System. *Annual Reviews in Anthropology*. 10:393-423. [A review of the literature on world systems theory and analysis. Covers issues of articulation of modes of production, resistance to capitalist penetration, importance of exchange vs production, and cultural distinctiveness.]

Radcliffe-Brown, A. R. (1940) On Social Structure. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*.70, 1, 1-12 [A discussion of how societies are organized and differ from each other in terms of mandated roles and the legal and normative system of rights and obligations that they promote.]

Rapport, Roy. (1968) *Pigs for the Ancestors. Ritual in the Ecology of a New Guinea People.* 311 pp. New Haven, Yale University Press. [A cultural ecological study of religion, warfare, and subsistence among the Tsembaga of New Guinea. Argues that religious belief and ritual serve to maintain an equitable balance between the human population and its environment.]

Redfield, Robert. (1941) *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*. 416 pp. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. [A comparative study of four communities on the Yucatan peninsula representing different size scales and degrees of Hispanic influence. Forms the basis for the formulation of the "folk-urban continuum".

Ribeiro, Gustavo and Arturo Escobar, eds. (2006) *World Anthropologies: Disciplinary Transformations within Systems of Power.* 320 pp. New York, Berg. [Advocates for contributions to ethnography and anthropological theory on the part of "subaltern" scholars, i.e. from Third World regions]

Schwartz, M.J., V.W. Turner, and Arthur Tuden, Eds. (1966) *Political Anthropology.* 309 pp. Chicago, Aldine. [A collection of essays on political institutions and practices in different societies. Adopts a "processual" approach, which views politics in terms of competition for power rather than as the expression of institutionalized roles and statuses.]

Seligman, Charles (1930) *Races of Africa*. 256 pp. London, Thorton Butterworth. [A broad ethnographic survey of Africa. It attributes cultural differences and the appearance of advanced institutions, especially kingship, to the migration of a superior "Hamitic" race of Egyptian origin to the rest of the continent.

Service, Elman. (1962) *Primitive Social Organization: An Evolutionary Perspective.* 211 pp. New York. Random House. [A comparative analysis of social and cultural forms based on White's cultural evolutionist perspective. Further refines White's typology and adds ethnographic detail.]

Spradley, Jack. (1970) *You Owe Yourself a Drunk.* 302 pp. Boston: Little, Brown. [An ethno-semantic description and analysis of a "tramp" culture based on fieldwork in Seattle.]

Steward, Julian (1955). *Theory of culture change: the methodology of multilinear evolution.* 244 pp. Urbana , University of Illinois Press. [A series of essays that develops Stewards approach to cultural ecology and investigates how social and cultural institutions are affected by adaptive responses to their local environments.

Taussig, Michael (1980). *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism*. 264 pp. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press. [A study of ideology and rituals focused on the image of the devil among Columbian plantation workers and Bolivian miners. Suggest that the symbolic representations reflect a criticism of capitalism within an emerging proletariat.]

Turgot, Anne-Robert-Jaques (2010, orig. 1750) A Philosophical Review of the Successive Advances of the Human Mind, in R.L. Meek, ed. *Turgot on Progress, Sociology and Economics* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. [An early attempt to construct a progressive history of human institutions based on historical and ethnographic comparison. Turgot argues that human progress is based on improvements in subsistence technologies, which freed segments of the population from direct involvement in food production and provided them with the resources to engage in intellectual activity and the advancement of moral and scientific knowledge]

Turner, Victor (1967) Betwixt and Between: The Liminal Period in Rites de Passage. In V. Turner. *The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual*. Ithaca, N.Y. Cornell University Press. [Description and analysis of Ndembu male initiation rituals. Maintains that the prolonged separation and tutelage of

young boys in transition to adulthood takes on a liminal character that inverts the normal rules and statuses of the social order.]

Turner, Victor (1969) *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure*. 213 pp. Chicago: Aldine [Extends Turners concept of liminality to a variety of societies including historical and contemporary social movements in Western Nations.]

Tylor E.B. (1889) On a Method of Investigating the Development of Institutions; Applied to Laws of Marriage and Descent. *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland,* 18, 245-272. [A comparative study of kinship, residence rules, and related institutions among over 200 societies. It employs a statistical correlational approach to discover the regular co-occurrence of traits and interprets the results according to an evolutionary model.]

Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom.* In two volumes. London, John Murray. [An encyclopedic two volume survey of differences in belief and customs of different cultures around the world based on traveler's accounts and other secondary sources. Focuses primarily on religion and assumes a comparative and evolutionary perspective.]

Wallerstein, Immanuel (1974) *The Modern World-System, vol. I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century.* 410 pp. Cambridge, Mass. Academic Press. [Trace the development of the "world system" which grew to link all the societies of the globe into an integrated economic order, dominated by Western capitalist interests. The system is divided into core, semi-peripheral, and peripheral regions each of which has a distinct way of organizing and exploiting labor.]

White, Leslie. (1959).The *Evolution of Culture: The Development of Civilization to the Fall of Rome*. 378 pp. New York, McGraw-Hill. [A general summary of White's neo-evolutionist theory. Based on a survey of the ethnographic and historical record, White explains cultural differences among societies in terms of the levels of energy that their technologies allow them to harvest from their environments. White makes a major distinction between "primitive" and agricultural societies.]

Whorf, Benjamin. (1939). The Relation of Habitual Thought And Behavior to Language. In Leslie Spier, Ed. *Language, Culture and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir.* Menasha, Wis., Sapir Memorial Publication Fund. [A discussion of how language determines worldview, the way in which people perceive, understand, and act on t their world. Focuses on grammatical patterns, such as how verb tenses influence people's perception of time.

Wolf, Eric. (1982). *Europe and the people without history*. 503 pp. Berkeley, University of California Press. [Aupplies world systems theory to provide historical and ethnographic detail of how the expansion of mercantile and industrial capitalism transformed local societies within Africa, the Americas, Asia and the Pacific, in terms of a core/periphery model. Suggests that previous ethnographic accounts have failed to recognize the impact of global forces on institutions that have been erroneously attributed to primordial traditions.]

Wolf, Eric and Sidney Mintz (1957) Haciendas and Plantations in Middle America and the Antilles. *Social and Economic Studies.* 6, 3, 380-412. [A reconsideration of Steward's comparative community study in Puerto Rico. Maintains that community differences are due to socioeconomic conditions such as the nature of labor exploitation rather than to the environment.]

Wissler, Clark. (1917). *The American Indian; an Introduction to the Anthropology of the New World*. 435pp. New York, McMurtrie. [A general survey of Native American cultures focus on classifying them and charting differences according to "culture areas", i.e., geographic regions.]

Biographical sketch

Brian Schwimmer received his Ph.D. degree from Stanford University, Stanford, California in 1976 and has held a faculty position in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba since 1973. His research and publication activities have been based on fieldwork in West Africa (Ghana and Cameroon) on the relationship of indigenous marketing institutions to patterns of social organization and culture and on dynamics of capital formation in small business development. He has also pursued

teaching and research interests on the topics of anthropological theory, urban culture and society, the anthropology of cyberspace, and agricultural marketing and community organization in rural Manitoba.