

**MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY
DIVISION OF SOCIETY, CULTURE, MEDIA, AND PHILOSOPHY
UNIT GUIDE FOR EXTERNAL STUDENTS**

**ANTH 800
Applied Anthropology: How Does Culture Matter?**

**NYÍRI Pál
Semester 1, 2008**

Read this unit outline carefully at the start of semester. If something is unclear, ask now: don't wait until the assignments are due!

ABOUT THIS UNIT

This unit examines the uses of “culture” in professional settings at various levels, from the management of urban communities and interpersonal conflicts to the international strategies of corporations and governments.

This unit is designed for external students. The course materials consist of this course guide, a required book, and required and optional online readings. Students are expected to read the guide, the required texts, and some of the optional texts when required for assignments. They can do so in their own time, but are expected to submit by e-mail the exercises and assignments by the deadlines specified in this course guide (see Assessment below), and to keep in touch with the unit convenor and other students actively by e-mail and, where appropriate, by posting comments on the Culture Matters blog.

OBJECTIVE

The objective of the course is to train students for situations in a variety of contexts in which decisions have to be made based on contested cultural claims.

To this end, students will develop a sensitivity to implicit assumptions about culture in the projects and claims they encounter; an ability to question these assumptions and claims and pay attention to the issues of power behind them; and a competence to apply a grid of practically oriented questions to specific projects that will facilitate culturally informed, context-sensitive and productive outcomes.

TEACHING STAFF

Convenor: Nyíri Pál

Office hours: Tuesday 16:00-18:00, Wednesday 18:00-19:00 and by appointment
Room 629, C3A

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e-mail for assignments and communication: pal.nyiri@mq.edu.au

A group e-mail address (listserv) will be set up for discussion. Every student should provide their email address so it can be added to the group.

CLASSES

There will be two on-campus sessions for this course. Their purpose is to get to know each other, to discuss course material, and to exchange opinions in an informal fashion. Attendance is required.

The sessions will be between 11 am and 2 pm on Saturdays, 5 April and 31 May, in the Anthropology seminar room, C3A 630.

REQUIRED AND RECOMMENDED TEXTS

Required texts

1. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Engaging Anthropology*. Oxford and New York: Berg, 2006 (in Co-op bookshop on campus)

This book is an extended essay on why anthropology should be made more relevant to the public and how it could be made more relevant.

2. Online texts indicated under “required reading” in this course guide. “Available online from the library” means that the reading is in a journal issue accessible through <http://www.library.mq.edu.au/journalfinder>. E-reserve texts are accessible through the library’s e-reserve. Some texts are on the course website.

Optional texts

Recommended further online reading is indicated in this course guide under “optional reading.”

Further reading on the questions discussed in this course (on reserve or three-day loan in library, most also in Co-op Bookshop):

1. Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004. Accompanying website:

www.cultureandpublicaction.org

2. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 2004*. New York: 2004.

3. Unni Wikan, *Generous Betrayal : Politics of Culture in the New Europe*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001

4. *Daedalus*, Volume 129, Issue 4 (2000) (online in library)

5. Tony Bennett and David Carter, eds. *Culture in Australia : Policies, Publics and Programs*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001
6. Lisa Anderson, *Pursuing Truth, Exercising Power*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2003
7. Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Dalloz, *Culture Troubles: Politics and the Interpretation of Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
8. Jean-François Bayart, *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.
9. Dvora Yanow, *Constructing "Race" and "Ethnicity" in America*. Armonk: M. E. Sharpe, 2002
10. Werner Schiffauer et al. eds. *Civil Enculturation: Nation-State, Schools and Ethnic Difference in Four European Countries*. Oxford: Berghahn, 2004
11. Anne Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1998
12. Bruce H. Ziff and Pratima V. Rao, eds. *Borrowed Power: Essays on Cultural Appropriation*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1997
13. Timothy deWaal Malefyt and Brian Moeran, eds. *Advertising Cultures*. Oxford: Berg, 2003
14. Brian Moeran, *The Business of Ethnography*. Oxford: Berg, 2005
15. Alison Dundes Renteln, *The Cultural Defense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

New students without a background in anthropology will find it helpful if not necessary to consult some introductory texts. Two recommended ones are: John Monaghan and Peter Just, *Social & Cultural Anthropology. A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000; and Thomas Hylland Eriksen, *Small Places, Large Issues. An Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology*. London and Chicago: Pluto Press, 1995. These and others are available from the library.

UNIT WEB PAGE

The web page for this unit can be found at http://www.anth.mq.edu.au/maa/unit_pages/800/index.html.

Culture Matters is a popular blog related to the topic of this class, jointly authored by a number of current and former teaching staff and students of the MAA programme: <http://culturematters.wordpress.com>. Students are encouraged to comment on posts, especially where on subjects related to the course material.

ASSESSMENT

1. Written assignments: 3 x 20% = 60%

Each student must answer, using the conceptual apparatus of anthropology, three of the questions indicated under "Assignments" in an essay between 2,000 and 4,000 words long. The questions must be picked from different modules, and

the essays must be submitted by the deadlines indicated. Each essay is worth 20% of the total mark. Note that you are not expected to complete an assignment for every module.

Style: Papers should present a clear argument and be written in good academic English. Poor style, vague or inaccurate formulations will be detrimental to the argument and will result in a lower mark. Students who require help with academic writing are encouraged to consult the university's specialist support services (both academic writing and ELS).

Late submissions without justification will **not** be accepted. There will be no exceptions.

2. Participation in online discussion (e-mail, blog): 20%

Students are expected to contribute to the discussion at least fortnightly.

3. Attendance and participation in on-campus sessions: 20%

PLAGIARISM

Plagiarism means using the work of another person and presenting it as one's own. Plagiarism is a serious breach of the University's rules and carries significant penalties, such as a deduction of marks, failure in the unit, and/or referral to the University Discipline Committee. You must read the University's practices and procedures on plagiarism. These can be found in the *Handbook of Undergraduate Studies* or on the web at: <http://www.student.mq.edu.au/plagiarism/>

UNIVERSITY POLICY ON GRADING

Academic Senate has a set of guidelines on the distribution of grades across the range from fail to high distinction. Your final result will include one of these grades plus a standardised numerical grade (SNG).

On occasion your raw mark for a unit (i.e., the total of your marks for each assessment item) may not be the same as the SNG that you receive. Under the Senate guidelines, results may be scaled to ensure that there is a degree of comparability across the university, so that units with the same past performances of their students should achieve similar results.

It is important that you realise that the policy does not require that a minimum number of students be failed in any unit. To the contrary, it requires examiners to explain their actions if more than 20% of students fail in a unit.

The process of scaling does not change the order of marks among students. A student who receives a higher raw mark than another will also receive a higher final scaled mark.

For an explanation of the policy see

<http://www.mq.edu.au/senate/MQUonly/Issues/Guidelines2003.doc> or
<http://www.mq.edu.au/senate/MQUonly/Issues/detailedguidelines.doc>.

STUDENT SUPPORT SERVICES

Macquarie University provides a range of Academic Student Support Services. Details of these services can be accessed at <http://www.student.mq.edu.au>.

NOTES ON THE UNIT GUIDE

Sources indicate where some key information or concepts in the text come from. It is not expected that students follow them.

Optional readings are needed to complete the assignments. You are only required to read those that are indicated in the assignments you have picked.

Further reading lists and online links are provided on some of the themes discussed in the course. Again, students are not required to read any of these.

Questions are intended for informal group discussion. Students should contribute their thoughts on them by e-mail by the dates indicated. Students are encouraged to comment on each other's replies.

MODULE 1. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW: WHEN CULTURE IS EVERYWHERE



USA
Football



CHINA
Lucky number

“Never Underestimate the Importance of Local Knowledge:” HSBC advertising campaign, 2002-

“And where is culture?” – asked a board member during planning discussions of the Humboldt-Viadrina School of Governance, which opened this year in Berlin. The comment is indicative of a “culture fever” that is sweeping public institutions and the private sector around the world. University degrees in “intercultural communication” get record enrolments. Doctors and policemen are sent to trainings in “cultural competence.” Policy reports analyse the “cultural factors” and “cultural impact” of armed conflicts, international negotiations and development projects. In an apparent shift of emphasis from searching for the causes of human behaviour in the individual psyche to group cultural traits, banks, advertising agencies, municipal administrations and international NGOs hire anthropologists where they would have recruited psychologists earlier. Makers of cultural policy, funders of art and planners of cities all want to be told about the impact of their decisions on cultural traditions and diversity. And the obsession with “culture” is not just a Western phenomenon: debates on the cultural destiny of Russia fill bookshelves and airwaves, and the Chinese government promotes the construction of “advanced culture” as a matter of national policy.

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To this end, students will develop a sensitivity to implicit assumptions about culture in the projects and claims they encounter; an ability to question these assumptions and claims and pay attention to the issues of power behind them; and a competence to apply a grid of practically oriented questions to specific

projects that will facilitate culturally informed, context-sensitive and productive outcomes.

1.1 A “culture of cultures”

Until the 1980s, “culture” in everyday parlance referred mainly to the arts. Since then, in part under the influence of anthropology and cultural studies, there has been a shift towards using the term in a more mundane fashion, to mean, roughly, a way of life. Now, people talk about “club culture” or “culture of poverty”. Implicitly, such usage constructs “culture as difference”, as something that distinguishes one group of people from another. American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1993) draws attention to the fact that since the US civil right movement in the 1970s, we have seen “the formation of ... a culture of cultures”, as more and more groups, from Native American tribes to sexual subcultures, are showing a new level of self-consciousness about their own way of life, discovering (and reinforcing and inventing) their own specificity (“culture”) vis-à-vis other groups in society.

Source: Marshall Sahlins, “Goodbye to Triste Tropes: Ethnography in the Context of Modern World History,” *Journal of Modern History* 65:1-25 (1993).

In the past two decades we have also witnessed “culture” emerge as a new paradigm in the humanities and social sciences at large. This so-called “cultural turn” has not only seen a new importance of “soft”, interpretative approaches in fields from geography to sociology or history, but also the emergence of new fields of inquiry such as postcolonial studies, cultural studies, gender and queer studies.

1.2 An economy of culture

Culture is also said to have a specific role in advanced capitalist societies. Many authors, among them British sociologists Scott Lash and John Urry (*Economies of Signs and Space*, 1993), have argued that in the current era of advanced or “disorganized” capitalism, economies are increasingly ones of signs – information, symbols, images, desires – and of space, where both signs and social subjects - refugees, financiers, tourists and *flâneurs* - are mobile over ever greater distances. This creates a new growth in reflexivity, an awareness of the importance and manipulations of the meanings people attach to objects and practices. The same shift has been observed with regards to the growing importance of the culture industries (from journalism to film or digital multimedia) as well as their personnel. Former US Secretary of State Steve Reich described this process in *The Work of Nations* (1991) as the rise of the symbolic analysts, people engaged in the non-standardized manipulation of symbols – data, words, oral and visual representations.

It can be argued that much of the interest in “culture” in the post-Cold War, postindustrial, “globalised” world arises from its explicit recognition and treatment

as a form of capital, in the way identified by Bourdieu (1986) who defined cultural capital as the set of knowledge, attitudes and skills that give a person higher status in society. As desires and opportunities of social advancement, employment, capital accumulation and consumption diversify and expand beyond national borders, and as the goal of education shifts from abstract knowledge to universally marketable packages of habitus and skills, cultural capital gains in importance. The explicit or implicit assumption behind both the Australian backpacker ethos of “discovering different cultures” and the Chinese government’s exhortations to improve peasants’ “cultural quality” (Friedman 2004) is that doing so increases the individual’s value in the “market of talent”.

Source: Pierre Bourdieu, “The Forms of Capital,” in John G. Richardson, ed. *Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. Greenwood Press, 1986, pp. 241–258.

Source: Sara L. Friedman, „Embodying Civility: Civilizing Processes and Symbolic Citizenship in Southeastern China,“ *Journal of Asian Studies* 63(3):687-718 (2004).

1.3 The levels of culture

The fact that the concept “culture” is increasingly frequently invoked does not mean that people mean the same thing by it. On the contrary. Schönhuth (2005:45), following Antweiler (2003:41), identifies four levels at which “culture” is applied to human groups (see table).

People	6.2 billion
Languages, ethnolinguistic groups („Cultures” 1)	5 to 7 thousand
Ethnic “we-groups” („Cultures” 2)	Under 5 thousand (not identical!) Includes “indigenous peoples”
States („Cultures” 3)	194
“Civilisations,” “Kulturkreise” („Cultures” 4)	West and East/Rest: 2 Huntington: 9 Others: up to 20
Humankind	1

Source: Michael Schönhuth, *Die kulturelle Dimension der Entwicklung: Eine Standortbestimmung und ein Überblick zum State of the Art*. Unpublished report for the Stabsstelle Unternehmensentwicklung, OE Politik und Strategie. Trier, 2005.

Source: Christoph Antweiler, „Anthropologie gewaltsamer Konflikte. Konfliktmotoren und Gewaltmotive,“ *Entwicklungsethnologie* 12(1+2):26-73 (2003).

At all of these levels, culture is roughly linked to ethnicity – although based on highly conflicting and contested claims. Yet anthropologists increasingly subscribe to a consensus that sees culture not as an attribute but as a multi-leveled process of negotiating individual and group positions in the world. With equal validity, one can speak of cultures of human groups or of cultures of institutions that define those groups for such purposes as citizenship education, development aid, or immigration control.

Questions: What does “culture” mean to you? And how is it understood in the institutional setting you work in? Give an example of how you have had to deal with “culture” in a project. **Respond by 9 March**

Required reading: Begin reading the Eriksen book.

In this course, we will review the institutional uses of culture at three levels:

- the international (international relations and the management of conflicts, development and aid);
- the national (how nation-states deal with the challenge of cultural diversity);
- and the interpersonal (how the requirement of “cultural competence” is implemented in organizations and institutions).

Optional reading: 1. Ulf Hannerz, “When Culture is Everywhere. Reflections on a favorite concept”, in *Transnational Connections*. London 1996: Routledge, pp. 30-43 (e-reserve)

2. Robert Borofsky, Fredrik Barth, Richard A. Shweder, Lars Rodseth, and Nomi Maya Stolzenberg, „WHEN: A Conversation About Culture,“ *American Anthropologist*, 103(2):432-446 (2001) (available online from the library)

Question: What public role for anthropologists benefits society? And in what areas of public activity is anthropological knowledge necessary? Comment on Eriksen’s book.

Respond by 9 March

MODULE 2. THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND CONFLICTS

Since the end of the Cold War, political actors and publics around the world have attributed cultural differences a central role in international disputes and conflicts. Underlying this is an understanding of culture that goes back to the European Enlightenment and sees it as a national trait (the “container view” of culture) that, however, individuals are capable of breaking free from. This week we look at how this duality has played out in scholarship that has influenced foreign policy.

2.1 Current scenarios: How do global institutions and political actors see the current world order and the way it is developing?

The long-standing Western tradition of seeing culture as a (national/ethnic) group trait is linked to the Enlightenment and the development of the nation-state. For 19th-century nationalists, the nation-state linked culture to ethnicity and territory as part of a national essence. In 1773, Justus Möser - a friend of Goethe's – called for the writing of a true German history, whose task he saw in examining “the origin and development” of “the national character” under changing historical circumstances.

Johann Gottlieb Fichte, one of the fathers of the German romantic nationalist movement known as *Sturm und Drang*, wrote in his *Addresses to the German Nation* in 1807-8, of

...the ... truly natural borders of the state. ... That which speaks the same language is tied together with many invisible strings through nature itself, before all human artifice.

At the same time, Enlightenment thinkers postulated that the free will of the rational individual can transcend and transform the confines imposed by the group.

This tradition was globally exported and appropriated during the colonial period. For example, the current word for “culture,” *wenhua*, entered the Chinese language from the Japanese in the early 20th century, where it had in turn been recently coined to translate the “Western” concept. Of course, in some instances these ideas echoed parts of local traditions. Indeed, the common literary and ritual tradition had long been understood by Chinese scholars to differentiate them from the outside world.

By today, aspects of the dominant Western view of culture have evolved into two popular schools of thought, often treated with disdain by intellectuals but highly influential in public discourse – not just in the West -, including the way we understand globalization. The work of political scientists Samuel Huntington and Francis Fukuyama, respectively, are emblematic of these two perspectives.

Required reading: 1. Samuel P. Huntington, "The clash of civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*, 72(3):22-28 (Summer 1993) (available online from the library)
2. Francis Fukuyama, "Has History Started Again?" *Policy*, Winter 2002.
<http://www.cis.org.au/Policy/winter02/polwin02-1.pdf>

Optional reading: 1. Francis Fukuyama, "Has History Restarted Since September 11?" 19th Annual John Bonython Lecture, Centre of Independent Studies, Melbourne, 8 August 2002. <http://www.cis.org.au/Events/JBL/JBL02.htm>
2. Benjamin R. Barber, "Fantasy of Fear," *Harvard International Review*, 20(1):66-71 (Winter 1997) (available online from the library)
3. Benjamin R. Barber, "Jihad vs. McWorld Revisited: Opening a Democratic Front in the Face of Terrorism," *The Berlin Journal*, Autumn 2001.
www.benjaminrbarber.com/revisited.html
4. Norvell B. De Atkine, "The Arab Mind Revisited" (preface to Raphael Patai, *The Arab Mind*). <http://www.meforum.org/article/636m>
5. Lila Abu-Lughod, "Do Muslim Women Really Need Saving? Anthropological Reflections on Cultural Relativism and Its Others," *American Anthropologist* 104(3):783-790 (2002) (e-reserve)
6. Mahmood Mamdani, "Good Muslim, Bad Muslim: A Political Perspective on Culture and Terrorism," *American Anthropologist* 104(3):766-775 (2002). (e-reserve)

Assignment 2.1

2.1.1 Huntington is very explicit about his view on culture, Fukuyama less so. What does Fukuyama imply about the role and characteristics of culture and how does this compare to Huntington? (Optional reading 1)

2.1.2 Summarize Benjamin Barber's criticism of Huntington. How would he relate to Fukuyama? How would you describe his understanding of culture and its role in international relations? What are the intellectual underpinnings of such an understanding? (Optional readings 2-3)

2.1.3 How does Norvell De Atkine (optional reading 4) use the concept of culture? What is your opinion of his claims and those of his critics (summarized in the editor's note)? How do you think one could criticise De Atkine and Patai without, as the editor says, "skirting around the fact that culture matters"?

2.1.4 Discuss Fukuyama's and Barber's writings on the causes and consequences of post-9/11 terrorism and the "war on terror" (optional readings 2-3) in light of Abu-Lughod's and Mamdani's criticism (optional readings 5-6). What are their assumptions about culture?

Due 16 March

2.2 International relations and area studies

The influence of the two schools of thought embodied by Huntington and Fukuyama can be traced at all of the institutional levels that we discuss in this course, but it is particularly far-reaching in international politics, defined as it is by strategic "security" agendas.

The way state powers conceptualize "national interest" in what is seen as "an era of globalization" and act upon it, the way they understand and engage in international conflicts (such as in peacekeeping operations), are powerfully shaped by popular understandings of cultural differences. During the Cold War, the need of foreign policy to compartmentalize and identify the traits of regional and national cultures determined the rise of "area studies" in the United States and its counterpart in the Soviet Union. After the end of the Cold War, cultural

explanations of international conflicts became even more widespread, as they replaced ideological explanations that had been dominant in analyzing disagreements between the West and the Soviet bloc. As Huntington (1993:23) wrote, "It is far more meaningful now to group countries not in terms of their political or economic systems or in terms of their economic development but rather in terms of their culture and civilization."

Differences in opinion between the United States and China – for example, on human rights – are now routinely placed into cultural rather than ideological or structural contexts. Following the vocal assertion by a number of Asian politicians and state intellectuals in countries like Malaysia, Singapore and China, claiming that their "Confucian" culture allowed for different standards regarding issues like social systems or political participation, many Western states have come to accept what can be called a "weak" form of cultural relativism. Similarly, in 2005, during a meeting with Russian President Vladimir Putin, US President George W. Bush made a conciliatory gesture to his counterpart – criticized for taking an authoritarian turn in Russian politics - by saying that "tradition and culture" play an important role in what kind of democracy a country chooses.

Optional reading: 1. Fareed Zakaria, "[Culture is Destiny: A Conversation with Lee Kuan Yew](#)" *Foreign Affairs*, March/April 1994
2. Kim Dae Jung, "[Is Culture Destiny? The Myth of Asia's Anti-Democratic Values](#)", *Foreign Affairs*, November/December 1994
3. Sang In-Jun, "No (Logical) Place for Asian Values in East Asia's Economic Development,"
http://www.unesco.or.kr/kor/science_s/project/universal_ethics/asianvalues/jun.htm

Further reading on area studies:

Masao Miyoshi and H. D. Harootunian, eds. *Learning Places*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2002
Arjun Appadurai, "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination," in *Globalization*. Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 2001, pp. 1-21.
Jane I. Guyer, "Anthropology in Area Studies," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33:499-523 (2004).
Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Anti-Area Studies," *Communal/Plural*, 8, 1, 2000, pp. 9-23.
Chris Burgess, "The Asian Studies 'Crisis': Putting Cultural Studies into Asian Studies and Asia into Cultural Studies," *International Journal of Asian Studies*, 1(1):121-136 (2004).
Stephen Kotkin, "A World War among Professors," *The New York Times*, 7 September 2002,
<http://www.nytimes.com/2002/09/07/arts/07AREA.html?ex=1120536000&en=2c6007c2a25cf2e&ei=5070&ex=1032396873&ei=1&en=f2daf4c3ba303f25&oref=login>
Francis Fukuyama, "How Academia Failed the Nation: The Decline of Regional Studies,"
http://www.sais-jhu.edu/se/util/display_mod.cfm?MODULE=?SEv33/mod/
Michael D. Kennedy, "A Manifesto (of Sorts) for Area Studies," *The Journal of the International Institute*, <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/journal/vol4no3/kennedy.html>

2.3 Cultural explanations in violent conflicts: Case studies

How do common assumptions about culture – as a hereditary national essence that one cannot, or can, escape – influence great-power interventions in local

conflicts, peacekeeping and “nation-building”? We will examine this question using some of a range of examples, including post-9/11 Afghanistan and Iraq and genocides in Rwanda and Bosnia. We will then go on to examine alternative explanations that operate with a situational rather than primordialist approach to culture and ask whether they have had a tangible impact on foreign policy making.

Required reading: 1. *The Next Iraqi War? Sectarianism and Civil Conflict*.

International Crisis Group Middle East Report N°52, 27 February 2006

http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?action=login&ref_id=3980

2. Chapter 1 (The Interweaving of Traditions) from Jean-François Bayart, *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp. 7-58 (e-reserve).

Optional readings: 1. James Kurth, “Crush the Sunnis,” *The New Republic Online*, 25 November 2006. <http://www.tnr.com/doc.mhtml?i=20061127&s=kurth112706>

2. Peter Beinart, “To the Brink,” *The New Republic Online*, 20 November 2006. <http://www.tnr.com/doc.mhtml?i=20061127&s=trb112706>

3. John R. Bowen, “The Myth of Global Ethnic Conflict,” *Journal of Democracy* 7(4):3-14 (1996). (available online from the library)

4. Robert M. Hayden, “Imagined Communities and Real Victims: Self-Determination and Ethnic Cleansing in Yugoslavia.” *American Ethnologist* 23(4): 783-84 (1996). (available online from the library)

5. Tone Bringa, “Averted Gaze: Genocide in Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1992-1995,” in Alexander Laban Hinton, *Annihilating Difference*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 194-228. (on reserve in library)

Assignment 2.2

Use Bayart’s method of questioning culturalist narratives in the following examples:

2.2.1 What does the International Crisis Group’s report on “sectarian violence” in Iraq reveal about the way the US administration sees Iraqi culture? Compare this with the views of James Kurth and Peter Beinart (optional readings 1-2), representing different positions on the US political spectrum. Can you see the influence of the “container model” (a finite series of ethnic/religious groups with distinctive cultures), the universalistic model (everyone shares the same aspirations once freed from shackles of cultural or political repression)? And/or do you see a blindness to culture?

2.2.2a What is Bowen’s (optional reading 3) explanation of the 1994 Rwandan genocide and how does it differ from English-language media explanations dominant at the time? Use contemporary media articles to reply.

2.2.2b Answer the same question with respect to the Bosnian genocide of 1992-95 using the articles of Hayden and Bringa (optional readings 4-5), Bowen (optional reading 3), and contemporary media.

Due 23 March

2.4 Alternative explanations

While many of the cases we have looked at display a static understanding of culture, anthropologists have, since the 1980s, increasingly conceptualised culture as a process rather than a fixed trait, one that is born out of particular social interactions not necessarily bound to territory and historical continuity. Instead of speaking of “a culture,” many anthropologists have chosen to present snapshots of cultural practices and strategies. Both the container model of culture and the linear model of progress have come under criticism, and in the process, anthropology’s own past has come to be seen as complicit with now

discredited Western „grand narratives“ such as that of “development”. Instead of seeking to identify and interpret “cultures” in some pure form, anthropologists today often show how cultural practices are “hybridized” or “creolized,” how they can involve attachments to multiple nations and locations, or how ethnic cultural differences, rather than being handed down immutable from generation to generation, can be situational – based on who one is speaking to – or constructed by activists on the basis of globalized templates. If so, then ethnic conflict should be explained by analyzing the specific context, rather than pointing to primordial traits.

Optional reading:

Joana Breidenbach and Ina Zukriegl about the dynamics of cultural globalization, http://cio.ceu.hu/extreading/CIO/Breidenbach_and_Zukriegl.html

Further reading on violence and ethnicity:

Michael Mann, *The Dark Side of Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005 (especially Chapters 1, 12-15)

Arjun Appadurai, “Dead Certainty: Ethnic Violence in the Era of Globalization.” *Public Culture* 10:2 (2000):141-156.

Patrick Chabal and Jean-Pascal Daloz, *Culture Troubles: Politics and the Interpretation of Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Stanley Tambiah, *Leveling Crowds*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1997.

David Turton, ed. *War and Ethnicity : Global Connections and Local Violence*. Boydell, 2003.

Have such alternative explanations made a difference in policy making? Their effect on the actual running of international politics has been minimal so far. Take the example of Bosnia: despite a number of researchers continually refuting the idea of a “culture war” during the conflict and the wartime Bosnian government not being a “Muslim” government, the solution imposed by the “international community” was still based on the “container model” of culture. By today, the idea of ethnic separation has been institutionalized in the cantonal model of government, and, in a vicious circle between local nationalists and international opinion, there has emerged a newly coined Bosniak identity that excludes non-Muslims.

Where new theories of multiple and deterritorialized belonging are employed in policy making, it is not necessarily for “progressive” ends. Thus, an increasing number of states, from Hungary to China, has been engaging in “transnational politics”, making co-ethnics who are not citizens and do not live on the national territory an instrument of foreign policy. This is a sort of “avant-garde primordialism” where “blood ties” are supposed to supersede territorial and civic bonds.

MODULE 3. CULTURE IN DEVELOPMENT AND AID

3.1 The development agenda

The international agenda of “development,” directed at the “Third World” (itself a concept produced by the Cold War) arose in the immediate aftermath of World War II, with decolonization looming large. In his inaugural address in 1949, US President Harry Truman called upon the UN and industrialized nations to join the United States in “a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas” “a program of development based on the concept of democratic fair dealing” (quoted in Esteva 1992:6). The Marshall Plan for rebuilding Europe served as a blueprint for a global development agenda, focused on international economic stability and growth. This agenda was based on modernization theory, which postulated that the transition to a “modern” society – i.e. a liberal, secular participatory democracy based on the separation of powers and respect for individual rights - would follow a single, linear track throughout the world, movement along which would occur with economic growth (which would thus also safeguard societies from the “Communist threat”). Economic growth was thus taken as the single measure of development. “Development aid” took the form of direct project funding, loans, technical assistance, and incentives for corporations to invest in or transfer technology to “underdeveloped” countries. For its part, the Soviet Union (and later, China) provided similar assistance to its non-European “socialist” satellites as well as other countries, nominally subscribing to the theory that the development of the material base will hasten the transition to socialism and then communism, and in reality competing with the United States for political influence.

The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, established at the Bretton Woods conference in 1944 to help rebuild Europe, and their more recent offshoots such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Asian Development Bank, were given key roles in “developing” the rest of the world by providing loans. National agencies for international development aid were formed, often linked to arrangements between former colonial powers and their ex-colonies (most notably within the framework of the British Commonwealth).

In “developing countries,” the economic goals and linear view of development ideology are also extremely influential. Despite obvious disagreements as to the link of economic development to the growth of civil society, state intervention into markets, and frequent criticism of the World Bank, there are few places where the basic tenets of developmentalism are rejected.

Link: China Net for Modernization: <http://www.modernization.com.cn/Index2.htm>

Required reading: Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, “Introduction: The Anthropology of Development and Globalization,” in *The Anthropology of Development*

and Globalization. Malden, Mass., Oxford, and Carlton, Vic.: Blackwell, 2005, pp. 1-74. (e-reserve)

Further reading on the development industry (note that the Master of Applied Anthropology programme has a separate unit, **ANTH 815**, that deals with these issues):
Gustavo Esteva, „Development,“ in Wolfgang Sachs, ed. *The Development Dictionary*. New York: Zed Books, 1992, pp. 6-25.
Colin Leys, „The Rise and Fall of Development Theory,“ James Ferguson, „Anthropology and Its Evil Twin: ‘Development’ in the Constitution of a Discipline,“ and Emma Creve and Elizabeth Harrison, „Seeing Culture as a Barrier,“ in Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Malden, Mass., Oxford, and Carlton, Vic.: Blackwell, 2005, pp. 109-125, 140-153, 232-234.
Lourdes Arizpe, „The Intellectual History of Culture and Development Institutions,“ in Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 163-184.

3.2 Culture as a factor of development

Arguments linking economic development and the capacity to modernize to the cultural traits of a society go back at least to Max Weber’s *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1930), which held that the advantage of Northern Europe and the United States in the Industrial Revolution was linked to a Protestant ethic of industry, competition, and frugality and a theological endorsement of wealth honestly gained. The postwar development agenda at first ignored this tradition. Yet by the 1960s and the 1970s, the optimism of decolonization gave way to disappointment with lagging economic growth, lack of democratic reforms, corruption and inefficiency. Marxist thinkers from Immanuel Wallerstein to Andre Gunder Frank pointed to the structural impossibility of overcoming economic and political dependency in a “world system” that carried on colonial inequalities of production and access to markets. For its part, the World Bank began, in the 1980s, to insist on macroeconomic reforms (cutting back government expenditures, especially social spending; privatization of core industries) as a condition for continued loans. Eastern European reform socialism and then the collapse of state socialist systems created new faith in the power of economic development to replicate liberal democracy worldwide and a new market for economic reformers such as Jeffrey Sachs and World Bank officials as development gurus. But the macroeconomic interventions of the World Bank remained highly unpopular. A number of critics pointed to the global development and aid regimes’ refusal to consider local cultural context as a source of their ineffectiveness, while others, notably Arturo Escobar, accused them of perpetuating a neocolonial system of control of poor countries by the rich.

Optional reading:

Simon Harragin, „Relief and an Understanding of Local Knowledge: The Case of Southern Sudan,“ in Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 307-327 (e-reserve)

Assignment 3.1

What is Simon Harragin’s explanation for the failure of the aid effort in the Southern Sudan famine?

Due 30 March

The World Bank responded by turning its attention to the social aspects of development. In 1994, it made „social assessment” compulsory for its loan projects, and in 1996, it declared a Partnership for Sustainable Global Growth, which, for the first time, demanded institutional reforms that went beyond the economic realm and included practices of “good governance” (including transparency and accountability of government and civic participation). Capitalism as a vehicle to development remained unquestioned, but now there was a new preoccupation with “social capital”. The new spirit of “partnership” also signified a step away from the unquestioned belief in the single, linear model with Western countries as teachers, at least in rhetoric.

These changes heralded a shift to a new development paradigm in which “culture mattered”. Development aid was no longer a technical matter to which culture was extraneous. Rather, culture became something policy had to adapt to but also intervene with. Just how that adaptation and intervention should take place, however, has been the subject of wide-ranging contention.

Two recent publications, emblematic of this shift, represent very different views on the meaning of “culture” and its role in development. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*, edited by political scientists Samuel Huntington and Lawrence E. Harrison, largely reflects a view that sees certain cultures – perceived, in Arjun Appadurai’s (2004:60) critical view, as a set of “habit(s), custom(s), heritage, tradition(s)” linked to the past - as an obstacle to development, which, in contrast, is seen in the futuristic terms of “plans, hopes, goals, targets”

Appadurai and the other authors of *Culture and Public Action* view culture not as a constant but as a processual variable, independent in some instances and dependent in others. Economist Amartya Sen, while acknowledging the need to take culture into account, warns of the risks of a reductionist view that either freezes it in an immobile frame or is too reluctant to question the authority of self-appointed community spokesmen. Economist and legal scholar Timur Kuran and development researchers Anita Abraham and Jean-Philippe Platteau further elaborate these risks. From a different perspective, Apthorpe as well as Edelman and Haugerud suggest that while attention to culture is necessary, “culturism” in development will achieve little, or perhaps even make matters worse, if it is simply added to the existing institutional structure as a device of legitimization, without a potential to challenge the assumptions development institutions hold.

Required reading: Raymond Apthorpe, “‘It’s [the] Culture, Stupid!’ Why ‘Adding Culture’ is Unlikely to Make Any Serious Difference to International Developmentalism,” *The Asia Pacific Journal of Anthropology*, 6(2): 130-141. (available online from library via Taylor & Francis website)

Optional reading: Anita Abraham and Jean-Philippe Platteau, “Participatory Development: Where Culture Creeps In,” in Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 210-233 (e-reserve)

Assignment 3.2

What risks do Abraham and Platteau point to in the engagement with local cultural practices in development projects? Discuss these in light of the critique by Aphorpe.

Due 30 March

Source: Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, "Culture and Public Action: Relationality, Equality of Agency, and Development," Amartya Sen, "How Does Culture Matter," Arjun Appadurai, "The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition," Timur Kuran, "Cultural Obstacles to Economic Development: Often Understated, Usually Transitory," Anita Abraham and Jean-Philippe Platteau, "Participatory Development: Where Culture Creeps In," IN Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 3-84, 115-137.

Source: Lawrence E. Harrison, "Why Culture Matters" and "Promoting Progressive Cultural Change," in Samuel Huntington and Lawrence E. Harrison, eds. *Culture Matters: How Values Shape Human Progress*. Basic Books, 2000.

3.3 The impact of the "cultural turn" in development

Apart from conceptual problems, has the "cultural turn" in development made any practical difference? What happens with "cultural expertise" once infused into the development establishment? Does it make it from the boardroom to the ground, and if it does, who gets to speak for it? Why is witchcraft not acceptable to donors as an explanation of a failed project? Why do the economic practices and forms of social organization embraced by development projects tend to be the same even where the intention is to be "culturally sensitive"? To what extent is this a consequence of the internal "culture" of organizations like the World Bank? What can and should be done about it?

Required reading: 1. Jonathan Fox, "Advocacy Research and the World Bank: Propositions for Discussion" and Richard Harper, "The Social Organisation of the IMF's Mission Work," in Marc Edelman and Angelique Haugerud, eds. *The Anthropology of Development and Globalization*. Malden, Mass., Oxford, and Carlton, Vic.: Blackwell, 2005, pp. 306-312 and 323-333. (e-reserve)
2. Sebastian Mallaby, "NGOs: Fighting Poverty, Hurting the Poor," *Foreign Policy*, September-October 2004, pp. 50-58. (available online from the library)

Assignment 3.3

Having read the readings, identify the key obstacles to the transfer of cultural knowledge into useful practice in aid projects and propose practical steps towards a solution.

Due 30 March

Further reading:

Sabina Alkire, "Culture, Poverty, and External Intervention," in Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, eds. *Culture and Public Action*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 185-209.

3.4 Alternative modernities

While modernization theory postulates a single trajectory of development, there has been some considerable contention as to whether what it means to be "modern" is itself culture-independent. Is technological and material progress the

universal basis of “feeling modern,” and if so, does it indeed lead to the same value systems? Most anthropologists would argue that it does so only selectively, depending on the context. Yet this is an idea that development practice has hardly engaged with: even when intending to be culturally sensitive, it ultimately gravitates towards the same economic practices (such as supporting independent entrepreneurship) *and* the same forms of social organisation, such as NGOs, that have been reproducing themselves globally as if based on a template. Is this good?

Source: Dilip Parameshwar Gaonkar, ed. *Alternative Modernities*. Durham, N.C., and London: Duke University Press, 2001.

Consider the following **case study**. Roads are among the least controversial development projects: it is generally accepted that road construction serves the interests of the populations who will be served by it. Anti-development groups sometimes oppose them, more often than not inspired by global anti-globalist coalitions. Yet in this case, two populations equally remote from Western reach display radically opposite attitudes to a road that would link them, showing how complex and specific development choices can be.

The Altai Road: Visions of Development across the Russian–Chinese Border

The Altai Republic is a poor mountainous region of Russia squeezed between Kazakhstan, China, and Mongolia. A project to build a road connecting Russia with China through the Altai has been conceived years ago within a quadripartite project entitled “Altai: Our Common Home,” supported by Western development organizations, yet has foundered on massive opposition mobilized by local Russian environmentalists and nationalists. Across the postsocialist border, the Chinese party–state’s single–voiced, centralised vision of modernisation as economic growth and consumption faces a multivocal chorus, in which free–market modernizers who support the road but are more drawn to the West than to China contend with a motley array of road opponents: globally connected ecologists who mobilize Western allies to oppose the road; romantic “Eurasianists” who seek to synthesize “Asian” and “Western spirituality” into a uniquely Russian environmentalism; nostalgic conservationists reminiscing about the strong hand of the Soviets; and plain anti–Chinese xenophobes. The cross–border struggle over what development means and whether it is desirable is, we argue, neither simply political nor “cultural”: while partly determined by differing structures of social order, it is also shaped by contesting local agendas that mobilize divergent views of culture.

Source: Pál Nyíri and Joana Breidenbach, “The Altai Road: Visions of Development across the Russian–Chinese Border,” *Development and Change*, January 2008.

MODULE 4. THE CHALLENGE OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY FOR NATION-STATES

Nation-states worldwide have to cope with increasing articulation of cultural diversity in most societies. This is in part the result of an actual increase in human movement and ethnic diversity, but probably more the consequence of the globalisation of notions of ethnicity and norms of minority rights. In the West, much of the conceptual debate about how much and what kind of diversity public and private institutions should tolerate or encourage has been informed by the political philosophy known as multiculturalism, associated with Charles Taylor and Will Kymlicka. Put simply, this philosophy asserts that, in a liberal democratic society, everyone must have the right to be both equal and different, and that the right to difference is asserted through the public representation, and thus affirmation, of that difference.

Where multiculturalism became political practice (and it has, to very different degrees, in a number of European countries as well as in North America, Australia, and New Zealand) it has meant very different things. In the United States, the effects of multiculturalism were largely symbolic (though no less important) and showed in the push to represent the history and culture of ethnic minorities in school and university curricula, museums, and so on. In addition, there was a drive for bilingual education for non-English speaking children. In Holland, multiculturalism led to massive state funding for ethnic organisations and schools but not to a major reconceptualisation of what it meant to be Dutch. Britain, Australia, and Canada have combined elements of both approaches.

Source: Dwora Yanow, *Constructing "Race" and "Ethnicity" in America: Category-Making in Public Policy and Administration*. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2003.

There is a fundamental philosophical tension inherent in multiculturalism. On the one hand, it asserts the need for tolerance and affirmation of different cultures in the name of liberalism. On the other hand, by doing so, it creates the need to distinguish people by criteria that are not of their own volition – language, ethnicity, and so on – which goes against liberal principles. It is this tension that has generated much of the liberal criticism of multiculturalism. In practice, multicultural politics have often relied on the identification of cultural groups, for how can one assure representation before identifying whom to represent? This, however, has been a process fraught with problems. Who has the right to identify cultural groups, who has the right to draw their boundaries and speak in the name of their culture? Inevitably, processes of representation rely on mediators whose legitimacy is often questionable, and result in increased ethnicisation that does not necessarily lead to greater understanding or tolerance.

Required reading: 1. Will Kymlicka, "The Theory and Practice of Immigrant Multiculturalism," in *Politics in the Vernacular. Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995, pp. 152-175. (e-reserve)
2. Andrew Shryock, "In the Double Remoteness of Arab Detroit," in *Off Stage/On Display*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004, pp. 279-313. (e-reserve)

Optional reading:

1. Amartya Sen, "Chili and Liberty," *The New Republic*, 27 February 2006.
http://www.justiceinitiative.org/db/resource2/fs/?file_id=16713
2. Seyla Benhabib, "Multiculturalism and Gendered Citizenship" and "Deliberative Democracy and Cultural Dilemmas" (Chapters 4-5) from *The Claims of Culture: Equality and Diversity in the Global Era*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 82-146 (e-reserve)
3. Amanda Wise, "Hope and Belonging in a Multicultural Suburb," *Journal of Intercultural Studies* 26(1-2):171-186 (February-May 2005) (available online from the library)

Assignment 4.1

4.1.1 Amartya Sen (optional reading 1) calls Britain's current policy of multiculturalism "plural monoculturalism." Andrew Shryock describes American multiculturalism as having taken a "heritage format" that covers up mistrust and hypocrisy. Do these criticisms strike at the core of the multiculturalism advocated by Kymlicka, or is multiculturalism redeemable if one follows his original ideas?

4.1.2 Seyla Benhabib (optional reading 2) proposes an expanded mechanism of "public reason-giving" adhering to a set of rules (pp. 130-131) to overcome the problems of multiculturalism. What is her reasoning and what do you think about it?

3. What direction is Amanda Wise (optional reading 3) advocating for the development of multiculturalism)? Is it worth pursuing?

Due 6 April

4.1 Immigration and "integration"

It has been argued that multiculturalism has been on the retreat in the last few years. In addition to well-founded criticism in its address, this has been caused by growing anti-immigration sentiment and concern about the "integration" of immigrants into civic life and the perceived value system of "mainstream society." This trend has accelerated strongly since 9/11 as a backlash following the participation of Muslim residents of Europe been in terrorist attacks. Policies of integration are not inherently contradictory to the idea of multiculturalism, but in practice, most of them are, as they tend to be based on outmoded ideas of a homogeneous national culture, fail to take into account transnational movements, and are poorly thought through.

The climate of fear generated by 9/11 and the London Underground bombing meant that every further occurrence of violence involving ethnic difference, whether on a large or small scale, was likely to be seen as caused by it, and thus a confirmation of a need for a stronger hand in enforcing common values. In Australia, this happened in December 2005, when five thousand white youths demonstrated with Australian flags at Cronulla beach in the Sydney suburbs, where several young Lebanese had assaulted surf lifeguards who had allegedly taunted them with the insult "Lebs can't swim." The demonstrators, in turn, attacked people "of Middle Eastern appearance," and a call for "Leb and Wog bashing day" (Wog, in the Australian context, referring broadly to Southern Europeans and Middle Easterners) circulated by SMS. The event grew into an occasion for national self-scrutiny, and although mainstream media blamed white extremist groups, was generally perceived as further undermining the success of multiculturalism. In the wake of the "Cronulla riots," the local government decided

to integrate migrant – specifically Muslim, Chinese, Lebanese and African – youth into Australian beach culture through a lifesaver training programme entitled “On the Same Wave” and offering swimming courses for Muslim women. Moreover, Surf Lifesaving placed a bulk order for burqinis, an Australian-invented bathing suit that covers the entire body. The following year, the government introduced plans for a citizenship test that would ascertain that migrants know and subscribe to “Australian values.” The term “multiculturalism” is still widely used to describe Australian society, but its meaning has transformed into what Christian Joppke – along with many Australian critics – calls a “corporate diversity agenda,” focusing on the advantages of cultural diversity for economic dynamism but retreating from the strong statements about a pluralism of values. In 2006, the word “multicultural” was removed from the name of the Department for Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and replaced with the word “citizenship.” Most Australians today accept living together with people from diverse cultural backgrounds, but do not wish to engage with it actively: the 2005 Australian Attitudes Survey found strong support to maintaining a policy of multiculturalism, but an equally large majority of respondents said no to policies providing state support for the maintenance of separate ethnic cultures. In 2007, Australia introduced a citizenship test, which tests applicants for their knowledge of the English language and “Australian values.”

Source: Murray Goot and Ian Watson, “Immigration, multiculturalism and national identity,” in Shaun Wilson et al., ed. *Australian Social Attitudes: The First Report*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005.

Required reading: Christian Joppke, “The Retreat of Multiculturalism in the Liberal State: Theory and Policy,” *British Journal of Sociology* 55(2):237-257 (electronically available from the library)

Optional reading:

1. Thomas Hylland Eriksen, “Diversity versus difference: Neo-liberalism in the minority debate,” in Richard Rottenburg, Burkhard Schnepel, Shingo Shimada, eds. *The Making and Unmaking of Difference*, pp. 13–36. Bielefeld: Transaction 2006.
<http://folk.uio.no/geirthe/index.html>
2. Scott Poynting, “Multiculturalism at the end of the line,” www.crsi.mq.edu.au → Conference Proceedings → Everyday Multiculturalism
3. Samuel P. Huntington, “The Hispanic Challenge,” *Foreign Policy*, March-April 2004, pp. 30-46. (available online via library)
4. Carole Nagengast, “Inoculations of Evil in the US-Mexican Border Region,” in Alexander Laban Hinton, *Annihilating Difference*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2002, pp. 325-347. (e-reserve)

Assignment 4.2

4.2.1 Does Scott Poynting’s (optional reading 2) evaluation of the Cronulla riots bear out Joppke’s claim, made before Cronulla, that multiculturalism has beaten a retreat in Australia? Compare changes in Australian attitudes and policies on immigration and immigrant integration to the situation in Europe. Do you see a rise of “integrationist” policies? Speculate on the reasons for similarities or differences.

4.2.2 Compare Huntington’s and Nagengast’s view of Latin American immigration into the US (optional readings 3-4). What are the cultural assumptions behind Huntington’s position? Does Nagengast’s critique help understand Huntington’s discourse?

4.2.3 What is Eriksen's explanation for the current retreat of multiculturalism? (optional reading 1)
Due 13 April

4.2 Realms of contact: urban planning

City planners today want to score high on Richard Florida's "creativity scale," as they know that attracts investors. Florida is an advocate of cultural diversity. Critics charge, however, that this focus on culture as a means of economic revitalization offers no solutions to social exclusion. Others point out that diversity in itself does not ensure mixing: as Jacques Lévy notes, that requires serendipity too.

Source: Richard Florida, *The City and the Creative Class*. New York: Routledge, 2005.

Link: Jacques Lévy, "Serendipity," *Espaces Temps.net*, 13.01.2004
<http://www.espacestems.net/document519.html>

The design of public spaces in cities affects the nature of public activities; how spaces are used can result in greater integration or segregation of different population groups. Urban planning is an instrument of nation- and state-building and identity maintenance. Thus, designing cities is a form of cultural engineering – sometimes conscious but often unconscious. The Western modernist projects of urban redevelopment, the state socialist housing projects, and the Maoist redivision of cities into industrial-residential compounds all served purposes of social, and where they encountered ethnocultural minorities (such as late 19th-century Los Angeles, the Gypsy populations of Eastern Europe, or cities in Western China), ethnic integration and homogenization. Today, powerful groups continue to ensure their domination through urban planning in many places. But in the West, "gentrification" projects (no longer primarily driven by the state but by private capital) are generally seen as unacceptable, and meet with neighbourhood resistance in the name of cultural integrity. The existence of ethnic neighbourhoods is now seen as natural, and some of them even become tourist sites. Peter Marcuse suggests that some city planners use these arguments to avoid tackling segregation.

As a result, the focus of contemporary urban cultural projects has shifted to the micro-level. A socioculturally very diverse public uses Darling Harbour in Sydney as a recreational space, in ways that range from family picnics to skateboarding. In Hong Kong, Filipina maids camp out on Sundays in the central streets along which city crowds move, but these different uses are more conflicting than complementary. By contrast, the "time geography" of the Preussenpark in Berlin is segregated: gay German men use it to meet each other during weeknights, but on weekends it becomes a picnic area exclusive to Filipino and Thai women with their German husbands.

Required reading: 1. Alan Smart, "The Cultural Turn in Interurban Competition: Globalization and the Commodification of Diversity" (on unit website)
2. Trevor Jones and Monder Ram, "Urban boosterism, tourism and ethnic minority enterprise in Birmingham," in Jan Rath, ed. *Tourism, Ethnic Diversity and the City*. New York: Routledge, 2007, pp. 50-66 (e-reserve)

Optional reading:

1. Amanda Wise, "You wouldn't know what's in there would you?" (on unit website)
2. Mandy Thomas, Chapter 5 from *Dreams in the Shadows: Vietnamese-Australian Lives in Transition*. Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1999. (e-reserve)

Assignment 4.3

4.3.1 Based on the websites <http://www.creativeclass.org/> and www.charleslandry.com, what effect have Richard Florida and his British equivalent Charles Landry had on actual urban planning? (See particularly "Creativity is Like a Rash," <http://www.charleslandry.com/index.php?!=download&i=24>.) What problems do Smart, Jones and Ram point out in relation to Florida's approach? What are the possible caveats of literally seeing culture as a form of convertible capital?

4.3.2 Compare Wise's description of Ashfield to Thomas's work on Cabramatta (optional readings). Based on these two examples – one in which a local council has actively shaped expression of ethnicity through urban planning and one in which it has not – and on Charles Landry's "Intercultural City" project (<http://www.charleslandry.com/downloads/Intercultural%20city%20article.pdf>), what urban planning policies (if any) would you implement in the Western suburbs, and to what end?

Due 20 April

4.3 Realms of contact: "intercultural education"

In the modern nation-state, public education is the foremost means of citizen-making, that is, both of social „integration“– corresponding to accepted patterns of behaviour and „values“ shaped by the state and the elites – and the formation of a national consciousness. Understandably, therefore, education has been one of the key arenas to thematise “cultural otherness”, whether in the multiculturalist mold or otherwise. But even in Western liberal states, education systems see culture in divergent ways, with differing effects on the children’s socialisation. In English-speaking countries, cultural diversity tends to be articulated and celebrated in schools. Thus, most Australian states mandate both special programmes for students whose native language is not English and the teaching of “multicultural perspectives”. But what is represented as “a culture” is subject to the usual vagaries of multicultural pigeonholing. In France, public schools recognize only a common culture of republican citizenship, with the culture of the home explicitly left outside – hence the well-known ban on Muslim headscarves. In many other countries, cultural “otherness” is treated as an individual handicap: the child is expected to make an effort and conform, or else fail. All of these approaches assume that the citizen-making machine of the school works; yet, “international education” and transnational migration provide ways in which children and their parents can circumvent the nation-state’s efforts.

The following chapter is from a study of schooling and citizenship in four European countries: Great Britain, France, the Netherlands and Germany. The authors analysed school texts and did fieldwork in schools in London, Berlin, Rotterdam and Paris.

Optional reading:

Sabine Mannitz and Werner Schiffauer, "Taxonomies of Cultural Difference: Constructions of Otherness," in Werner Schiffauer, Gerd Baumann, Riva Kastoryano and Steven Vertovec, eds. *Civil Enculturation: Nation-State, School and Ethnic Difference in The Netherlands, Britain, Germany and France*. New York and Oxford: Berghahn, 2004, pp. 60-87 (e-reserve).

Assignment 4.4

How is cultural diversity thematised in Australian schools? Compare the situation with Mannitz and Schiffauer's description of England, Holland, France, and Germany (optional reading 4).

Due 20 April

4.4 Realms of contact: law. Cultural rights vs individual freedoms

Increasingly often, cultural difference becomes a matter of legal debate. This happens not only in legislation – which in the liberal state is has become increasingly aware of the cultural construction of social norms of good and bad – but also in courts, where groups or individuals challenge legal norms, or defend themselves from charges of breaking them, by appealing to culture. In this process, the usual problems arise: who has the authority to define group norms, and indeed define the group? How to evaluate statements by “community leaders” and “experts,” including anthropologists? The process becomes particularly difficult if the right to the free exercise of culture is pitted against the freedom of an individual to make his or her own choice, a freedom that the liberal state in many cases protects. Further complications arise if the individual in question belongs to a group seen as vulnerable, such as women or children.

Required reading: 1. Richard Shweder, “The Cultural Challenge in International Migration,” in Nancy Foner, ed. *American Arrivals: Anthropology Engages the New Immigration*. Santa Fe: SAR Press, 2003 (on unit website)
2. Lawrence C. Sager, “The Free Exercise of Culture: Some Doubts and Distinctions,” *Daedalus*, 129:193ff (2000) (available online from the library)

Whaling and the Makah

Link: Japanese Whaling Association <http://www.whaling.jp/english/qa.html>

Link: “Japanese Professor Questions the Existence of Whaling Culture in Japan,” http://www.seashepherd.org/news/media_050720_1.html

Question: Having read the Makah case study, compare it to the claim by the Japanese Whaling Association that whaling is part of Japan's traditional culture, and the argument against this claim by Professor Jun Morikawa. Should these claims be given equal weight? **Respond by 27 April**

4.5 Gender equality versus cultural rights

The evolution of the liberal state – particularly of the liberal welfare state – has in many instances produced special mechanisms to protect the individual freedoms of those members of society who are considered vulnerable. These include ethnic minorities as well as women and children. Because of their legal, political and moral appeal, public conflicts between the right to maintain cultural traditions on the one hand and individual freedoms on the other particularly often have to do with women and children. Examples of these include periodic debates and outcries over so-called honour killings of women by family members; arranged marriages; the wearing of the Islamic women's head covering; corporal punishment of children; and the prenatal sex screening of fetuses. Most of these polemics focus on Muslims, and they are particularly charged where they concern minors. Thus, the British government has declared that marriage-based visas would not be granted for arranged marriages that involve minors; France bans schoolgirls from wearing religious head covering; and German courts have rejected numerous lawsuits by parents wishing that their daughters be exempt from swimming or physical education at school on the grounds of religious rules of modesty. In such cases, anthropologists are often called upon as cultural experts. Thus, in a Norwegian court case, a well-known anthropologist, Unni Wikan, was called in as an expert on behalf of Moroccan migrants and their daughter, who had been abducted from Norway to Morocco by her own parents in order to enter an arranged marriage and dissociate her from the "bad influence" of her Norwegian peer group.

Optional reading:

1. Leti Volpp, "Blaming Culture for Bad Behaviour," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 12:89-116 (Winter 2000) (available online from the library)
2. Bronwyn Winter, "Secularism aboard the Titanic," *Feminist Studies* 32(2):279-298 (Summer 2006) (available online through the library), and "The political symbolism of clothing" in Jean-François Bayart, *The Illusion of Cultural Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp. 195-226 (e-reserve)
3. Unni Wikan, "Citizenship on Trial: Nadia's Case," *Daedalus*, 129:55ff. (2000) (available online from the library)
4. Kirsten Bell, "Genital Cutting and Western Discourses on Sexuality," *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 19(2):125-148 (2005). (e-reserve)
5. Alison Dundes Renteln, "Children," in *The Cultural Defense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, pp. 48-72 (e-reserve)
6. Mikael Kurkiala, "Interpreting honour killings," *Anthropology Today* 19(1):6-7 (2002) (available online from the library)
7. Alison Dundes Renteln, "Towards a Principle of Maximum Accommodation", in *The Cultural Defense*. Oxford: Oxford University Press 2004, pp. 185-220 (e-reserve)
8. Jane Lloyd and Nanette Rogers, "Crossing the Last Frontier: Problems Facing Aboriginal Women Victims of Rape in Central Australia," in P. W. Eastaale, ed. *Without Consent: Confronting Adult Sexual Violence*. Canberra: Australian Institute of Criminology, 1993, pp. 149-164 (available online)

Assignment 4.5

- 4.5.1 Based on the readings by Shweder, Sager, Winter, Bayart, and some of the recent media debate (see box below) stake out a detailed and well-argued position on

- whether, and/or in what circumstances, a secular state should, in public education, allow the wearing of religious head covering for girls. What does the emergence and intensity of this debate reflect?
- 4.5.2 What is your opinion of the judgment in Nadia's case and why? Engage with Wikan's (optional reading 3) argument as well as the Shweder, Sager, and Abu-Lughod (see submodule 2.1) readings, and with Renteln's chapter on children (optional reading 5).
 - 4.5.3 Which position, if any, should anthropologists take in public debates like the "honour killing" of Fadime Shahindal (optional reading 7)? (Think of similar instances in Australia – for instance the Aboriginal child abuse cases.) Is Kurkiala right that anthropologists should not engage in the debate on the culturally conditioned nature (or otherwise) of such incidents? Or is Renteln (optional reading 7) right that they should, on the contrary, play a much larger role in these debates? Use Eriksen's *Engaging Anthropology* and the readings by Abu-Lughod (Week 2), Shweder, and Sager in your argument.
 - 4.5.4 Which of Renteln's arguments about culture (optional readings 5 and 7) makes sense, which do not, and why?
 - 4.5.5 Although Renteln is an advocate of an explicit cultural defense, In her chapter on children (optional reading 5) and in her conclusion ("Towards a Principle...", optional reading 7), she states that this defense should not apply to the genital cutting of girls because it causes permanent harm. Bell (optional reading 4) questions this and suggests that there is no objective line that separates female genital cutting from other body modification practices. What is your position in this debate and why? Consult the Abu-Lughod reading (Week 2).
 - 4.5.6 Renteln (optional reading 7) argues that for justice to be fair, the culturally biased perceptions of reasonable behaviour must be recognized explicitly by allowing a cultural defense. Volpp (optional reading 1) rejects this on the basis that "the assumption that the behavior of devalued and less powerful groups is somehow more culturally determined" than those who belong to the majority is wrong. Renteln counters that it is in fact possible to determine whether or not an individual was influenced by a cultural tradition while acting in a certain way. Compare the views of the two authors on the cultural defense in the context of marriage.
 - 4.5.7 Australian courts have in the past accepted many "cultural defenses," but in 2007, Australia passed federal legislation to prohibit courts from considering "customary law" or "culturally traditional practices" as a defence or mitigating circumstances for "serious sexual crime and violent crime". This step is the opposite to what Renteln argues for (optional reading 7). Gather relevant media information and present the arguments for and against this move, outlining your own position. Consult the Wikan, Kurkiala, and Lloyd & Rogers readings (optional readings 3, 6 and 8).

Due 27 April

Further reading on the headscarf debate

Thanks to Bronwyn Winter

1. Background to theoretical and political discussions of Islam/religion and “group cultural rights” vs. “women’s rights”, including discussion of the hijab:
 - Winter, Bronwyn. 2006. “Religion, culture and women’s human rights: Some general political and theoretical considerations.” *Women’s Studies International Forum* 29(4), Special Issue on Islam, Gender and Human Rights: 381–93. Available online via WSIF homepage: www.elsevier.com/wps/find/journaldescription.cws_home/361/description#description
3. Collection of three articles expressing different positions on the French hijab debate in *Feminist Studies* 32(1), Summer 2006 (available online from the library):
 - Najmabadi, Afsaneh. “Gender and Secularism of Modernity: How Can a Muslim Woman Be French?” pp. 239–56.
 - Judith Ezekiel. “French Dressing: Race, Gender, and the Hijab Story.” pp. 256–78.
 - Bronwyn Winter. “Secularism aboard the Titanic: Feminists and the Debate over the Hijab in France.” pp. 279–98.
4. Two opinion pieces on the UK debate:
 - Hussein, Shakira. 2006. “Islam and the West: Why do Some Muslim Women ‘Choose’ to Wear the Niqab?” *NewMatilda.com*, October 25. www.newmatilda.com/pdf_storage/1889.pdf
 - Hundal, Sunny. 2006. “This system of self-appointed leaders can hurt those it should be protecting.” *The Guardian*, November 20. www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,,1952149,00
5. An article on the German debate (available online from the library):
 - Schirin Amir-Moazami, “Muslim Challenges to the Secular Consensus: A German Case Study,” *Journal of Contemporary European Studies* 13(2):267–286 (December 2005).
7. Media reactions from around the world:
 - “PM – Howard Rejects Headscarf Ban,” *ABC News*, <http://www.abc.net.au/pm/content/2005/s1448680.htm>, 29 August 2005
 - “Bronwyn Bishop Compares Muslims To, Slaves and Nazis!!!” MuslimVillage Forum, <http://forums.muslimvillage.net/index.php?showtopic=14871>, 29 August 2005
 - Paul Cruickshank, “Covered faces, open rebellion,” and Cathy Young, “Women and Islam,” *International Herald Tribune*, 24 October 2006, p. 6.
 - “Analysis: Straw’s Veil Comments,” *BBC News*, 6 October 2006 http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/5411642.stm (with links to many other articles)
 - Alan Cowell, “A glimpse of limits of tolerance,” *International Herald Tribune*, 22 October 2006, <http://www.ihrt.com/articles/2006/10/22/news/brits.php>
 - David Willey, “Vatican enters Muslim veil debate,” *BBC News*, 14 November 2006. <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/6148968.stm>
 - “Dutch Muslims condemn burqa ban,” *BBC News*, 18 Nov. 06, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/go/rss/-/2/hi/europe/6160620.stm>

4.6 Rights of the child versus cultural rights

Conflicts over the right to maintain cultural traditions or “values” of minority groups often are about the limits of parental authority over their children – including their bodies, behaviour, and education. Traditionally, children have not been seen as actors on their own in policy questions. The state intervened when it suspected parents of neglect or abuse, but in general, family matters remained a “black box”. Recently, however, a new view arose that endows children with sovereign rights that can, sometimes, be defended against parental authority. This view has been enshrined in the UN Conventions on the Rights of the Child.

As the Western liberal state becomes more interventionist (but also attempts to give children a greater voice), parents increasingly deploy cultural rights as a defense against accusations of abuse or neglect (such as in the case of a Latina mother in the United States who was charged with neglect for leaving her two-year-old child in the care of a four-year-old sibling while she was at work). Religious organizations often defend parental authority. In the famous US Supreme Court ruling on *Wisconsin vs. Yoder* 1972, the parents of an Amish girl successfully defended their right to exempt their 14-year-old daughter to quit school two years before her compulsory schooling ended. Their case rested on the claim that the Amish way of life would be threatened if they exposed their children to the values, practices and environments of a modern American high school.

Meanwhile, some non-Western states engage with the global children’s rights discourse but are concerned with the demise of parental authority. For example, China has supported measures against the “trafficking” of children but increased education in “filial piety”.

Group exercise

Comment on one of the following “cultural defense” cases on the group e-mail. How should the authorities in question deal with these cases, and what kind of information/expertise and from whom do they require? Comment on other students’ opinions.

Case 1. Mrs. Adesanya claimed to follow custom when she used a razor to make small incisions on the faces of her two sons, 9 and 14. She was charged with assault at Old Bailey, the Central Criminal Court in London. She pleaded not guilty, arguing that without such marks, her boys would be unable to participate in their culture as adults. Although the jury convicted Mrs. Adesanya, the judge granted her an absolute discharge because he understood that she did not know she was breaking the law. But he warned that “any further offences of this kind... can only result in prosecution.” Was the judgement right? Is there any information that the judge or jury should have heard before making their judgement, and how could they have gathered it?

Case 2. Because of parents’ objections, Pakistani children at an “international school” in Berlin do not attend PE classes, those biology classes that have to do with “sex education” and do not go to class trips. Most of them do not interact much with their classmates. In 2007, the Muslim Council of Britain asked that schools separate contact sports by gender, allow fully covering garments while swimming, and limit certain activities (such as lessons dealing with sex and parents’ evenings) during Ramadan. What should the schools do?

Case 3. A twelve-year-old child of Pakistani parents was living with a German foster family in Nuremberg. The father demanded that the boy be circumcised in a traditional Pakistani Muslim ceremony. The foster parents refused. In protest, the father gave the child up for adoption. Following this case, the Nuremberg Jugendamt (youth office) decided that Muslim children should be given to Muslim foster parents. Evaluate this decision.

Case 4. A Chinese nanny and her lover were convicted in Hungary of kidnapping and negligent homicide of a five-year-old Chinese child she had been taking care of. They were sentenced to ten years in prison. Ahead of the sentence, the parents of the child took out a full-page advertisement in local Chinese-language papers, demanding that the couple be extradited to China, where they would be sentenced to death. A ten-year prison sentence in China is widely considered an insufficient deterrent to repeating a crime of this sort. The couple’s social network was largely limited to the transnational community of recent migrants from China. Can one argue that because legislation aims at punishment that deters, courts should mete out punishment that takes into account the cultural frame of reference of the perpetrator?

Respond by 27 April

MODULE 5. WHO OWNS CULTURE?

Another legal area where increasing use is made of the notion of culture is rights to both tangible and intangible (physical and intellectual) property. The former generally concern land disputes between “indigenous” traditions and modern-era land titles granted by colonial powers or nation-states. The latter concern the rights of ethnic/cultural groups to control, or benefit from, cultural or intellectual property claimed by or attributed to it which is commercially exploited by individuals (whether inside or outside the group) or businesses. (These cases are diverse and range from the commodification of American Indian dances to the patenting of medicines based on non-Western medical traditions.) In both the cases of tangible and intangible property, the crux of the conflicts lies in the culturally constructed nature of property: in the modern West, property is seen as either attributable to a specific individual or group, or in the public domain. Those groups whose concepts of property and invention do not coincide with western legal systems are therefore unprotected. A common scenario is when a medical substance cultivated by an indigenous population over a long time and conceived of as a collective heritage, knowledge about which is orally transmitted, is taken by a pharmaceutical “scout” to a Western laboratory, and the active substance is isolated and patented. Recently, “indigenous” groups or mediators acting (or claiming to act) on their behalf have challenged both such patent rights and copyrights pertaining to texts and images.

Required reading: Michael F. Brown, “Can Culture be Copyrighted?,” commentary to the article, and author’s response, *Current Anthropology*, 39(2):193-222 (1998). (available online from the library)

Link: Michael F. Brown’s website: <http://www.williams.edu/go/native/index.htm>

Optional reading:

1. Michael F. Brown, Chapter 4 from *Who Owns Native Culture?* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004. (e-reserve)
2. UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression http://portal.unesco.org/culture/en/ev.php-URL_ID=11281&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html
3. Dorothy Noyes, “The Judgement of Solomon: Global Protections for Tradition and the Problem of Community Ownership,” *Cultural Analysis* 5 (2006), pp. 27-56 (available online from the library)
4. Krista J. Kapralos and Eric Stevick, “Tribes seek greater clout: Based on 1855 treaty, Tulalips assert rights to plants, environment”. *HeraldNet*, 22 October 2006, http://www.heraldnet.com/stories/06/10/22/100loc_a8tribes001.cfm, and Anthony Barnett, “The new piracy: how the West ‘steals’ Africa’s plants,” *The Observer*, 27 August 2006, http://www.williams.edu/go/native/how_west_steals_african_plants.htm

Assignment 5.1

- 5.1.1 Summarize the positions taken by Michael Brown and his commentators in the debate in *Current Anthropology*. Whose position do you most agree with and why?
- 5.1.2 What is Brown’s (optional reading 1, Chapter 4) take on the patenting of “indigenous knowledge”? Consider the Tulalips’ claim to ownership of genetic resources and the argument of pharmaceutical companies (optional reading 4). What would you need to know to decide in a lawsuit against a pharmaceutical company that attempts to

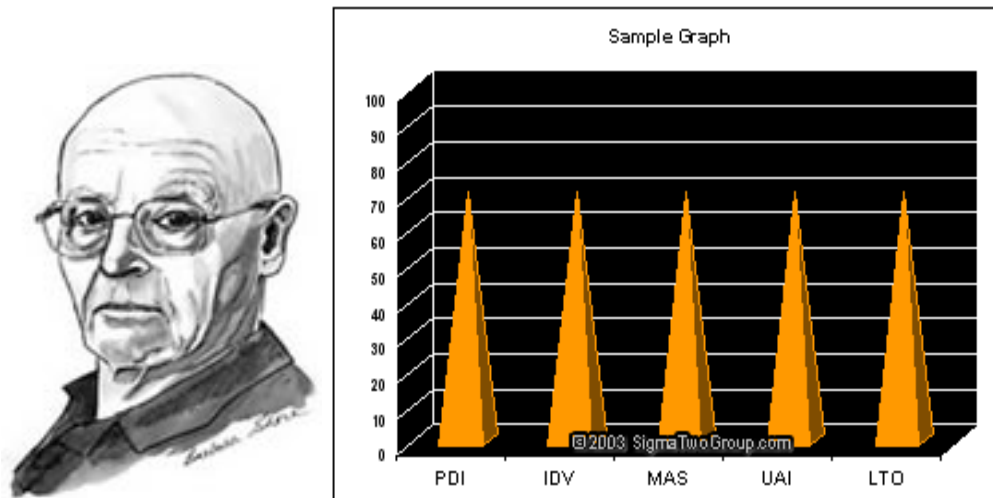
patent a drug based on plants that a group like the Tulalip claim as part of their traditional knowledge?

5.1.3 What view of culture and property does the UNESCO's Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expression (optional reading 2) take? What potential problems does Noyes' research (optional reading 3) highlight?

Due 4 May

MODULE 6. THE AGE OF “CULTURAL COMPETENCE”

At the interpersonal level, ideas about culture are much more explicit than at the national or international levels. The dominant culture discourse at this level appears in the form of a new field of expertise, known as “intercultural communication” or “intercultural competence”. This body of culture knowledge is influential in a range of public arenas, for example in public social and health institutions, in organizational development as well as in advertising.



Geert Hofstede™ and his “Cultural Dimensions”

6.1 Popular approaches in intercultural communication

A display rack with a single book, entitled *Insights from the World's Greatest Cultural Guru*, was attracting the attention of shoppers browsing through the well-stocked Anthropology section of Waterstones in Goodge Street, London, in the spring of 2002. The man so described was intercultural management (IM) consultant Fons Trompenaars. His company, Trompenaars Hampden Turner, founded in 1989, advises many Global Fortune 500 corporations. His book, *Riding the Waves of Culture* (1997), has sold over 120 thousand copies in nine languages.

The IC business emerged in the United States in the 1980s and spread to Western Europe and the rest of the world in the 1990s. By today, a huge corpus of IC books, articles, and studies, and a booming training and weekend seminar scene caters to a varied clientele, telling readers and participants how Chinese, Americans, or Greeks communicate and negotiate and giving marketing advice. Only three weeks ago, I participated in the discussion of a new master's degree programme in Intercultural Knowledge Management, which promotes itself with the claim that “competitive advantage flows fundamentally from the ... intercultural knowledge of an organisation's workforce”.

Although the American anthropologist Edward T. Hall is seen as the progenitor of IC, its central figures today are the Dutchmen Geert Hofstede™ and his follower Trompenaars. As Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner write, they offer a notion of culture that is “concrete, not touchy-feely”. Based on a questionnaire survey conducted in fifty countries using the methods of social psychology in the 1970s, Hofstede developed a system of five “cultural dimensions” that identifies and quantifies “value orientations” in different societies. Hofstede (1997:403) understands “national cultures” as forms of “collective mental programming” acquired through socialization in a particular country. The five cultural dimensions, measured on a scale from 0 to 100, are “power distance,” collectivism/individualism, masculinity/femininity, uncertainty avoidance, and long/short-term orientation. To focus on one of these variables, the “collectivism” dimension means an orientation towards the expectations and norms of the we-group (such as kin) and strict differentiation between it and outsiders. By contrast, in individualistic societies, individuals are expected to be concerned primarily about themselves and their immediate family members, and the distinction between the in- and the out-group is weak. “Power distance” denotes the acceptance of hierarchy versus the aim at egalitarianism. Thus, Americans are individualists with a small power distance; Chinese, collectivists with a large power distance. (Similarly, in Trompenaars’ model, Americans are “universalistic,” Chinese “particularistic”.) Hofstede then proceeds to group countries into clusters on his five-dimensional value map. Writing about the “spirit of Asian capitalism” in such articles as “The Confucius Connection: From Cultural Roots to Economic Growth” (with Michael Harris Bond, 1988), Hofstede echoes Huntington’s terminology of civilizations.

This method – even if we discount problems of sampling – is likely to reflect how people think they *should* behave not their actual, contradictory behaviour. Complexities of cultural change, as well as the effect on political, economic and historic circumstances on behaviour (for example, on why “Chinese always live in a group”) are largely ignored. So is evidence on the contrary. The claim that relations between Chinese employers and employees are more harmonious than between their American counterparts will appear disingenuous to anyone who has read reports of the massive clashes between laid-off workers and the police in Northeastern China or of the rural factory workers who burned to death in their dormitories, which were locked so they wouldn’t abscond. According to a 1995 critique by Chinese political scientist Daojiong Zha, such work “serves the purpose of promoting ... cultural gaps ... not minimizing them”. Tom Hüsken describes a case in which German development personnel, trained to expect an “authoritarian leadership style” in Egypt, caused a major crisis by offending their Harvard-educated Egyptian negotiating partner who resented being given the “native” treatment.

Source: Thomas Hüsken (2003) “Der Stamm der Experten.” Sozialanthropologische Arbeitspapiere 97. Berlin: Institute of Ethnology, Free University.

Although IC is gradually becoming more sophisticated, the “theories” of Trompenaars and Hofstede still dominate. This is understandable. These authors present themselves as interpreters of an arcane cultural grammar into an easily understandable language, and bolster their credibility by quotes from Confucius or contemporary Asian leaders such as the former Malaysian prime minister, Mahathir Mohamad, and Tokyo’s Governor Shintaro Ishihara (the openly xenophobic author of *Japan Can Say No*). Which stressed and uncertain manager would not be happy to hear the promise by Richard D. Lewis, author of best-selling *When Cultures Collide* (1999), that “by focusing on the cultural roots of national behaviour, in society and business, we can foresee and calculate with a surprising degree of accuracy how others will react and respond to us”?

Required reading: 1. “Geert Hofstede Cultural Consequences”

<http://www.cyborlink.com/besite/hofstede.htm> (main page)

2. Fons Trompenaars and Charles Hampden-Turner’s 7 Dimension of Culture

<http://www.7d-culture.nl/index1.html> (“How We Do It” page, especially “The three layers of culture” and “7 dimensions of culture”)

3. Per F. Gjerde, “Culture, Power, and Experience: Toward a Person-Centered Cultural Psychology,” *Human Development* 47(3):138-157 (2004) (available online from the library)

Optional reading:

1. Edward T. Hall and Mildred Reed Hall, “Key Concepts: Underlying Structures of Culture,” in Judith N. Martin, Thomas K. Nakayama, and Lisa A. Flores, eds. *Readings in Intercultural Communication*. McGraw Hill, 2002, pp. 165-172 (e-reserve).

2. Simon Gieve and Rose Clark, “‘The Chinese approach to learning’: Cultural trait or situated response? The case of a self-directed learning programme,” *System* 33:261-276 (2005) (available online through the library)

3. Lixian Jin and Martin Cortazzi, “Changing Practices in Chinese Cultures of Learning,” *Language, Culture and Curriculum* 19(1):5ff (2006) (available online through the library)

Assignment 6.1

6.1.1 What are the common (and the different) characteristics of the culture models of IC gurus Hofstede, Trompenaars and Hall (optional reading 1)? How would you critique these models from the standpoint of contemporary anthropology? (See the reading by Gjerde)

6.2.2 Gieve and Clark criticise the culturalist approach to “Chinese learners” in English language teaching for operating with broad stereotypes without sufficient attention to context. Cortazzi and Jin are among the authors targeted in their criticism. Do you think their latest article pays sufficient attention to individual differences? (Optional readings 2-3)

Due 11 May

6.2 IC in management

As Hüsken writes, “constructive collaboration with ‘foreign partners’ or successful action in ‘foreign markets’ is hardly imaginable any more without the consideration of cultural conditions”. Seventy per cent of large American companies offer some some form of intercultural training, ranging from “cultural sensitivity trainings” to more specific „pre-departure“ and „reentry“ trainings, „intercultural negotiation,“ conflict management, and “diversity management”. But IC’s clientele is global, with Eastern Europe and Southeast Asia the new growth

markets. In India, where it has a large organization, the software company Infosys has adopted a five-level “cultural competency measurement and training system” (the levels are: Knower, Practitioner, Expert, Pioneer and Guru).

Link: Mighty Is the Mongrel <http://www.fastcompany.com/online/36/mongrel.html>

Link: Difference Is Power <http://www.fastcompany.com/online/36/power.html>

In the corporate world, the recognition that “culture matters” is related to the fact that more and more companies operate outside their „home countries“ and expect their employers to understand markets, consumer behaviour and workplace relations in Berlin as well as in Bahrain. At the same time, they are confronted with the cultural pluralisation of their workforce as well as their shareholders. But are cultural differences the source of conflict or creativity? Companies from General Motors to Philips celebrate „diversity“ and have declared cultural diversification of their top managements a goal; but in a study of unsuccessful mergers, two-thirds of the managers interviewed put failure mainly down to cultural differences in management style. Heterogeneity may be the new ideal, but only if it is properly managed. IC consultants argue that lack of intercultural expertise can be costly: between a quarter and a half of expatriate managers come home early because they cannot integrate.

Link: The intercultural challenge. An example from DaimlerChrysler
<http://www.oup.com/pdf/elt/catalogue/0-19-442180-5-c.pdf>

Shouldn't understanding between cultures, then, be worth a course fee? The problem, however, is that not only the arguments that underlie IC's marketing but also the concepts used in most handbooks and trainings are questionable, as they are too often based on a static and stereotyping kind of knowledge.

6.3 How should we treat IC?

Differences between individuals and between groups do exist. But how can we generalise them without essentialising and oversimplifying, and causing more harm than good?

To begin with, differences are *always* situational. They are not just out there, but are consciously used by people. Even though we may not be always aware of our own cultural conditioning, in most situations we do have a choice of patterns of behaviour and identities, and we use these strategically.

An example from my research

If one reads the newspapers and watches the films produced by Chinese migrants in Hungary, one finds all of Trompenaars' and Hofstede's observations about Chinese culture confirmed. Dynamic, patriotic, hardworking und family-oriented Chinese are compared to lazy and decadent Europeans.

But ethnographic fieldwork shows that these „Chinese values“ play a rather subordinate role in private conversations and in actual behaviour. Many Chinese migrants, especially women, display critical attitudes towards the Chinese government, „Chinese values“ and forms of social interaction. Such “Chinese” traits as respect for authority, reliance on personal connections and conflict avoidance are displayed in some instances but not in others. For instance, conflicts are avoided not in general but with Hungarians, especially those in official positions. The reluctance of Chinese to seek justice from the police or the courts are not so much cultural as the result of the perception that Hungarian authorities are not impartial and can cause more trouble to foreigners who complain against them. Despite Hofstede's stress on group orientation, many migrants express the wish to avoid peer pressure and justify their desire for social freedoms by referring to Western behavioural norms.

The discrepancy between public discourse on the one hand, and private opinion and behaviour on the other, can only be understood in the very specific context of Chinese migration to Hungary. Migrants in the media business aim to present themselves as “patriotic” and “Chinese” in public because they also are importers and investment brokers whose business is dependent on good relations with Chinese authorities. They therefore stress patriotism and tradition rather than cultural exchange with Hungarians. In private conversations with trusted persons this is less important.]

„Culture“, then, is not a language awaiting to be learned. The „cultural dimension“ consists of diverse, often contradictory strategies and practices. Social groups do share implicit, normative regulatory framework. Making this framework explicit to an outsider through practical advice – “take off your shoes before you enter the house” – can be useful. But such rules of behaviour should not be confused with “values”. What IC can do is to sensitise for the choice of possible behavioural alternatives, making explicit *different* value frameworks that a person may act upon in different situations. Such a process-oriented approach requires the trainer to treat situations in their specific economic, political and social contexts. IC should take stereotypes seriously – in order to deconstruct them and reveal their instrumentalisation in institutions and society.

Link: Joana Breidenbach and Ina Zukrigl, Cultural Dynamics of Globalization
http://cio.ceu.hu/extreading/CIO/Breidenbach_and_Zukrigl.html

6.3 “Cultural competence” in organisations

Today, “intercultural competence” is part of routine employee training not only in development organizations, but also in most European government bureaucracies – to reflect a more culturally diverse population – and increasingly in the private sector, where it is seen as a means of increasing productivity in a global, multicultural environment.

“Cultural competence” in public administration takes a variety of forms, from diversity management to conflict resolution. Mediation, an increasingly popular tool in commercial and political conflict resolution by a neutral third party without decision making power, has developed its own “intercultural mediation” sector that deals with cases where cultural identity is believed to be an inherent part of the background for the conflict, in other words, where the conflicting parties cannot be assumed to share certain basic values. Some of the models of intercultural mediation (e.g. the Intercultural Mediation Project developed by the Berghof Center, the University of Minnesota and Paris University) are strongly informed by Hofstede, Hall and their “individualist-collectivist” matrices. Others, however, are mindful of the strategic deployment of cultural difference: “How different must I be to achieve my goal?” Haumersen and Liebe (1999) point out that members of structurally weaker groups tend to emphasize group identity and disadvantage to strengthen their position (“of course you would say that as a white man”), while members of stronger groups emphasize the individual aspects of the case and tend to downplay structural power inequalities. The task of the mediator is then to stop the “weaker party” from blaming the other side for the power inequalities that exist, while making the “stronger” party acknowledge that social responsibility for such inequalities cannot be completely relinquished.

Source: Petra Haumersen and Frank Liebe, *Multikulti: Konflikte konstruktiv. Trainingshandbuch in der interkulturellen Arbeit*. Mülheim an der Ruhr: Verlag an der Ruhr, 1999.

Source: Jon Sebastian, “The Intercultural Mediation Project: The Blere Experience. A Study of Conflict Management in an International Context.” Berghof Occasional Paper No. 15. Berlin: Berghof Research Center for Constructive Conflict Management, 1997.

Assignment 6.2

1. Top managers at DaimlerChrysler in Germany undergo a training provided by The Cultural Navigator before posted abroad. Go through the sample file (available from me) and check the website at

[http://www.culturalnavigator.com/\(hv3bav553hb5tl45spr5ta55\)/cnav_app/default.aspx](http://www.culturalnavigator.com/(hv3bav553hb5tl45spr5ta55)/cnav_app/default.aspx). What does its programme promise? What is its underlying concept of culture? How do you evaluate the usefulness of the training?

2. Describe the process of “intercultural competence training” in a work environment known to you. How are decisions about the need for and kind of training made? What are the “cultural needs” as seen by the company’s executives and the training providers? What kind of changes do the trainings result in?

Due 18 May

6.4 “Cultural competence” in public health

An example of public services where the need to adjust to a diversity of cultural norms is strongly felt is public health.

The poster features the logo for 'mission of hope' at the top, which includes a stylized white bird icon and the text 'Muslim Community Solutions for Health and Well-Being'. Below the logo, the main title '“Raising your IQ”' is written in a large, white, serif font, with '(Islamic Quotient)' in a smaller font underneath. The background of the poster shows a group of people in traditional Islamic attire (hijabs and thobes) gathered around a table, looking at a book or document. In the foreground, a woman in a red blazer is pointing at a whiteboard. The text at the bottom of the poster reads: 'Sensitising Health and Welfare Professionals to Muslims in Australia', '6-8 July 2005 Liverpool Hospital Conference Centre Thomas and Radnal Moors, Elizabeth St, Liverpool'. At the very bottom, there is a section titled 'Sponsored by' with logos for the NSW Centre for the Treatment and Rehabilitation of Torture and Trauma Survivors (STARTTS), The Mission of Hope Community Health Centre Projects, the Centre for Population Control and Sexual Health, and the Australian Society of Islamic Psychology.

Thus, a book by journalist Anne Fadiman, *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*, has made it to the compulsory reading list at the Yale medical school. This book is a moving story of a clash of cultures, in this case between the medical concepts of Hmong migrants from Laos and the US medical establishment, which left the patient, a young Hmong child, permanently disabled. But the book has been severely criticised by anthropologists and Hmong alike as an essentialising account of Hmong lives in the US.

- Required reading:** 1. Anne Fadiman, Chapters 1-3, 17-18 from *The Spirit Catches You and You Fall Down*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1997, pp. 3-31, 250-277. (e-reserve)
2. Janelle S. Taylor, “The Story Catches You and You Fall Down: Tragedy, Ethnography, and ‘Cultural Competence’,” *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 17:2, 159-181 (June 2003)

(e-reserve)

Optional reading:

1. Peter Sutton, "The politicization of disease and the disease of politicization: causal theories and the Indigenous health differential" (on unit website)
2. Leo R. Chavez, F. Allan Hubbell, and Shiraz I. Mishra, "Ethnography and Breast Cancer Control among Latinas and Anglo Women in Southern California," in Robert A. Hahn, ed. *Anthropology in Public Health*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 117-141. (e-reserve)

Assignment 6.3

Why does Janelle Taylor criticise Fadiman's notion of "cultural competence"? Based on the cases related in Fadiman, Taylor, Sutton, Chavez et al., and Renteln's chapter on children (submodule 4.5, optional reading 5), suggest ways in which cultural differences can be usefully taken into account in the public provision of health care, and note some of the caveats.

Due 18 May

6.5 "Cultural competence" in product development and advertising

Consumer-goods companies and advertising agencies, too, have latched onto the idea of culture. As consumer goods invented for a Western market go global, how do you adapt and sell them to people who spend 60% of their income on rice, milk powder, and dried fish, buy soap by the slice and find cosmetics indecent?

In research about the needs and desires of consumers, companies have long used qualitative and quasi-ethnographic techniques such as household visits and diaries to complement questionnaire surveys and focus groups. Recently, however, there has been a shift from social psychology to anthropology as the main disciplinary inspiration in corporate research. Ethnography is "in". Corporate anthropologists from Intel or Matsushita spend months with bakers in an Osaka hotel or with computer-using households in China to understand consumer needs. Hip anthropological consultancies (some owned by marketing firms) compete with more conventional market research agencies in providing product development advice. As a result, corporate ideas about culture tend to be more experiential and contextual than in many other areas we have reviewed.

The adaptation of products to local needs is an interesting phenomenon because it goes against the common-sense logic of globalisation. But even products that are actually global want to appear local. Although advertising agencies are global too, they employ a cohort of marketing gurus who emphasize local cultural peculiarities in marketing. In Sri Lanka, a spot that advertised milk because it featured a little girl who asked the viewer "not to tell mummy" that she actually liked milk, was taken off air because it was deemed to encourage children to poke fun at their mother (Kemper 2001).

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Source: Steven Kemper, *Buying and Believing. Sri Lankan Advertising and Consumers in a Transnational World*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001.

Source: Brian Moeran, *The business of Ethnography : strategic exchanges, people, and organizations*. Oxford and New York : Berg, 2005.

Required reading: Browse the homepages of ethnography companies in product development, design and marketing, such as <http://www.ethno-insight.com/aboutus.html>, www.convivionetwork.net or www.paceth.com. You can find many other links under <http://culturematters.wordpress.com/tag/corporate-anthropology/>.

Optional reading:

1. Jennifer McFarland, “Margaret Mead Meets Consumer Fieldwork”, *Harvard Management Update* 6(8) (August 2001). Online: <http://hbswk.hbs.edu/archive/2514.html>
2. Browse the proceedings of EPIC (the Ethnographic Praxis in Industry Conference) at www.epic2007.com (especially the Mission and Abstracts pages).

Assignment 6.4

Review examples of approaches to culture and ethnographic techniques in product development and design (see Optional readings 1-2). How do these approaches understand “culture”? Pick one study from a corporate website or EPIC as a more detailed example. For example, how does the approach in Stokes Jones’s paper “From Ancestors to Herbs” differ from Anne Fadiman’s *The Spirit Catches You*?

Due 25 May

MODULE 7. CONCLUSION

Question: Thinking back at the material of this semester, what are your suggestions to individuals who have to make decisions on projects involving cultural difference in the areas we have reviewed, either across areas or specific to one/some of them (for example, yours)? For instance: what kind of tools should they equip themselves with? What kind of questions should they ask, what information should they secure and from whom? **Respond by 2 June**

Here is a possible checklist:

- What explicit and implicit statements about culture are involved?
- What are the faultlines along which groups are defined and differentiated?
- Do you overlook important differences within (or across) these groups?
- Who is the source of these statements? Why might they be making them?
- On whose behalf do they speak – explicitly or implicitly? What lends them authority to do so?
- Why are they able to voice their opinion? Whose voices are not heard?
- If the arguments about culture stand the test of these questions, is supporting them compatible with/desirable for your goals?
- Are they empowering or oppressing the groups and individuals involved (which ones)?
- Do they open up options of dissent (or exit) within the group?