ANTHROPOLOGY
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SAMPLE CHAPTER
The pages of this Sample Chapter may have slight variations in final published form.
THE BIG QUESTIONS

- WHAT are the five major modes of production and their characteristics?
- HOW are modes of production related to consumption and exchange?
- HOW are production, consumption, and exchange changing in contemporary times?

MODES OF PRODUCTION

- Foraging
- Horticulture
- Pastoralism
- Agriculture

LESSONS APPLIED: The Global Network of Indigenous Knowledge Resource Centers

- Industrialism and Post-Industrialism

MODES OF CONSUMPTION AND EXCHANGE

- Modes of Consumption
- Consumption Microcultures

CRITICAL THINKING: Can the Internet Create Responsible Consumers?

CROSSING THE FIELDS: Linking the Gender Division of Labor to Diet and Growth

Modes of Exchange

- METHODS CLOSE-UP: Studying Children’s Food Stealing

GLOBALIZATION AND CHANGING ECONOMIES

- Cash Cropping and Declining Nutrition: People Cannot Eat Sisal
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- Privatization’s Effects in Russia and Eastern Europe
- Credit Card Debt
- Continuities and Resistance: The Enduring Potlatch

THE BIG QUESTIONS REVISITED

KEY CONCEPTS

SUGGESTED READINGS

A woman pounding millet in Agadez in Niger, West Africa. Wild millet, a kind of grass, was first domesticated in Africa and is now, following sorghum, the second most important food grain in Africa. It is typically combined with meat and vegetables in a stew, and it is also used for brewing beer. (Source: © Charles Cecil)
A n American woman living in Florida recently established the name of the Yanomami, an Amazonian tribe who live in the rainforest in Venezuela, for a web site address. She was auctioning http://www.yanomami.com for $25,000. When leaders of the Yanomami people heard about this, they were not happy. In order to use their own tribal name for their site, they would have to buy it, at a very high price. This example demonstrates that it is possible to create virtual products and make money by selling them. If a group cannot afford to buy its own name for a web site, it is out of luck.

For thousands of years of human life in the past, everyone made their living by gathering food and other basic necessities from nature. Everyone had equal access to key resources. We now live in a very different world where most people work to earn cash to purchase food and shelter. Increasingly, people work to earn money for nonessential goods and services.

Anthropologists have long studied how people make a living in different contexts around the world. Today, in this rapidly shrinking world, they study much more than localized economic systems. They also do research on how globalization affects local economies, the social effects of e-commerce, the stock market as a cultural system, and more.

This chapter takes us into economic anthropology, a subfield of cultural anthropology that is devoted to the cross-cultural study of contemporary human economic systems. Economic systems include production, making goods or money; consumption, using up goods or money; and exchange, the transfer of goods or money between people or institutions. We focus on contemporary patterns and cultural variation, but readers should keep in mind that the material presented here has many links to humanity’s biological and cultural past as well as to their contemporary biological patterns.

Production is the subject of the chapter’s first section. The second section looks at how production is related to consumption and exchange. Finally, we consider some examples of how production, consumption, and exchange worldwide are changing, especially as a result of capitalist globalization.

MODES OF PRODUCTION

The term mode of production refers to the dominant way people make a living in a particular culture. Anthropologists have delineated five major modes of production (see Figure 11.1). We discuss the five modes of production in order of their chronological appearance in the human record. The chart does not indicate that a particular mode of production necessarily evolves into the one following it. Nor does it imply any kind of judgment about level of sophistication or superiority of the more recent modes of production. Even the oldest system involves complex and detailed knowledge about the environment that a contemporary city dweller, if transported to a rainforest, would find difficult to learn as a basis for survival.

Most cultural anthropologists are uneasy about typologies because they never fully reflect the richness and diversity of reality. For every generalization or category, we can always find cases that do not fit. This scheme simply provides a way for us to organize and discuss the ethnographic information in this chapter and following chapters.

Foraging

Foraging was defined in Chapter 5 as a general primate economic pattern. It consists of acquiring food by collecting what is available in nature. It is the oldest way of “making a living” among humans and was the only mode of production for more than 90 percent of human existence. Today, only about 250,000 people worldwide are foragers. Contemporary foragers occupy what are considered marginal areas,
such as deserts, the circumpolar region, and dense tropical forest regions. Ironically, and unfortunately for foragers, these marginal areas are often rich with mineral or other natural resources that outsiders want.

Depending on the environment, the main activities of foraging include gathering such food as nuts, berries, roots, honey, insects, and eggs; trapping or hunting birds and animals; and fishing. Successful foraging requires sophisticated knowledge of the natural environment—for example, how to find certain roots buried deep in the ground, how to follow animal tracks and other signs, and how to judge the weather and locate sources of water.

The tools used in foraging include digging sticks (for removing roots from the ground and for penetrating the holes dug by animals in order to get the animals out), bows and arrows, spears, nets, and knives. Baskets are important for carrying food items. For processing raw materials into edible food, foragers use stones to mash, grind, and pound. Fish and meat can be dried in the sun or over fire, and fire is used for cooking. Few fuel sources, beyond wood or other combustible substances for cooking, are required for obtaining and processing food.

Foraging is an extensive strategy—that is, a mode of production involving temporary use of large areas of land and much spatial mobility. The foraging mode of production varies depending on the environment. Major contrasts exist between foraging in warm, temperate areas and in cold areas, especially the circumpolar regions (see Figure 11.2 on p. 322).

In warm climates, shelters are casually constructed and require little maintenance. Before they were sedentarized (settled down) on reservations or in farming communities, San peoples of southern Africa, including local groups such as the Ju/wasi, migrated several times during a year, depending on the availability of water. Each cluster of families would return on a regular basis to “their” territory, reconstructing or completely rebuilding their shelters with sticks for frames and leaf or thatch coverings. The shelters might be attached to two or three small trees for support. The amount of investment of time, labor, and material in constructing shelters was modest.

In contrast, foragers of the polar regions of North America, Europe, and Asia have to devote more time and energy to obtaining food and providing shelter. The specialized technology of circumpolar foragers includes spears, nets, and knives, as well as sleds and the use of domesticated animals to pull them. Dogs or other animals that are used to pull sleds are an important aspect of circumpolar peoples’ technology (Savishinsky 1974). Much labor is needed to construct and maintain durable igloos or permanent log houses, which are necessary adaptations to the cold temperatures.

Plan a two-week camping trip for yourself to (a) a region in central or southern Africa and (b) a circumpolar region. What will you need to take with you on each trip?
Protective clothing, including warm coats and boots, is another feature of circumpolar adaptation.

**Division of Labor**

Among temperate foragers, most people do most tasks, and these tasks are mainly related to gathering small food items. Therefore, little gender division of labor exists. One gender difference is that when hunting is undertaken, men are more likely to go on long-range expeditions to hunt large animals. Such expeditions, however, are rare among temperate foragers, whose diet is based on small food items such as birds, insects, roots, nuts, and berries. Among circumpolar foragers, however, hunting large animals (including seals, whales, and bears) and capturing large fish is an important activity. Thus there is usually a marked gender division of labor, with men hunting and fishing and women spending much time processing meat, fish, and hides.

Age is a basis for task allocation in all societies. Children and the aged generally spend less time in food provision than adults. Both boys and girls perform various tasks that North Americans would label “work,” particularly gathering food and taking care of younger siblings.

**Property Relations**

The concept of private property, in the sense of owning something that can be sold to someone else, does not exist in foraging societies. More appropriate is the term use right, which refers to socially recognized priority in access to designated resources such as foraging areas and water holes. This access, however, is always willingly shared with others who follow social conventions or directly ask for permission to share the resource. Among the Ju/wasi, for example, family groups control access to particular water holes (Lee 1979:58–60). Visiting groups are welcome and are given food and water. In turn, the host group, at another time, will visit other camps and be offered hospitality there. Use rights are invested in the family group and passed down equally to all children in the group.

**Foraging as a Sustainable System**

When untouched by outside influences, foraging systems are sustainable; that is, crucial resources are regenerated over time in balance with the demand that the population makes on them. Sentinel Island, one island in India’s Andaman Islands (see the map in Chapter 3 on p. 91) provides a clear case of foraging sustainability. Its inhabitants have lived in a “closed” system for uncounted centuries. The few hundred Andamanese on Sentinel Island have maintained their lifestyle within a limited area since Westerners first observed them in the late nineteenth century (Pandit 1990).

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**FIGURE 11.2**

Temperate and circumpolar foraging systems compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Temperate-Region Foragers</th>
<th>Circumpolar-Region Foragers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Diet</strong></td>
<td>Wide variety of nuts, tubers, fruits, small animals, and occasional large game</td>
<td>Large marine and terrestrial animals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gender Division of Labor in Food Procurement</strong></td>
<td>Men and women forage; men hunt large game</td>
<td>Men hunt and fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shelter</strong></td>
<td>Casual construction, nonpermanent, little maintenance</td>
<td>Time-intensive construction and maintenance, some permanent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 2004 tsunami in the Indian Ocean damaged much of the coastline of Sentinel Island but wreaked less destruction than on other islands in the Andaman chain where the mangrove trees have been cut down. Learn about the effect of the tsunami in the Andaman Islands by visiting the A&N News Section of the website www.andaman.org.
Two additional reasons for the sustainability of foraging are that foragers have minimal needs (discussed later in this chapter) and that their population growth rate is low (discussed in Chapter 12).

Some anthropologists refer to foragers as the original affluent society because all their needs were completely met. This phrase also reflects the fact the foragers do not have to work many hours a week to maintain their lifestyle. In undisturbed foraging societies, people spend as few as five hours a week, on average, collecting food and making or repairing tools. They have much more time than we do for leisure activities such as storytelling, playing games, and resting. Foraging people also traditionally enjoyed good health records. During the 1960s, the age structure and health status of the Ju/wasi compared well with those of the United States around 1900—without any modern medical facilities (Lee 1979:47–48).

**Horticulture**

Horticulture is a production system based on the cultivation of domesticated crops in gardens via hand tools. Prominent horticultural crops include many kinds of tubers, corn (maize), beans, and grains such as millet and sorghum, all of which are rich in protein, minerals, and vitamins. Food crops are often supplemented by foraging for wild foods, fishing and hunting, and trading with pastoralists for animal products. Horticulture is currently practiced by many thousands of people mainly in sub-Saharan Africa; South and Southeast Asia, including the Pacific island of Papua New Guinea; Central and South America; and some Caribbean islands.

Horticultural technology includes hand-held tools, such as digging sticks and hoes, and baskets for carrying harvested crops. Rain is the sole source of moisture. Horticulture requires rotation of garden plots in order to allow used areas to regenerate; thus it is also termed shifting cultivation or fallowing. Anthropologists distinguish five phases in the horticultural cycle: clearing, planting, weeding, harvesting and fallowing (allowing the field to rest between plantings). Average plot sizes are less than 1 acre, and 2.5 acres can support a family of 5 to 8 members for a year. Yields are often sufficient to support semipermanent village settlements of 200 to 250 people. Horticulture is an extensive strategy because of the need to let fields lie fallow. Surpluses in food supply are possible in horticulture.

**Division of Labor**

Compared to foraging, horticulture is more labor-intensive because of the energy required for plot preparation and food processing. A family of husband, wife, and children forms the core work group for cultivation, but groups of men form for hunting and fishing expeditions, and women work in collective groups for food processing. Gender is the key factor in the organization of labor, and male and female work roles are often clearly differentiated. Most commonly, men clear the garden area of trees and brush, whereas both men and women plant and tend the crops. This pattern exists in Papua New Guinea, much of Southeast Asia, and parts of West and East Africa. Hunting, when undertaken by horticulturalists, is men’s work. In rural Malawi, southern Africa, for example, hunting is strictly associated with men, whereas food crops are women’s responsibility (Morris 1998).

Two horticultural examples illustrate unusual patterns of gender roles and status. The first is the pre-contact Iroquois Indians of central New York State (Brown 1975) (see the map on p. 324). Iroquois women cultivated maize, the most important food crop, and they controlled its distribution. This control meant that they were able to decide whether the men would go to war, because a war effort depended on an
adequate supply of maize to support it. In contrast, among the Yanomami of the
Venezuelan Amazon, men dominate in food production and distribution (Chagnon
1992). Yanomami men clear the fields and tend and harvest the crops. They also do
the cooking for ritual feasts. Yanomami women, though, are not idle. They play an
important role in providing the staple food that comes from manioc. Manioc is a
starchy root crop that requires substantial processing work. It has to be dug out of
the ground, soaked for a long time in water to remove toxins, and then processed by
scraping it across a rough surface to give it a mealy consistency. Yet although man-
oc is the core of the Yanomami diet, and it requires arduous work by women, Yano-
mami women’s social status is low while that of men is high.

Anthropologists disagree about what causes different gender divisions of labor in
horticulture. The consequences of various divisions of labor on men’s and women’s
status are more clear (Sanday 1973). Ethnological (comparative) analysis of many
horticultural societies shows that women’s contribution to food production is a neces-
sary but not sufficient basis for high status. In other words, if women do not contribute
to producing food, their status is low. If they do contribute, their status may or may
not be high. The critical factor is control over the distribution of what is produced,
especially its public distribution beyond the family. Slavery is a prime illustration of a
contribution to production that does not bring high status because a slave has no
control over the product.

Children do much productive work in horticultural societies, perhaps more than in
any other type of economy. A comparative research project, the *Children of Six Cultures* study, examined children’s roles in different modes of production (Whiting and Whiting 1975). Children among the horticultural Gusii of Kenya were found to perform more tasks at younger ages than children in the other cultures. Both boys and girls were responsible for caring for siblings, collecting fuel, and hauling water. Horticultural societies involve children so heavily in responsible tasks because adult women’s time allocation to work is very high, and children’s labor serves as a replacement in the domestic domain.

**Property Relations**

As among foragers, the concept of private property does not exist in horticultural societies. Use rights, however, are more clearly defined than in foraging societies. Clearing and planting a parcel of land gives a family some claim to it and its produce, but no one can sell land to anyone else. With the production of surplus goods, inequality in access to resources sometimes emerges and some people gain higher social status than others.

**Horticulture as a Sustainable System**

Crop rotation and fallowing are crucial factors in the sustainability of horticulture. Crop rotation varies the demands made on the soil. Fallowing allows the plot to recover its nutrients. In general, seven years or more of fallow time are required for a year of cultivation. Reducing fallowing time quickly brings negative consequences, including depletion of soil nutrients and soil erosion. Several factors contribute to the overuse of plots that should be left fallow, including encroachment by ranchers, farmers, loggers, and tourists; government pressure to grow cash crops; and population pressure when out-migration is not possible (Blaikie 1985). Population growth, often blamed as the sole culprit in soil overuse, is often not involved at all.

**Pastoralism**

Pastoralism is a mode of production based on the domestication of animal herds and the use of their products, such as meat and milk, for 50 percent or more of the diet. Contemporary pastoralists raise a variety of animals. The six most popular species are sheep, goats, cattle, horses, donkeys, and camels. Three others have more restricted distribution: yaks at high altitudes in Asia, reindeer in northern sub-Arctic regions, and llamas in highland South America. Many pastoralists keep dogs for protection and for help with herding. Pastoralism is geared to providing daily food, primarily milk and milk products. Given the limitations of animals as food sources, pastoralists often trade with other economic groups for food grains and manufactured items such as cooking pots. All pastoralists need fresh pasture for their animals, so pastoralism is an extensive mode of production.

**Division of Labor**

Families and clusters of related families are the basic unit of production. Gender is an important factor in the allocation of work. In many pastoralist cultures, male and female tasks are distinct. Men are in charge of herding, whereas women are responsible for processing the herd’s products, especially the milk. A cultural emphasis on masculinity characterizes many pastoralist people. For example, reindeer herding among the Sami, indigenous people of Scandinavia, was connected to male identity.
(Pelto 1973). The very definition of being a man was to be a reindeer herder. As herding declined during the latter part of the twentieth century, men struggled to find new bases for identity. In contrast, women are the predominant herders among the Navajo of the American Southwest, whereas men craft silver jewelry. Children often have work roles in pastoralist economies, usually tending the herds. Among the cattle-keeping Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania, for example, parents want to have many children to help with the herds.

**Property Relations**

The most important forms of property among pastoralists are animals, housing such as tents or yerts, and domestic goods such as cooking ware and carpets. Use rights regulate pasture land and migratory routes. Some sense of private property exists, and animals may be traded by the family head for other goods. A family’s tent is also its own. However, no private rights in land or travel routes exist. Many pastoral societies emphasize male ownership of the herds, and sons inherit herds from their fathers. In other societies, such as the sheepherding Navajo, herds pass from mother to daughter.

**Pastoralism as a Sustainable System**

Pastoralists have developed sustainable economies in resource-poor environments. As in other extensive systems (foraging and horticulture), overexploitation of the environment results when outside forces constrict the available space. Again, the pastoralists are often blamed for depleting the environment, rather than the outside factors.

**Agriculture**

Agriculture is an *intensive* strategy of production—that is, it focuses on a fixed area of land and applies more resources to that area rather than moving from place to place. Agriculture relies on domesticated animals for plowing, transportation, and providing organic fertilizer (manure). Elaborate terraces are often built to increase the amount of land available for cultivation. Key inputs that allow the same land to be farmed continuously without fertility decline include:
substantial labor devoted to weeding
natural and chemical fertilizers
irrigation

Permanent houses, privately owned property, and increased crop yields all promote larger family size as a way of further increasing production through the use of household labor. Thus population density is high in agricultural societies.

Agriculture involves complex local forms of knowledge about the environment, including plant varieties, pest management, precipitation patterns, and soil types. Anthropologists refer to this knowledge as indigenous knowledge (IK) to distinguish it from Western scientific knowledge. As long-standing agricultural traditions are increasingly displaced by methods introduced from the outside, indigenous knowledge is threatened with extinction, along with the cultures and languages associated with it. Many anthropologists are now actively involved in recording indigenous knowledge as a resource for the future (see the Lessons Applied box).

Agricultural systems are found on all continents except Antarctica. Because of the richness and complexity of farming systems cross-culturally, we will describe three different types (see Figure 11.3 on p. 328).
Family Farming

Over a billion people, or about one-sixth of the world’s population, belong to households involved in family farming (sometimes termed peasant farming). In family farming, farmers produce most of their own food using family labor. Although it is found throughout the world, family farming is more common in less-industrialized countries such as Mexico, India, Poland, and Italy.

Family farmers exhibit much cross-cultural variety. They may be full-time or part-time farmers; they may be more or less closely linked to urban markets; and they may or may not grow cash crops such as coffee or sugar cane. Major tasks include plowing, planting seeds and cuttings, weeding, caring for terraces and irrigation systems, harvesting, and processing.

Division of Labor. The family is the basic unit of production, and gender and age are important in organizing work. Most family farming societies have a marked gender-based division of labor. Cross-cultural analysis of gender roles in forty-six cultures revealed that men perform the bulk of the productive labor in over three-fourths of the sample (Michaelson and Goldschmidt 1971). The remaining one-quarter of the cultures includes those in which men’s and women’s productive roles are balanced and those in which women play the predominant role. In most family farm cultures, women’s work is more often devoted to activities near the home, such as processing food and child care. Anthropologists have proposed different theories to explain why productive work on family farms is male-dominated (see Figure 11.4).

In family farms in the United States, husbands are primarily responsible for daily farm operations, and wives’ participation ranges from minimal to equal to that of their husbands (Barlett 1989:271–273). Women do run farms in the United States, but generally only when they are divorced or widowed. Wives are usually responsible for managing the domestic domain. On average, women’s daily work hours are 25 percent more than those of men. A new trend is for family farm women to take salaried jobs off the farm to help support the farm.

In some family farming systems, however, females play a more important role than males in agricultural production and distribution; such systems are referred to as female farming systems. Most female farming systems are found in southern India and neighboring Southeast Asia where wet rice agriculture is practiced. This is a highly labor-intensive way of growing rice that involves starting the seedlings in nurseries and transplanting them to flooded fields. Males do the initial plowing of the fields, but women’s labor and decision making are the backbone of the operations. Why women predominate in wet rice agriculture is an intriguing question (Winzeler 1974). We have no explanation why this system came into being, but we can point to its consequences for women’s status: where female farming systems exist, women are more likely to own land, to play a greater role in household decision making, and to have more autonomy (Dyson and Moore 1983, Stivens et al. 1994).

A third variation in the gender division of labor in family farming involves complementary and balanced task allocations between males and females, with
males involved in agricultural work and females involved in food processing and marketing. This form of gender division of labor is common among highland communities of Central and South America. For example, among the Zapotec Indians of southern Mexico’s state of Oaxaca, men grow maize, the staple crop, and cash crops such as bananas, mangoes, coconuts, and sesame (Chiñas 1992). Zapotec women sell produce in the town markets and make tortillas to sell from their houses. The family thus derives income from the labor of both genders working interdependently on different aspects of the production process. Male status and female status are balanced.

Children’s roles in agricultural societies range from prominent to minor, depending on the context. The *Six Cultures Study*, mentioned earlier, found lower rates of child work in the North Indian and Mexican agricultural villages than in the horticultural village in Kenya. But in some agricultural societies, children’s work rates are high, as shown through detailed observations of children’s activities in two Asian villages, one in Java and the other in Nepal. In these villages, an important task of children, even those as young as six years old, is tending the farm animals (Nag, White, and Peet 1978), and children spend more time caring for animals than adults do. Girls aged six to eight spend more time than adults in child care. Some Javanese children in the six-to eight-year-old group work for wages. In general, girls work more hours each day than boys. Children in the United States are not formally employed in farm work, but many family farms rely on children’s contributions on weekends and during summer vacations. Amish farm families rely on contributions from all family members (Hostetler and Huntington 1992).

### FIGURE 11.4
Three hypotheses to explain male dominance in the gender division of labor in family farming.

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

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

**Women and Food Processing Hypothesis**
This hypothesis notes that agriculture increases the demand for labor within and near the house (Ember 1983). Winnowing, husking, grinding, and cooking agricultural products are extremely labor-intensive processes. Linked to women’s primary roles in child care, and increased fertility in farm families, these new labor demands restrict women to the household domain.
Property Relations. Family farmers make substantial investments in land, such as the clearing, terracing, and fencing that are linked to the development of firmly delineated and protected property rights. Rights to land can be acquired and sold. Formal rules govern the inheritance of rights to land. Institutions such as law and police exist to protect private rights to land and to other resources. In family farming systems where male labor and decision making predominate, women and girls tend to be excluded from land rights and other forms of property control. Conversely, in female farming systems, inheritance rules provide for transmission of property rights through females.

Industrial Agriculture

Industrial capital agriculture produces crops through means that are capital-intensive, using machinery and inputs such as processed fertilizers instead of human and animal labor (Barlett 1989:253). It is most widely practiced in the United States, Canada, Germany, Russia, and Japan and is increasingly being adopted in developing nations such as India, Brazil, and China.

Industrial agriculture has brought the advent of corporate farms, huge enterprises that produce goods solely for sale and that are owned and operated by companies that rely entirely on hired labor. Four characteristics of industrial agriculture have major social effects (see Figure 11.5).

Figure 11.5

Three features of industrial agriculture and their social effects.

- Increased use of complex technology (including machinery, chemicals, and genetic research) on new plant and animal varieties.
  Social effects: displacement of small landholders and field laborers. For example, replacing mules and horses with tractors for plowing in the American South during the 1930s led to the eviction of small-scale sharecroppers from the land because the landowners could cultivate larger units. Similarly, the invention of mechanical cotton pickers displaced field laborers.

- Increased use of capital (wealth used in the production of more wealth) in the form of money or property.
  Social effects: The high ratio of capital to labor enables farmers to increase production but reduces flexibility. If a farmer invests in an expensive machine to harvest soybeans and then the price of soybeans drops, the farmer cannot simply switch from soybeans to a more profitable crop. Capitalization creates opportunities and risks for farmers. It is most risky for smaller farms, which cannot absorb losses easily.

- Increased use of energy (primarily gasoline to run the machinery and nitrates for fertilizer) to grow crops. This input of energy often exceeds the calories of food energy yielded in the harvest. Calculations of how many calories of energy are used to produce a calorie of food in industrial agricultural systems reveal that some 2.5 calories of fossil fuel are invested to harvest 1 calorie of food—and more than 6 calories are invested when processing, packaging, and transport are taken into account.
  Social effects: This energy-heavy mode of production creates farmers dependent on the global market of energy supplies.

(Source: Adapted from “Industrial Agriculture” by Peggy F. Barlett in Economic Agriculture, ed. by Stuart Plattner. Copyright © 1989. Published by Stanford University Press.)
Corporate farms depend completely on hired labor rather than on family members. Much of the labor demand in industrial agriculture is seasonal, which creates an ebb and flow of workers, depending on the task and time of year. Large ranches hire seasonal cowboys for round-ups and fence mending. Crop harvesting is another high-demand point. Leo Chavez (1992) studied the lives of undocumented (“illegal”) migrant laborers from Central America who work in the huge tomato, strawberry, and avocado fields owned by corporate farms in southern California. Many of the migrants are Indians from Oaxaca, Mexico. They illegally cross the border to work in the United States in order to provide for their families. In the San Diego area, they live temporarily in shantytowns or camps.

**Industrial collectivized agriculture** is a form of industrialized agriculture that involves state control of land, technology, and goods produced. Collectivism’s basic goal was to provide improved welfare for the masses and greater economic equality than exists under competitive capitalism. A variety of collective agriculture arrangements have been implemented, with varying degrees of success, in places such as Russia, countries of Eastern Europe, China, Tanzania, Ethiopia, and Nicaragua.

Cultural anthropology studies of collectivized agriculture are rare. Here we provide a brief summary of findings from research conducted in Romania’s Olt Land region (Kideckel 1993). Romanian socialism, established through Soviet support, was Stalinist and involved highly centralized state planning. Romania had the most comprehensive and centralized system in Eastern Europe. The state oversaw nearly every aspect of society, from university enrollments to the production of steel and tractors. Romanian agriculture was organized into state farms and collective farms. With the completion of collectivization in the early 1960s, about 30 percent of the land was in state farms, 60 percent in collectives, and 10 percent privately held. Workers on state farms were paid wages and given a small garden plot. Organized like a rural factory, the state farm provided services such as child care facilities and shopping centers.

In spite of the socialist rhetoric proclaiming equality among all workers, economic distinctions remained between males and females. Women were relegated to agricultural and reproductive labor, whereas rural men moved into industry. Although women were the mainstay of collective farm labor, they were underrepresented among the leadership. Nevertheless, women’s increased involvement in wage earning and their roles in cultivating plots for household use strengthened their influence in the household and the community.

After the Revolution of 1989, the policy to transfer land back to private citizens had mixed results. State farms gave up land reluctantly. Many collective farmers thought that privatized farming was not worth the effort now that other kinds of opportunities existed for making a living. In addition, they were accustomed to some of the benefits of collective farming, such as shared risk and shorter workdays. Some of the younger people welcomed the idea of private farming but felt they lacked the necessary knowledge to succeed.

**The Sustainability of Agriculture**

Agriculture requires substantial labor inputs, technology, and nonrenewable natural resources. Especially in its corporate form, agriculture is not sustainable. Furthermore, the spread of corporate agriculture is seriously undermining the sustainability of foraging, horticulture, and pastoralism. In its demand for increased farm land and fuel sources, it also has major negative effects on the natural environment. As noted in Chapter 9, the emergence of agriculture brought with it new levels of social inequality, conflict, and state-level mechanisms of social control.
Industrialism and Post-Industrialism

**Industrialism** is the production of goods through mass employment in business and commercial operations. Industrialism began only a short time ago, in the latter half of the nineteenth century (see Figure 11.6). Since that time it has spread, unevenly, to most countries. Compared to the other modes of production, which have been around much longer, industrialism has had an extremely brief test of time in terms of its social effects and sustainability.

In industrial capitalism, most goods are produced not to meet basic needs but to satisfy consumer demand for nonessential goods. Employment in agriculture decreases, while jobs in manufacturing and the service sector increase. In some industrialized countries, the number of manufacturing jobs is declining, and more people are finding employment in service occupations and in the growing area of information processing (such as computer programming, data processing, communications, and teaching). Some experts feel that the United States, for example, has moved out of the industrial age and into the post-industrial or *information age*.

**MODES OF CONSUMPTION AND EXCHANGE**

Imagine that it is the late eighteenth century and you are a member of the Kwakwaka’wakw tribe of British Columbia in Canada’s Pacific region. Along with the rest of your local tribal group, you have been invited to a potlatch, a grand feast in which guests are served elaborate meals and receive gifts from the hosts (Suttles 1991). Be prepared to eat a lot, because potlatch guests are served abundant helpings of the most honorable foods: fish oil, high-bush cranberries, and seal meat, all presented in ceremonial wooden bowls. The chief will present the guests with many gifts: embroidered blankets, canoes, carefully crafted household articles such as carved wooden boxes and woven mats, and food to be taken back home. The more the chief gives, the higher his status will rise, and the more his guests will be indebted to him. Later, when it is the guests’ turn to hold a potlatch, they will try to give away as much as—or more than—their host did, thus shaming him into giving the next potlatch.

Before the arrival of the Europeans, tribes throughout the Pacific Northwest were linked with each other through a network of potlaching relationships. The Europeans tried to stop potlatching because they thought it was wasteful and because it contained elements that ran counter to Christian principles they were trying to promote. In spite of the fact that the colonialists even made potlatching illegal, it has survived to the present day among some groups and is being revived by others.

This sketch demonstrates how closely linked production, consumption, and exchange are. Potlatches are related to levels of production; they are opportunities for
consumption; and they involve the exchange of goods among groups. In this section, we look cross-culturally at **modes of consumption**, or the predominant patterns of using up goods and services within a culture, and **modes of exchange**, or the predominant patterns of transferring goods, services, and other items between and among people and groups within a culture.

### Modes of Consumption

Consumption has two senses. First, it is a person’s *intake* in terms of eating or other ways of using things; second, it is a person’s *output* in terms of spending or using resources. Thus consumption includes eating habits and household budgeting practices. People consume many things: food, drink, clothing, and shelter are the most basic consumption needs. Beyond that, people may acquire and use tools, weapons, means of transportation, computers, books and other items of communication, art and other luxury goods, and energy for heating and cooling their residence.

The modes of consumption correspond generally with the modes of production (see Figure 11.7). At the opposite ends of the continuum, two contrasting modes of consumption exist, defined in terms of the relationship between demand (what people want) and supply (the resources available to satisfy demand). **Minimalism** is a mode of consumption that emphasizes simplicity and is characterized by few and finite (limited) consumer demands and by an adequate and sustainable means to achieve them. At the other end of the continuum is **consumerism**, in which people’s demands are many and infinite, and the means of satisfying them are insufficient and become depleted in the effort to meet demands. Minimalism is most

![Map of Vancouver Island](image)

**FIGURE 11.7**

Modes of production, consumption, and exchange.

(Source: From p. 81 in Cultural Anthropology, 3rd ed., by Barbara Miller. Copyright © 2005 by Pearson Education. Reprinted by permission of Allyn & Bacon, Boston, MA.)
clearly exemplified in (free-ranging) foraging societies; consumerism is the distinguishing feature of capitalist industrial cultures. If we envision foraging societies at the far left of the continuum, then in between these two extremes we observe blended patterns, with a decreasing trend toward minimalism and an increasing trend toward consumerism as one moves from left to right. Changes in the mode of production influence the transformation in consumption. Notably, the increase of surpluses and the ability to store wealth for long periods of time enable a more consumerist lifestyle to emerge.

Minimalist and consumerist cultures also differ in the social organization of consumption. In foraging societies, everyone has equal access to all resources. As among the traditional Ju/wasi, food is not consumed by family members alone but is shared with a group of up to 30 or more people. Every member receives an equitable share (Lee 1979). The distribution of personal goods such as clothing, or of “luxury” items such as ostrich egg shell beads, musical instruments, or smoking pipes, is also equal. In horticultural and pastoral societies, group sharing is still a prevalent ethic, although inequalities in possessions do sometimes exist between individuals and between groups. It is the duty of leaders of horticultural and pastoral groups, however, to make sure that everyone has food and shelter.

At the other end of the continuum, social inequality in consumption is prominent. The United States is the major consumerist culture of the world (Durning 1993), but as globalization occurs, consumerism is spreading. Many countries have growing economies that allow people to demand consumer goods such as big cars, electrical appliances, and air conditioning. These countries include the rapidly developing nations of Asia, such as China, the Republic of Korea, and Vietnam, and many countries in Africa and Latin America. The amount of goods that the world’s population consumed in the second half of the twentieth century is equal to what was consumed by all previous generations of humans. Some industrialized nations, such as Sweden, have taken steps to control consumerism and its negative environmental effects, especially through reducing the use of cars.

In small-scale societies, such as those of foragers, horticulturalists, and pastoralists, consumption items are mainly produced by the consumers themselves. If not, they are traded for among people with whom the consumer has a personal relationship. In such personalized consumption, everyone knows where products came from and who produced them. This pattern contrasts markedly with a rapidly growing pattern of consumption in our contemporary globalized world: depersonalized consumption. In depersonalized consumption, multinational corporations manage the production of most of the goods that people in industrialized countries consume. Many products are made of components produced in several different countries and assembled in diverse parts of the world by hundreds of unknown workers. Some anthropologists believe that depersonalized consumption is harmful to the actual producers (see the Critical Thinking box).

Consumption Microcultures

Distinct consumption microcultures are often defined on the basis of class, ethnicity, gender, and age. People’s consumption patterns, though, are rarely the consequences of just one microculture. Rather, they are shaped by multiple and intersecting microcultures that determine one’s ability to consume in certain ways, one’s taste for certain consumption items, and the consequences of particular patterns of consumption on one’s health and longevity.

Class

In cultures with class structures, upper-class people spend more on consumption than the poor do. The poor, however, spend a larger percentage of their total income on consumption, especially on basic needs such as food, clothing, and shelter. As noted in Chapter 10, income inequalities worldwide account for dramatic
Can the Internet Create Responsible Consumers?

ONE IMPORTANT FEATURE of increasingly globalized production is that the role of the producer is hidden from the consumer. In other words, commodities are no longer linked with particular producers. Furthermore, many products are assembled with parts from all over the world, created by many invisible workers. British culturalist anthropologist Daniel Miller says that such labor invisibility and product depersonalization make it all too easy for consumers unknowingly to support practices that are harmful to the distant, unseen laborers (2003). Most people are happy enough to blame the higher profits of multinational corporations for the poor treatment of producers, but Miller points out that the major responsibility should lie with us, the consumers. It is our search for the cheapest possible goods that drives the commercial competition that results in further exploitation of workers. It is consumers who must be persuaded to pay higher prices in order to provide better conditions for producers.

If consumers were educated about the actual dynamics of production and the role of the laborers, they would be more likely to make wiser and more responsible choices about which products to buy. For example, they would avoid products made by the more exploitive companies or by less ecologically responsible companies. And they might be willing to pay higher prices to discourage abuse of workers and of the environment.

Miller sees a major gap in the school curriculum in his home country, the United Kingdom. It is extraordinary, he says, that we call people “educated” who know more about ancient Rome or physics than about the products they consume every day. Most students will never use the higher math or physics that they study in school, but they will be consumers for the rest of their lives. So, he asks, why not provide consumer education for students?

To that end, Miller devised an Internet education project for school children that would teach them about the role of workers in relation to the products they consume and would put the human faces of producers behind commodities. Having discovered the importance of “interactivity” from his earlier fieldwork on people’s use of the Internet in Trinidad, he created a plan for an interactive narrative about a product. The Internet could enable students to talk in “real time” with actual producers. To avoid a power differential between workers and viewers, the producers should be able to question the students (the consumers) about their lives as well. This interactive personalization would include, in the case of a relatively simple product such as a banana, not just the plantation worker but also the wider system and process of banana production: plantation managers, packers, and transporters. The students would choose a banana company, web cams would be supplied to the workers, and both students and workers would be connected online once a week. In order to push the reality of production all the way, Miller hopes that the students would actually end up eating the same bananas that they saw being produced.

This is a big project, even for just a single commodity. Miller is well aware that we cannot, within reason, learn everything about the production of everything we consume. He suggests that three illustrative products be chosen for the education project, starting with the banana. The second product should be more complex to illustrate the multiple sourcing of most goods. The third product might be locally produced by a small-scale firm.

Miller sought government funding for his project but was denied. Undaunted, he published an article in a journal in order to share his idea and inspire others to develop similar consumer education projects elsewhere.

CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

- Is Miller’s idea of enhancing the school curriculum in this way important?
- Is it feasible?
- What suggestions do you have for products to study in addition to bananas?
differences in nutrition and health. As discussed in Chapter 10, urban areas, poor people are more likely to be exposed to various forms of pollution and to have less access to good social and health services.

Class differences in consumption in contemporary industrial societies may seem so obvious that they are scarcely worth studying. A team of French researchers, however, undertook a national sample survey with over 1000 responses to study class differences in consumer preferences and tastes (Bourdieu 1984). The results revealed strong class patterns in, for example, choice of favorite painters or pieces of music, that were most closely associated with people’s level of education and their father’s occupation. An overall pattern of “distance from necessity” in tastes and preferences characterized members of the educated upper classes, who were more likely to prefer abstract art. In comparison, tastes among the working classes were closer to “necessity,” and their preference was for realist art. This study produced the concept of the game of distinction, in which people of lower classes take on the preferences of the upper classes in order to enhance their standing. Education, in this view, provides the means for lower-class people to learn how to play the game of distinction according to upper-class rules.

“Race” and Ethnicity

Racial apartheid was a matter of national policy in South Africa until 1994 and is a clear example of explicit racial inequalities in consumption. Whites owned property, had wealth, and lived prosperous lives that included good food, good housing, and educational opportunities for their children. Blacks were denied all of these things. The current government in South Africa is now attempting to redress decades of deprivation linked to racial categories and is also facing the burden of widespread HIV/AIDS.

Overconsumption is a relative term that is linked to the issue in the United States and the United Kingdom of rising rates of obesity (review Chapter 10). In both countries, the obesity rate (as medically defined) is high and increasing, and within the general population, certain people are more likely to be obese than others. It appears that ethnicity is often relevant, and it interacts with other factors such as class, gender and age. Among Puerto Ricans in Philadelphia, the overall incidence of obesity is 20 percent higher for women than for men (Massara 1997). Puerto Rican women between forty and eighty years of age are 67 percent more likely to be obese than Puerto Rican women under the age of twenty-five. The culture of food in many American Puerto Rican families emphasizes strong links between a woman’s being a good wife and mother and her role as food preparer and server. A married woman may eat dinner with her children and then, again, join her husband when he comes home later for his dinner. Some of the heavier women explained that their size made them appear asexual and allowed them to lead a more active social life outside the home without provoking their husbands’ anger. Many women in the study thought that a certain amount of overweight, in medical terms, is acceptable. A deeper analysis, though, hinted that for many adult Puerto Rican women, overeating is a response to stress or to feelings of neglect in the family.

Gender

Consumption patterns, like obesity, are often gender-marked. Specific foods may be thought to be “male foods” or “female foods.” In cultures where alcoholic beverages are consumed, the general pattern is that males drink more than females. Gender differences in consumption have effects on growth and development, health, and even survival.
In all human populations, males on average are taller than females. But cultures vary in the degree of this aspect of sexual dimorphism (Holden and Mace 1999). To a certain extent, height is genetically influenced, but it is also affected by the environment and culture through diet.

From the perspective of biological anthropology, Darwinian theory suggests that sexual dimorphism in height—males generally being taller than females—is related to a primate-wide pattern of male competition for sexual access to females. In situations of male–male competition for females, larger males have an advantage over smaller males and therefore produce more offspring. This pattern eventually leads to the birth of more tall males, whereas no such selection pressure is exerted on females.

Such male–male competition, it has been hypothesized, would be especially strong in societies where polygyny, in which one man may have multiple wives, is practiced. Polygyny creates a scarcity of marriageable women. Biological anthropologists have investigated whether taller males are found in polygynous societies. They conducted a comparative study using data on seventy-six cultures. They found, however, no relationship in height differences between men and women in polygynous compared to nonpolygynous cultures.

Looking more closely at their data, they saw a different relationship: male height compared to female height is greater in cultures where women play a lesser role in production. The researchers suggest that where males provide the bulk of the productive labor, it is adaptive for parents to invest more food resources in their sons than in their daughters. Thus, boys are better able than girls to achieve their full growth potential.

This study affirms the importance of the environmental context and economic culture in affecting children’s diet, growth, and, ultimately, their height. Such height differences would not be transmitted over generations through genes but are recreated in each generation through cultural preferences and actions.

**FOOD FOR THOUGHT**

- How do the results of this cross-cultural analysis prompt possible reconsideration of the explanations given in Chapter 5 for sexual dimorphism in size among some of the great apes?

Consider a dramatic case of gender differences in food consumption in highland Papua New Guinea (Lindenbaum 1979) (see the map on p. 338). This story begins with a mysterious epidemic, with the local name of kuru, among the Fore (pronounced FOR-AY), a horticultural group. Between 1957 and 1977, about 2500 people died of kuru. A victim of the disease would have shivering tremors, followed by a progressive loss of motor ability along with pain in the head and limbs. People afflicted with kuru could walk unsteadily at first but would later be unable to get up. Death occurred about a year after the first symptoms appeared. Deaths from kuru were not evenly distributed among the Fore: most victims were women.

The Fore believed that kuru was caused by sorcery. A team of Western medical researchers and a cultural anthropologist, Shirley Lindenbaum, showed that kuru was a neurological disease caused by consumption of the flesh of deceased people who were themselves kuru victims. Who was eating human flesh, and why? Among the Fore, it was considered acceptable to cook and eat the meat of a deceased person, although it was not a preferred food. Because of growing scarcity of the usual sources of animal protein in the region, some Fore women turned to eating human flesh. The
scarcity was related to increasing population density, more areas under cultivation and decreased forest areas, all of which reduced the numbers of local wild animals in the region. This scarcity acted in combination with the Fore’s male-biased consumption pattern, which allocated preferred protein sources to men. Women turned to consumption of less-preferred food, including human flesh, and were at greater risk of contracting kuru.

Age
Age categories often have characteristic consumption patterns that are culturally shaped. Certain foods may be believed to be appropriate for infants, young children, adolescents, adults, or the aged. This section looks at food consumption among the category of “the aged.”

Biologically, the elderly have unique nutritional needs (Shifflett and McIntosh 1986–1987). In spite of these special needs, in many cultures, aged people experience declining quality of consumption. In the United States, the elderly tend to omit important food groups, especially fruits and vegetables. Among elderly Virginians, several factors related to dietary change were discovered, including lack of social support and loneliness. One respondent reported that she had been widowed for ten years and that she had undergone a negative change in her food habits soon after her husband died. For several years she felt she “had nothing to live for.” She ate only junk food and food she could prepare with the least effort. She experienced a rapid weight gain up to 200 pounds, but “One day I realized what I was doing to my health and I went on a diet. I tried to eat a balanced diet and am still trying to eat better now” (10).

Aging affects everyone, regardless of class position, but wealth can protect the elderly from certain kinds of marginalization and deprivation. Income level is positively related to longevity (lifespan) around the world. Money can often buy better health care. Wealthier people can afford home care when they become infirm and
unable to care for themselves. In the United States, middle-class people may have to spend their last years in a nursing home, but the poor fare even worse. Park benches or shelters provided by local governments and volunteer organizations may be their only option (Vesperi 1985).

**Modes of Exchange**

Exchange, as defined in Chapter 8, is the transfer of something material or immaterial between at least two persons, groups, or institutions. In all economic systems, individuals and groups exchange goods and services with others, so exchange is a cultural universal. But variation arises in the mode of exchange, or the predominant pattern of exchange in a society. Variations also exist in terms of what items are important in exchange (see Figure 11.8).

Parallel to the two contrasting modes of consumption described earlier (minimalism and consumerism), two distinct modes of exchange can be delineated (see Figure 11.7 on p. 333). These are balanced exchange, a system of transfers in which the goal is either immediate or eventual balance in value, and unbalanced exchange, a system of transfers in which one party attempts to make a profit.

**Balanced Exchange**

The category of balanced exchange contains two subcategories based on the social relationship of the two parties involved in the exchange and the degree to which a “return” is expected (see Figure 11.9).

**FIGURE 11.8**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Selected Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material Goods</td>
<td>Food to family and group members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gifts for special occasions such as weddings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Money</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmaterial Goods</td>
<td>Myths, stories, rituals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Time, labor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People</td>
<td>Offspring in marriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slavery</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIGURE 11.9**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Balanced Exchange</th>
<th>Unbalanced Exchange</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Generalized Reciprocity</td>
<td>Expected Reciprocity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin, friends</td>
<td>Trading partners</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return</td>
<td>Not calculated or expected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Example</td>
<td>Buying coffee for a friend</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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www.ablongman.com/millerwood1e
Generalized Reciprocity. Generalized reciprocity is a category of exchange that involves the least conscious sense of interest in material gain or thought of what might be received in return. When or whether a possible return might be made is not calculated. Such exchanges often involve goods and services of an everyday nature, such as a cup of coffee. Generalized reciprocity is the predominant form of exchange between people who know each other well and trust each other. It is the predominant form of exchange in foraging societies, and it is also found among close kin and friends cross-culturally.

A pure gift, something given with no expectation of a return, is an extreme form of generalized reciprocity. Examples of a pure gift include donating money for a food drive and making donations to famine relief, blood banks, and religious organizations.

Expected Reciprocity. Expected reciprocity is the exchange of equally valued goods or services, usually between people of equal social status. The exchange may occur simultaneously between both parties, or an agreement or understanding may exist that stipulates the time period within which the exchange will be completed. This aspect of the timing contrasts with generalized reciprocity, in which there is no fixed time limit for the return. In expected reciprocity, if the second party fails to complete the exchange, the relationship will break down. The difference is that expected reciprocity is less personal than generalized reciprocity and, according to Western definitions, more “economic” in terms of profit-seeking.

The kula is an example of a system of expected reciprocity (review the Critical Thinking box in Chapter 4, p. 114). Throughout the Trobriand Islands, men exchange necklaces and armlets with their trading partners, who include close neighbors as well as people on distant islands. Trobriand men gain social distinction by having particular armlets and necklaces, some of which bestow more prestige than others. One cannot keep any trade item for long, though, because the kula code dictates that “to possess is great, but to possess is to give.” Generosity is the essence of goodness, and stinginess is the most despised vice. Another rule is that kula exchanges should involve items of equivalent value. If a man trades a very valuable necklace with his partner, he expects to receive in return a very valuable armlet as a yotile (equivalent gift). At the time, if one’s partner does not possess an equivalent item, he may have to give a basi (intermediary gift). The basi stands as a token of good faith until a proper return gift can be given. The kudu (clinching gift) will come later and will balance the original gift. The equality of exchange ensures a strong social bond between the trading partners and is a statement of trust. When a man goes to an area in which there may be danger because of previous raids or warfare, he can count on having a friend to receive him and give him hospitality.

Redistribution. Redistribution is a form of exchange that involves one person collecting goods or money from many members of a group. Then, at a public event later on, that person “returns” the pooled goods to everyone who contributed, in the form of a generous feast. Ideally, over the long run, the returns should balance the original contributions. But compared to the two-way pattern of exchange involved in balanced exchange, redistribution involves a certain degree of centricity. And there is the possibility of institutionalized inequality, because what is returned to each individual may not always equal what that individual contributed.

The group of contributors may continue to give, in spite of perceived unfairness, because of the leadership skills of the person who mobilizes contributions. Political leadership throughout Papua New Guinea and many Pacific islands is based on redistribution through a system of contributions that lead to an impressive ritual feast that may take several years to organize (this topic is discussed in Chapter 16).

Unbalanced Exchange

Beginning mainly with the emergence of agriculture and settled life in the Neolithic is a different form of exchange, in which profit becomes the major goal, overriding concern with balance. Several forms of such unbalanced exchange exist.
Market Exchange. Market exchange is the buying and selling of commodities under competitive conditions in which the forces of supply and demand determine value (Dannhaeuser 1989). In market transactions, the people involved may not be related to or even know each other. They may not be social equals, and their exchange is not likely to generate social bonding. Many market transactions take place in a marketplace, a physical location in which buying and selling occur. Markets evolved from less formal contexts of trade into the formalized exchange of one thing for another according to set standards of value. In order for trade to develop, someone must have something that someone else wants. Specialization in producing a particular good promotes trade between regions. Particular products are often identified with a town or region. In Oaxaca, Mexico, for example, different villages are known for blankets, pottery, stone grinders, rope, and chili peppers (Plattner 1989:180–181).

The periodic market, a site for market transactions that is not permanently set up but occurs regularly, emerged with the development of agriculture and urban settlements. A periodic market, however, is more than just a place for buying and selling; it is also a place of social activity. Government officials drop in, religious organizations hold services, long-term acquaintances catch up with each other, and young

In China, many marketers are women. These two women display their wares in a permanent neighborhood food market in a city near Shanghai. Assume you are at this market and would like to cook a chicken for dinner. What steps do you take to make that happen? (Source: Barbara Miller)

Well-stocked and brightly lit candy shops are a prominent part of urban night life in Valencia, southern Spain. Sugarcane was introduced into Spain by the Arabs. Later, the Spanish established the first sugarcane plantations on Madeira and the Canary Islands using enslaved laborers from Africa. Log your food and drink consumption every day for a week and assess the role sugar plays in the results. (Source: Barbara Miller and Bernard Wood)
people may meet and fall in love. Worldwide, permanent markets situated in fixed locations have long served the everyday needs of villages and neighborhoods. Permanent markets, like periodic markets, often involve social relationships and enduring ties. More contemporary, less personalized forms of permanent marketplaces include shopping malls and stock exchanges.

Turning to other forms of unbalanced exchange, we find extreme instances in which no social relationship is involved and others wherein sustained unequal relationships are maintained over time. These forms can be found in any mode of production, but they are most likely to be found in large-scale societies.

**Gambling.** Gambling, or gaming, is the attempt to make a profit by playing a game of chance in which a certain item of value is staked in hopes of acquiring the much larger return that one receives if one wins the game. If one loses, that which one staked is lost. Gambling is an ancient practice and is common cross-culturally. Ancient forms of gambling include games such as dice throwing and card playing. Investing in the stock market can be considered a form of gambling. Although gambling may seem an odd category within unbalanced exchange, the gambler’s goal of making a profit seems to warrant its placement here. The fact that gambling is on the rise justifies anthropological attention to it. In fact, some scholars have referred to the present stage of Western capitalism as *casino capitalism,* given the propensity of investors to play risky games on the stock market.

Native American gambling establishments in the United States and Canada have proliferated in recent years. The state of Michigan alone has nearly twenty Native American casinos. Throughout the country, Native American casinos are so financially successful that they are perceived as an economic threat to many state lotteries. The Pequot Indians of Connecticut, a small tribe of around 200 people, operate the most lucrative gaming establishment in the world, Foxwoods Resort and Casino, established in 1992 (Eisler 2001). The story of this success hangs on the creativity of one man: Richard “Skip” Hayward. An unemployed shipbuilder in the 1970s, he granted his grandmother’s wish that he try to revive the declining tribe. Hayward used the legal system governing Native Americans to his advantage, forged links with powerful people such as Malaysian industrialist Lim Goh Tong and Bill Clinton (to whose campaign the Pequot donated half a million dollars), made powerful enemies such as Donald Trump, and became the chief of his now-rich tribe.

The Pequots, and many Native American groups, have become highly successful capitalists. Anthropologists and other social scientists are asking what impact these casinos will have on their Native American owners and on the surrounding area and what such newly rich groups will do with their wealth. In 1992, twenty-four Native American tribes formed an intertribal organization called USET (United South and Eastern Tribes), which is supporting a nationwide study of the social and economic impacts of Native American gaming.

**Theft.** Theft is taking something with no expectation or thought of returning anything to the original owner for it. Thus it is the logical opposite of a pure gift. Theft has been neglected by anthropologists, perhaps because studying it might involve danger. One innovative research project considers food stealing by children in Sierra Leone, Africa (see the Methods Close-Up box).

Obviously, much theft that occurs in the world is motivated by greed, not economic deprivation or oppression. The world of theft in expensive commodities such as gems and art has not been researched by cultural anthropologists, nor has corporate financial malpractice yet been examined as a form of theft.

**Exploitation.** Exploitation, or getting something of greater value for less in return, is a form of extreme and persistent unbalanced exchange. Slavery is a form of exploitation in which people’s labor power is appropriated without their consent and with no recompense for its value. Slavery is rare among foraging, horticultural, and pastoral societies.
Studying Children’s Food Stealing

IN ORDER to learn about children’s food stealing practices, Caroline Bledsoe first had to gain the trust of the children:

I focused on eliciting information primarily from children themselves. This required careful effort, because children wanted to avoid getting in trouble. Most were reluctant at first to divulge their strategies. However, as children saw that I regarded their efforts as they themselves did—as almost an art—they disclosed some of their more creative techniques of “tiefing” (TEEF-ing), as petty stealing is referred to in Sierra Leone Creole (1983:2).

Bledsoe had the children participate in simulations of meal preparation and meal serving. In both situations, children revealed to her their subtle methods of tiefing. From an analysis of tiefing reports from many children, she found that fostered children (children temporarily placed in the care of friends or relatives) do more food stealing than children living with their own families. Food stealing can be seen as children’s attempts to compensate for their less-than-adequate food shares at home. They do this by claiming, via tiefing, food that is not part of their rightful entitlement.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT
- Can you think of other research methods that could be used to provide data on these children’s diet?

Social relationships that involve sustained unequal exchange do exist between members of different social groups. Unlike pure slavery, they involve no overt coercion and entail a certain degree of return by the dominant member to the subdominant member. Some degree of covert compulsion or dependence is likely to be present, however, in order for relationships of unequal exchange to endure. Relationships between the Efe, who are “pygmy” foragers, and the Lese, who are farmers, in Congo exemplify sustained unequal exchange (Grinker 1994). The Lese live in small villages. The Efe are seminomadic and live in temporary camps near Lese villages. Men of each group maintain long-term, hereditary exchange partnerships with each other. The Lese give cultivated foods and iron goods to the Efe, and the Efe give meat, honey, and other forest goods to the Lese. Each Efe partner is considered a member of the “house” of his Lese partner, although he lives separately. Their main link is the exchange of food, conceptualized by the Lese not as trade, per se, but as sharing of co-produced goods, as though the two partners were a single unit with a division of labor and a subsequent division or co-sharing of the goods produced. Yet there is evidence of inequality in these relationships, with the Lese having the advantage. The Efe provide much-wanted meat to the Lese, but this role gives them no status, for it is the giving of cultivated foods by the Lese to the Efe that conveys status. Another area of inequality is marital and sexual relationships. Lese men may marry Efe women, and sometimes do, and the children are considered Lese. Efe men cannot marry Lese women.

GLOBALIZATION AND CHANGING ECONOMIES

The spread of Western capitalism in recent centuries has had far-reaching effects on the modes of production it has met. The intensification of global trade created a global division of labor, or world economy, in which countries compete unequally for a share of the wealth (Wallerstein 1979).
The modern world economy is stratified into three major areas: core areas, peripheral areas, and semiperipheral areas. Core areas monopolize the most profitable activities of the division of labor, such as high-tech manufacturing service and financial activities, and they have the strongest governments, which play a dominating role in the affairs of other countries. Peripheral areas are stuck with the least profitable activities, including the production of raw materials, foodstuffs, and labor-intensive goods, and they import high-tech goods and services from other areas. They tend to have weak governments and are dominated, either directly or indirectly, by core country governments and policies. Semiperipheral areas stand in the middle, exhibiting some characteristics of each.

According to this analysis, all areas are equally interdependent in the division of labor, but the benefits that accrue from their specialized roles are highly unequal. Core states, with about 20 percent of the system’s population, control 80 percent of the system’s wealth and emit 80 percent of world pollution. In the political sphere, the core states have increased their economic power and influence through international organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), which forces “free trade” policies on peripheral countries and appears to be yet another mechanism that intensifies the unequal division of labor and wealth.

This chapter has examined five modes of production that, over many centuries, have been variously but increasingly affected by the capitalist logic of commodity production for markets in the service of ceaseless capital accumulation. In this section we draw attention to a few changes that have occurred in recent times in each of the modes of production. Note, though, that contemporary economic globalization is only the latest force of outside change to be exerted on local economies. European colonialism had major effects on indigenous economies, mainly by introducing cash cropping in place of production for household use.

In the later part of the twentieth century, rapid economic growth in Asia, the fall of socialism in the former Soviet Union, and the increasing economic power of the United States throughout the world combined to create the current pattern of globalization. New levels of interconnectedness among economic systems worldwide are found in raw materials, labor supply, transportation, finance, and marketing (Robins 1996). This interconnectedness is characterized by its instantaneity. Electronic forms of communication mean, more than ever, that when a world economic power center sneezes, the rest of the world will catch a cold.

Social scientists vigorously debate the effects of economic globalization on poverty and inequality (Ravaillon 2003). Economists, who rely on national-level statistics about income levels and distribution, tend to support the view that economic globalization is beneficial overall, because it increases economic activity and growth. Anthropologists, who work with localized data and have a more “on the ground” view, tend to emphasize the negative effects of globalization. In terms of economic globalization specifically, anthropologists point to three major problems that rapid capitalist expansion has caused for local populations (Blim 2000):

- Increased cash cropping and other forms of commercial production in response to demands of the global market.
- Recruitment of former foragers, horticulturalists, pastoralists, and family farmers to work in the industrialized sector, and their exploitation in that setting.
- Dispossession of local people of their land and other resource bases, and substantial growth in the numbers of unemployed, displaced people.

**Cash Cropping and Declining Nutrition: People Cannot Eat Sisal**

Increasing numbers of horticultural and agricultural groups have been persuaded to switch from growing crops for their own use to cash crop production. Intuition might suggest that cash cropping should lead to a rising standard of living. Some
studies show, to the contrary, that people’s nutritional status often declines with the introduction of cash cropping. A carefully documented analysis of how people’s nutritional status was affected by the introduction of sisal (a plant that has leaves used for making rope) as a cash crop in Brazil is one such case (Gross and Underwood 1971). Around 1950, sisal was widely adopted in arid parts of northeastern Brazil. The traditional economy was based on some cattle raising and subsistence farming. Many poor farmers gave up farming and went to work in the sisal-processing plants. They thought that steady work would be preferable to being dependent on the unpredictable rains in this dry region.

Processing sisal leaves for rope is an extremely labor-intensive process. One of the most demanding jobs is being a “residue man,” whose tasks include shoveling soggy masses of fiber, bundling fiber, and lifting bundles for weighing. In families that included a “residue man,” the amount of money required for food was as much as what the sisal worker earned. In one household studied, the weekly budget was completely spent on food. The greatest share of the food goes to the sisal worker himself because of his increased energy needs for sisal work. Analysis of data on the nutritional status of several hundred children in sisal-processing areas showed that some sisal workers were forced to deprive their dependents of an adequate diet in order to continue functioning as wage earners. The growth rates of children of sisal workers suffered in comparison to growth rates of other children.

The Lure of Western Goods

There is now scarcely any human group that does not engage in exchanges beyond its boundaries to acquire new consumer goods (Gross et al. 1979). As Katherine Milton, a biological anthropologist who has studied recently “contacted” foraging groups in the Brazilian Amazon, puts it, “Despite the way their culture traditionally eschews possessions, forest-living people embrace manufactured goods with amazing enthusiasm. They seem to appreciate instantly the efficacy of a steel machete, ax, or cooking pot. It is love at first sight. . . . There are accounts of Indian groups or individuals who have turned their backs on manufactured goods, but such people are the exception” (1992:40). Their love for these goods has brought significant economic, political, and social changes in their lives.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, when the Brazilian government sought to “pacify” Amazonian groups, they placed pots, machetes, axes, and steel knives along Indian trails or hung them from trees. These techniques proved so successful that they are still used. Milton describes the process: Once a group has been drawn into the pacification area, all its members are presented with various trade goods—standard gifts include metal cooking pots, salt, matches, machetes, knives, axes, cloth hammocks, T-shirts, and shorts. After the Indians have grown accustomed to these new items, the Indians are told that they will no longer receive them as gifts but must work to earn money or produce goods for trade in order to obtain the new items. Unable to contemplate life without steel axes, the Indians began to produce more arrows or blowguns, weave more baskets, and hunt additional game in order to be able to have items for trade.

Adoption of Western foods has negatively affected the nutrition and health of indigenous Amazonian peoples. Milton reports that “The moment manufactured foods begin to intrude on the indigenous diet, health takes a downward turn” (1992:41). The Indians have begun to use table salt, which they were given by outsiders, and refined sugar.
Previously, they consumed small quantities of salt made by burning certain leaves and collecting the ash. The sugar they consumed came from wild fruits. Refined sugar tastes “exceptionally sweet” in comparison, and the Indians get hooked on it. As a result, tooth decay, obesity, and diabetes become new health risks.

**Privatization’s Effects in Russia and Eastern Europe**

As the countries of the former Soviet Union have entered the market economy, income inequality has risen. The new rich enjoy unprecedented levels of comfortable living, including ownership of mansions and Mercedes-Benz cars. The influx of Western goods, including sugared soft drinks and junk food, nicknamed “pepsistroika” by an anthropologist who did fieldwork in Moscow (Lempert 1996), encourages people to change their traditional diets.

At the same time, consumption levels fell dramatically among the newly created poor. Historically, average reported levels of food intake in what are now Russia and Eastern Europe exceeded those of most middle-income countries (Cornia 1994). Between 1961 and 1988, consumption there of calories, proteins, and fats was generally above the level recommended by the World Health Organization. These countries were also characterized by full employment and low income inequality, so the high consumption levels were shared by everyone. This is not to say that diets were perfect. Characteristic weaknesses, especially in urban areas and among low-income groups, were low consumption of good-quality meat, fruits, vegetables, and vegetable oils, whereas people tended to overconsume cholesterol-heavy products (eggs and animal fats), sugar, salt, bread, and alcohol.

Now, there are two categories of poor people: the *ultrapoor* (those whose incomes are below the subsistence minimum, or between 25 and 35 percent of the average wage) and the *poor* (those whose incomes are above the subsistence minimum but below the social minimum, or between 35 and 50 percent of the average wage). The largest increases in the number of ultrapoor occurred in Bulgaria, Poland, Romania, and Russia, where between 20 and 30 percent of the population could be classified as ultrapoor and another 20 to 40 percent as poor. Overall calorie intake and protein consumption have diminished significantly. People in the ultrapoor category substitute less expensive sources of nutrients, so now they consume more animal fats and starch and less milk, animal proteins, vegetable oils, minerals, and vitamins. Rates of low-birth-weight babies have risen in Bulgaria and Romania, reflecting the deterioration in maternal diets. The rate of childhood anemia has risen dramatically in Russia.
Credit Card Debt

Throughout the world, certain markets have long allowed buyers to purchase goods on credit. Such informal credit purchasing is usually based on personal trust and face-to-face interaction. Only recently, however, has the credit card made credit purchasing a massive, impersonal phenomenon in the United States and many other countries: “New electronic technology in the 1970s and deregulation in the 1980s offered retail bankers exciting opportunities to experiment with credit as a commodity, and they did experiment at “penetrating the debt capacity” of varied groups of Americans” (B. Williams 1994:351).

Among middle-class people in the United States, the use of credit cards is related to attempts to maintain a certain lifestyle. The primary users of credit cards are between twenty-five and forty-four years old with stagnant or falling incomes. Many use credit cards to support what they see as the appropriate life cycle stages, especially to acquire a college education or to set up a household and buy appliances. Maintaining (and paying monthly interest on) a running debt to credit card companies becomes an expected part of life and a habit that is not easily changed.

People’s attitudes about their credit card debts vary. Some people express feelings of guilt similar to those prompted by a drug dependency. One woman reported, “Last year I had a charge-free Christmas. It was like coming away from drug abuse” (354). Others who are in debt feel grateful: “I wouldn’t be able to go to college without my credit card” (355). No matter what people’s attitudes are, credit cards are dragging many Americans deeply into debt. The cards buy a lifestyle that is not actually affordable, and therefore they “mask” actual economic decline in America. The culture of electronic credit is a subject that cultural anthropologists will no doubt be devoting more attention to in the future.

Continuities and Resistance: The Enduring Potlatch

As noted earlier in this chapter, potlatching among native peoples of the northwest coast of the United States and Canada was subjected to decades of opposition from Europeans and Euro-Americans (Cole 1991). The missionaries opposed potlatching as “un-Christian.” The government thought it was wasteful, excessive, and not in keeping with their goals for the “economic progress” of the Indians. In 1885 the

A dance during a potlatch in the memory of a Tsimshian elder. The potlatch was held on the island of Metlakatla, southeast Alaska. What kinds of social gatherings and exchange, if any, take place at death ceremonies of people in your microculture? Are there variations on the basis of the status of the deceased person? (Source: © Lawrence Migdale)
Canadian government outlawed the potlatch. Among all the northwest coastal tribes, the Kwakwaka’wakw resisted this prohibition most strongly and for the longest time. Potlatching among the Haida and Tlingit, in contrast, disappeared with relatively little resistance. Potlatches are no longer illegal, but a long battle was required to remove restrictions.

Contemporary reasons for giving a potlatch are similar to those in traditional times: naming children, mourning the dead, transferring rights and privileges, celebrating marriages, and raising totem poles (Webster 1991). However, the length of time devoted to planning a potlatch has changed. In the past, several years were involved in planning a proper potlatch. Now, about a year is enough. Still, much property must be accumulated to make sure that no guest goes away empty-handed, and the guest list may include between 500 and 1000 people. The kinds of goods exchanged are different today. Typical potlatch goods now include crocheted items (such as cushion covers, afghan blankets, and potholders), glassware, plastic goods, manufactured blankets, pillows, towels, articles of clothing, and sacks of flour and sugar.
producers, and the latter are thus more likely to be exploited by corporate management via low wages and poor working conditions.

Mode of exchange correspond to the modes of production and consumption. In foraging societies, the mode of exchange is balanced exchange, with the goal of keeping the value of the items exchanged roughly equal over time. The balanced mode of exchange involves people who have a social relationship with each other, and the relationship is reinforced through continued exchange. In market exchange, the predominant form of unbalanced exchange, the goal of making a profit overrides social relationships. In market exchange, the people involved in the transaction are less likely to know each other or to have a social relationship.

- **HOW are production, consumption, and exchange changing in contemporary times?**

Economic globalization is changing production, consumption, and exchange around the world. Western goods, such as steel axes, are in high demand by people in non-Western, nonindustrialized contexts. Such goods must be purchased, a fact that impels people to work for cash so that they can buy things. The nutritional status of many nonindustrial groups has fallen with their adoption of Western-style foods; especially marked are increases in the amounts of sugar and salt in food.

The demand for cash has prompted many people to switch from growing food for their own use to growing crops for sale. This transition means that farmers have relinquished a direct entitlement for the sake of an indirect entitlement, thus putting themselves at risk when a drop occurs in the market price of the crop they grow. Throughout the post-Soviet world, average health and nutrition levels fell after perestroika. Credit card shopping, in combination with middle-class values, is creating high levels of indebtedness in the United States.

In spite of the powerful effects of globalization on local economic patterns, many groups are rejecting Western economic incorporation and seeking to restore traditional patterns of production, consumption, and exchange. The revival of the potlatch tradition in the Pacific Northwest is one example of this trend.

**KEY CONCEPTS**

- balanced exchange, p. 339
- consumerism, p. 333
- consumption, p. 320
- corporate farm, p. 330
- exchange, p. 320
- expected reciprocity, p. 340
- extensive strategy, p. 321
- family farming, p. 328
- generalized reciprocity, p. 340
- indigenous knowledge, p. 327
- industrial capital agriculture, p. 330
- industrial collective agriculture, p. 331
- industrialism, p. 332
- market exchange, p. 341
- minimalism, p. 333
- mode of exchange, p. 333
- mode of consumption, p. 333
- mode of production, p. 320
- production, p. 320
- pure gift, p. 340
- redistribution, p. 340
- unbalanced exchange, p. 339
- use right, p. 322
- world economy, p. 343
SUGGESTED READINGS

Jans Dahl. Saqqaq: An Inuit Hunting Community in the Modern World. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000. This ethnography of Saqqaq, a hunting community located on Disko Bay, eastern Greenland, is based on fieldwork carried out at several times since 1980 in order to provide a longitudinal perspective. Hunting beluga is a central community activity and still forms the basis of community identity, even though commercial fishing and other economic activities have gained importance recently.

Frances Dahlberg, ed. Woman the Gatherer. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981. The essays in this book examine the role of women in four different foraging societies, provide insights into human evolution from studies of female chimpanzees, and give an overview of women’s role in human cultural adaptation.


Betsy Hartmann and James Boyce. Needless Hunger: Voices from a Bangladeshi Village. San Francisco: Institute for Food and Development Policy, 1982. Evidence from fieldwork in rural Bangladesh shows that poverty and hunger in Bangladesh are caused primarily by severe class inequalities in economic entitlements. The text includes a critique of the role of foreign aid in perpetuating inequalities, as well as suggestions for change.


Anna M. Kertula. Artler on the Sea: The Yup’ik and Chukchi of the Russian Far East. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000. Economic and social changes among two groups—sea mammal hunters and reindeer herders—in a Siberian village on the Bering Sea are the focus of this ethnography. The author explores adjustments in intergroup relations, conflict, identity, and cooperation that have taken place since the breakup of the former Soviet Union and the subsequent collapse of the local economy in the study region.

Christine Mullen Kreamer and Sarah Fee, eds. Objects as Envoys: Cloth, Imagery, and Diplomacy in Madagascar. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2002. Six chapters explore the history and culture of Madagascar by focusing on textile arts and on textiles as items of exchange with deep social meaning and value. For centuries, Madagascar has used textiles to form and maintain social relationships internally and internationally.

Daniel Miller. The Dialectics of Shopping. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001. First delivered as the Lewis Henry Morgan lecture series at the University of Rochester, the chapters in this book reflect the author’s interest in studying shopping as a clue to social relations. He discusses how shopping is related to kinship, community, ethics and identity, and the political economy. He draws on his own ethnographic research in several locations.


Heather Montgomery. Modern Babylon? Prostituting Children in Thailand. New York: Bergahn Books, 2001. The author conducted fieldwork in a tourist community in Thailand where parents frequently commit their children to prostitution. She sought to gain a view of this system from the perspective of the children and the parents. She found that these insiders’ views are far more complex than the monolithic “victim” picture painted by international agencies.

Brian Morris. The Power of Animals: An Ethnography. New York: Berg, 1998. This book is an ethnography of Malawi, southern Africa. It is based on in-depth fieldwork in one region, supplemented by travel and study throughout the country. It focuses on men’s roles in animal hunting and women’s roles in agriculture as crucial to understanding wider aspects of Malawian culture, including diet and food preparation, marriage and kinship, gender relations, and attitudes toward nature.


Lidia D. Sciama and Joanne B. Eicher, eds. Beads and Bead Makers: Gender, Material Culture and Meaning. New York: Berg, 1998. This book includes over a dozen articles on...
beads, including early international trade in Venetian beads, the relationship between beads and ethnicity in Malaysia, beads and power at the New Orleans Mardi Gras, and rosaries in the Andes. All the articles offer insights into gender roles and meanings.


James L. Watson, ed. *Golden Arches East: McDonald’s in East Asia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997. This book contains five case studies, an introduction written by the editor, and an afterword by Sidney Mintz, noted cultural anthropologist of food and foodways. Case studies located in China, Taiwan, Korea, and Japan address topics such as how McDonald’s culture becomes localized, dietary effects on children, eating etiquette, and how food choices are related to national identity.

Patsy West. *The Enduring Seminoles: From Alligator Wrestling to Ecotourism*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Andrew Jackson and others fought against Native American groups and displaced them from their land. This book describes how a southern group of Seminoles began to develop tourist attractions that appeal to the growing numbers of visitors from the North. Calling themselves the *i:lahonathli:*, they have built a thriving economy by marketing old and new aspects of Seminole life, and they are proud to consider their culture “unconquered.”