GLOBALIZATION, CULTURE, AND INDIGENOUS SOCIETIES
GLOBALIZATION: A CONTESTED TERM

14.1 Discuss how anthropologists define globalization.

Anthropologist Richard Wilk has described what he termed the globobabble that has infected the discussions of contemporary trends. These terms include globalacious, globalasia, globalatio, globalemic, and globaloney. He introduces his views on globalization with his humorous statement that “in this globalized global age, when everything has globated to the point where it is completely globulous, we obviously need some new vocabulary to describe the globish trends that are engulfing us all” (personal communication 2019).

We are only at the early stages of developing a concept of globalization that could be shared by all anthropologists. Anthropologists have discovered that not all people share exactly the same form of culture or patterns of culture within the same society, and the same is true today in the anthropological community with respect to agreement on a precise concept of globalization. Just as the meanings of cultural values, beliefs, values, and norms are often the subject of conflict among groups and individuals within a society, the term globalization is often contested and argued about by anthropologists. It is at best an imprecise “narrative” or “metaphor” for understanding what is occurring presently in the world within and among different societies. Generally speaking, anthropologists usually refer to globalization as the broad-scale changes and transformations that have resulted from the impact of industrialization and the emergence of an interconnected global economy, with the spread of capital, labor (migration), and technology across national borders. Globalization continues to occur today through the increasing spread of industrial technology—including electronic communications, television, and the internet—and the expansion of multinational corporations into the non-Western world.

However, despite this general consensus, there has been an ongoing debate within anthropological circles as to when globalization actually began. Most anthropologists connect this process with the developments following the Industrial Revolution in Western Europe and the spread of these developments throughout many societies in the world. However, some anthropologists refer to globalization as developing during the 1500s, within the period of Western European exploration and early colonization, whereas others link it to earlier time periods in East Asia, especially Chinese technological and economic developments prior to 1500 A.D. (Frank 1998). The Silk Road, a global trading route, connected China with ancient Persia in the Middle East and Rome in Europe by 50 B.C. Chinese fleets were exploring the East Coast of Africa in the fifteenth century A.D. Other anthropologists identify some elements of globalization in various areas in early history and prehistory and even among “tribal cultures” (J. Friedman 1998).

Despite these differences among anthropologists, we all can recognize various elements of globalization within our everyday lives in the United States or any other society in the world. We recognize a remarkable acceleration in computer technological developments, migration trends, and changing communications with the internet, email, fax, television, and other media that have brought the societies in the world into what is sometimes referred to as a “global village” or “spaceship Earth” or a “world without walls.” The journalist Thomas Friedman has been writing about global trends since the publication of his book called The Lexus and the Olive
Tree: Understanding Globalization (2000). Friedman emphasized the positive aspects of globalization: the integration of the world economy and financial markets and the pervasive development of international political coalitions and cooperation, replacing the archaic processes that dominated the world during the Cold War years. In that book, Friedman made the famous statement that whenever two societies share a McDonald’s, they will not go to war against one another. However, Friedman’s book was written prior to September 11, 2001, and the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. This tragic episode caused many Americans and Westerners to reflect on how globalization may not always bring the world closer together, but rather may result in severe political and cultural conflict.

In our everyday life, we recognize globalization in our educational settings because there are many students from every area of the world in our universities and colleges. We see globalization with our professional athletic teams: Russians and Eastern Europeans play on professional hockey teams; Latin Americans, Caribbean peoples, and Asians from Japan and Korea are on professional baseball teams; Chinese players such as Yao Ming were joining athletes from the Dinka and Nuer groups of East Africa on professional teams in the U.S. National Basketball Association (NBA); and Tiger Woods, who is part Thai, part Chinese, part African American, and part American Indian, represents a truly multicultural individual who has excelled in international golf tournaments. When tourists travel to Asia, they can turn on the television in their hotels and view not only CNN and the BBC, but also versions of MTV with their own traditions of music and dance, including hip-hop and rap music in Asia. So, these elements of globalization surround us in the United States and other areas of the world. Despite the differences and disagreements among social scientists and anthropologists over the precise meaning of the term globalization, we surely are aware of these globalization processes around us.

GLOBALIZATION: TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS

Describe some of the technological and economic trends resulting in globalization.

In 1980, fewer than 2 million computers existed in the world, and nearly all of them took up a great deal of space. As of 2018, there were over 4 billion internet users with computers in the world (out of a total world population of over 7 and a half billion people). Although most of these computers are personal desktop or laptop computers, an increasing number of tablet computers, such as Apple’s iPad or Amazon’s Fire, and smartphones can connect to the internet. Major companies such as Microsoft and Intel are producing computer technology so rapidly that when an individual or company purchases a computer off the shelf, the technology is already obsolete. No one can keep pace with these rapid developments in computer chips and software. Trends in technology are transforming industrial societies, as we discussed in Chapter 9, into what social scientists call postindustrial societies. Postindustrial economies have smaller manufacturing sectors and have developed high-tech computer hardware and software capacities. Work in information rather than “manual labor” has transformed the global economy. As a result of this trend, Bill Gates of Microsoft is one of the richest billionaires in the world.

The internet was developed by the U.S. Department of Defense in the 1960s. At first, the internet was developed to help scientists and engineers working together on defense-related projects communicate research findings more easily to one another. However, the internet today is used not just by scientists and academics to conduct research or to download music, but also by multinational corporations that have integrated the global economic developments among many societies.

Economic aspects of globalization are also visible to most people today. When consumers buy their clothing in the United States from the Gap, Walmart, Banana Republic, or other retailers, they find that most of it is produced in Asia, the Caribbean, Latin America, or islands in the Pacific. Automobile manufacturers such as Ford, Chrysler, and General Motors have plants all over the world, including China, Mexico, and Europe. Auto companies are now transnational corporations; Ford and GM have joint production programs with Japanese and South Korean auto manufacturers such as Honda, Toyota, Mitsubishi, and Hyundai and have manufacturing plants in the United States, Europe, Latin America, and Asia. The Honda Accord is produced in Ohio, but Dodge vehicles are produced outside the United States. Multinational corporations are continually merging into large conglomerates and oligopolies to promote more economic efficiency and international manufacturing and marketing to enhance their revenues (Kapferer 2005).

As we saw in Chapter 9, economic anthropologists study the production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in different societies. Today, economic anthropologists focus on how the economies of different societies are transformed by these globalization factors. One important topic now being studied by anthropologists is what has been termed outsourcing. Most recently, one of the consequences of postindustrial developments is a new trend in the relocation of white-collar information technology (IT) jobs from the United States, Japan, and Europe to

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areas such as India and China. Many Americans and other Westerners are alarmed by the fact that many engineering, computer-related service, chip design, tax form service, and telecommunications jobs are now transferred to India or China. When Americans have a problem with their Microsoft Word documents, they call an 800 number for Microsoft and often talk to someone in China or India about how to solve these problems.

Since 2000, the business process outsourcing (BPO) call center industry has employed about 700,000 young people or agents in India who spend their nights on phones and online with customers in the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, and elsewhere. Anthropologists Purnima Mankekar and Akhil Gupta (2017) have been doing long-term ethnographic studies of these workers in “tech parks” in Bangalore, India. They find that most of the BPO workers come from upwardly mobile low-income or lower-middle-class families and earn higher salaries than their family members can imagine. These workers are trained to learn to modify their indigenous regional speech patterns to Global English as well as to adapt their bodies for the necessity of night work. They are instructed to watch Hollywood films and U.S. television shows like Friends to improve their Global English. These workers have to learn how to manage emotions and produce empathy at a distance based on their phone conversations with customers who have vastly different cultural contexts than their own. At times, they have to endure abusive and racist comments by people in the United States or United Kingdom. The Indian media frequently refer to these workers as “cyber coolies” who are being exploited by Western countries. In addition, these workers often feel insecure and view their jobs as having no future prospects as they hear about criticisms of outsourcing in the U.S. and U.K. media.

This photo shows an office scene in India with workers employed to assist people with computer problems all over the world. Many companies such as Microsoft and Apple outsource many aspects of their businesses overseas.

Globalization: General Theoretical Approaches

14.3 Compare the three theoretical approaches to analyzing globalization.

Social scientists have used three major theoretical approaches to examine globalization: modernization theory, dependency theory, and world-system theory. Each has provided a model for analyzing the impact of globalization on industrial and nonindustrial societies.

Modernization Theory

The historical intellectual heritage of what is called modernization theory is associated with the prolific German scholar and sociologist Max Weber (1864–1920). To some extent, Weber was reacting to the earlier ideas of Karl Marx (discussion to follow), who argued that the “material conditions,” including technology, environment, and the economy, determined or influenced the cultural beliefs and values of different people within a society. In contrast, Weber recognized that cultural values and beliefs had a very significant influence on the development of particular technological and economic conditions in a society. He focused on the relationship of cultural values to economic action and behavior. Weber’s views on the modernization of society have influenced many economic, historical, sociological, and anthropological interpretations. He noted that all humans provided significance and meaning to their orientations, practical actions, and behavior in the world (Keyes 2002). Modernization theory absorbed Weber’s view and emphasized how ideas, beliefs, and values have transforming effects on practical activity within society. Societies are products not just of technology and a particular mode of production or economy, but also of culture, which shapes and influences the modes of thinking and significance for action within a society.

Using a broad cross-cultural and global approach, modernization theorists relying on Weber’s model maintain that premodern and preindustrial societies were traditional in their values, whereas people in modern industrial capitalist societies endorsed rationality. While traditional societies were guided by sentiments and beliefs passed from generation to generation, modern societies embraced rationality and used deliberate strategies, including scientific methods, to pursue efficient means to obtain particular goals. Like Weber, the modernization theorists argued that traditional cultural beliefs are swept away by the process of rationalization as a society modernizes. They view the rationalization of society as the historical change from a traditional worldview to scientific rationality as the dominant mode of human thought and action.

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One of Weber's most influential books, which later influenced the modernization approach to globalization, was *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904). In that work, Weber sought to understand the values that influenced the emergence of industrial capitalist society. Through a historical analysis, he theorized that the specific values of hard work, thrift, and discipline as exhibited within the Calvinist religious tradition in Europe in the seventeenth century resulted in more rational, scientific, and efficient technological and economic conditions, ushering in the development of industrial capitalism, or modernity.

**Modernization Theory and the Cold War**

Although modernization theory had its roots in nineteenth-century Enlightenment ideas, as espoused by Weber and other social scientists, it became the leading model for understanding globalization in the 1950s in the context of the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. During that period, these two superpowers were competing for economic resources and the political allegiance of different nations. Modernization theory provided a model to explain how social and cultural change could occur in all societies through industrial capitalism.

One of the most influential proponents of modernization was the American economist W. W. Rostow, who was an advisor to presidents during the Cold War years. Rostow argued that although modernization occurred first in the West, it could develop in all societies provided that those societies meet certain preconditions. According to Rostow (1978), evolution from a traditional preindustrial society to a modern industrial society takes place through five general stages:

1. **Traditional stage.** Premodern societies are unlikely to become modernized because of traditionalism—persisting values and attitudes that represent obstacles to economic and political development.

   According to modernization theorists, traditionalism creates a form of “cultural inertia” that keeps premodern societies backward and underdeveloped. Traditionalism places great significance on maintaining family and community relationships and sentiments, which inhibits individual freedom, individual achievement, and entrepreneurial initiative. For example, many traditional societies have values that emphasize an allegiance to the family and clan, rather than individual achievement.

2. **Culture-change stage.** One of the preconditions for modernization involves cultural and value changes. People must accept the belief that progress is both necessary and beneficial to society and to the individual. Belief in progress is linked to an emphasis on individual achievement, which leads to the emergence of individual entrepreneurs who will take the necessary risks for economic progress. Modernization theorists insist that these changes in values are brought about through education and will result in the erosion of traditionalism.

3. **Takeoff stage.** As traditionalism begins to weaken, rates of investment and savings will begin to rise. Economic changes provide the context for the development of industrial capitalist society. England reached this stage by about 1783, and the United States by about 1840. Modernization theorists believe that this stage is reached only through foreign aid to support the diffusion of education, which reduces traditionalism and encourages the transfer of industrial technology from capitalist societies to premodern societies.

4. **Self-sustained growth stage.** At this stage, the members of the society intensify economic progress through the implementation of industrial technology.

   This process involves a consistent reinvestment of savings and capital in modern technology. It also includes a commitment to mass education to promote advanced skills and modern attitudes. As the population becomes more educated, traditionalism continues to erode.

5. **High economic growth stage.** This last stage involves the achievement of a high standard of living, characterized by mass production and consumption of material goods and services. Western Europe and the United States achieved this stage in the 1920s, and Japan reached it in the 1950s.
The modernization model includes both noneconomic factors, such as cultural values including individualism, and economic behavior, such as entrepreneurship, as preconditions for modernization. In fact, in stage 2, the changes in cultural values are the most important prerequisites for eliminating traditionalism and generating patterns of achievement. Modernization theorists view cultural values and traditionalism as the primary reasons for the lack of economic development. The practical implication that derives from this model is that before a country should receive foreign aid, traditionalism and the values that support it must be transformed.

Like Rostow, who drew on Max Weber, psychologist David McClelland (1973) maintained that a need for achievement represents the most important variable in producing the process of modernization. McClelland argued that a need for achievement is not just a desire for more material goods, but rather an intrinsic need for satisfaction in achieving success. He believed that desire for achievement leads to increased savings and accumulation of capital. McClelland claimed to have found evidence for this need in some non-Western countries such as Japan, Taiwan, and Korea, as well as in Western countries.

First, Second, and Third Worlds

The modernization model of the Cold War led to the categorization of societies into three "worlds": the First, Second, and Third Worlds. According to the modernization theorists, the First World is composed of modern industrial states with predominantly capitalist economic systems. These societies became industrialized "first." Included in this group are Great Britain, Western Europe, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Japan, and the United States. The Second World consisted of industrial states that had predominantly socialist economies. It included the former Soviet Union countries and many of the former socialist countries of Eastern Europe—for example, Poland and Hungary. The Third World referred to premodern agricultural states that maintain traditionalism. The Third World encompassed the vast majority of the people in the world, including most of Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

Criticisms of Modernization Theory

Modernization theory enabled social scientists to identify various aspects of social and cultural change that accompany globalization. By the 1960s, however, modernization theory came under attack by a number of critics. One of the major criticisms was that the applied model of modernization had failed to produce technological and economic development in the so-called Third World countries. Despite massive injections of foreign aid and education projects sponsored by wealthy First World countries, most Third World countries remained underdeveloped. An underdeveloped society has a low gross national product (GNP), the total value of goods and services produced by a country. Anthropologists emphasize that one cannot understand or explain the evolution of society through the precise ladderlike stages postulated by the modernization theorists. Most societies throughout the world exhibit "hybridity" or a complex combination of economic, social, political, and cultural beliefs and values.

Some critics view modernization theory as ethnocentric, or "Western-centric." They believe that this theory promotes Western industrial capitalist society as an ideal that ought to be encouraged universally. These critics argue that Western capitalist societies have many problems, such as extreme economic inequality and the dislocation of community and family ties, and they question whether a Western model of modernization is suitable or beneficial for all societies. They do not agree that all societies must emulate the West to progress economically. In addition, they do not want this model of modernity imposed on them from outside countries.

Modernization theorists have also been criticized for citing traditional values as obstacles to technological and economic development in the Third World. Critics consider this an example of "blaming the victim." They charge that this argument oversimplifies both the conditions in Third World countries and the process of industrialization as it occurred in the West. For example, anthropologists and historians have recognized that individual entrepreneurs in the West and in Japan had a great deal of economic freedom, which encouraged independent initiative. As discussed in Chapter 12, both Europe and Japan experienced historical periods of feudalism when their governments did not have systematic control over independent economic activities in local regions. Consequently, entrepreneurs had freedom to develop their technologies and trading opportunities. In contrast, many Third World people may have a so-called "need to achieve," but they lack the necessary economic and political institutions and opportunities for achievement.

Another criticism of modernization theory is that it neglects the factors of global economic and political power, conflict, and competition within and among societies. For example, the wealthier classes in Third World countries that have benefited from the new technology and other assets from the First World often exploit the labor of the lower classes. This conflict and division between classes may inhibit economic development. Modernization theorists also tend to view First, Second, and Third World countries as existing in isolation from one another.

One other major problem with the modernization theorists is that the terms First, Second, and Third World countries are too simplistic today to account for the great diversity that anthropologists actually discover in these societies. Modernization theory was a product of Cold War politics, in which the capitalist West (the First World) was in global competition with the socialist East (the Second World), and the rest of the world (the Third World) was influenced by Cold War politics. However, sweeping changes have been transforming the Eastern-bloc countries,
including former members of the Soviet Union, resulting in the
dissipation of most Second World socialist societies. In addition,
the phrase Third World societies tends to lump together many
societies that are at different levels of socioeconomic develop-
ment. For example, Saudi Arabia, rich in oil resources, cannot be
compared with Bangladesh, which has very little natural resource
wealth on which to draw. Some countries in the so-called Third
World are much better off economically, with ten to twenty
times the national wealth of other countries. Although the terms
First, Second, and Third Worlds are still used in the media and
elsewhere, we should be aware that this terminology is a legacy
of the Cold War and is no longer relevant to an understanding
of present-day societies.

Dependency Theory

Criticism of modernization theory led to another general
model and approach that emerged primarily from the under-
developed world. Known as dependency theory, this approach
is a model of socioeconomic development that explains global-
ization and the inequality among different societies as result-
ning from the historical exploitation of poor, underdeveloped
societies by rich, developed societies.

The historical roots of the dependency view of globalization
are connected with the well-known German social phi-
losopher Karl Marx (1818–1883). As discussed in Chapter 6,
Marx had argued that the material things of life were primary
determining factors and that cultural beliefs and values were
secondary. Later, Marx wrote many tracts such as Economic and
Philosophic Manuscripts (1844) and Das Kapital (in English,
Capital) (1867), which emphasized his philosophy of material-
ism, sometimes referred to as historical materialism.

According to Marx’s historical materialist thesis, economic
realities, or what Marx termed the mode of production, which
included the way a society organizes its economy and technol-
yogy, were the primary determinants of human behavior and
thought. A second ingredient in Marx’s historical materialist
thesis was the proposition that all human history was driven
by class struggle, perpetual conflicts between the groups that
owned resources and had political power and those who owned
very little and had almost no political power. Marx and his
close collaborator Friedrich Engels developed a sweeping uni-
lineal and global evolutionary scheme (see Chapter 6) based on
the different modes of production that societies had developed
since early prehistory. The earliest mode of production was
hunting and gathering, followed by the development of agri-
culture, succeeded by feudalism, which evolved into industrial
capitalism. Each of these different modes of production was
transformed by class conflicts and struggles, resulting in the
successive stages of societal evolution.

Writing at the time of early industrialization and capital-
isim in Europe in the nineteenth century, Marx and Engels
viewed these developments as causes of exploitation, inequality
in wealth and power, and class struggle. They believed that a
struggle was emerging between the bourgeoisie (the owners of
factories, mines, and other industries) and the proletariat (the
working class) in industrial capitalist societies such as England,
Germany, and the United States. They maintained that through
this class conflict, new modes of production would develop—
first socialism and eventually communism, which represented
the end of class conflict, private property, poverty, economic
exploitation, warfare, and power struggles.

Dependency theory was influenced by Marxism and is
associated with theorists such as Andre Gunder Frank, who
denied that underdevelopment is the product of the persis-
tence of traditionalism in preindustrial societies, as the mod-
erization theorists maintained. Dependency theorists contend
instead that wealthy industrialized capitalist countries exploit
underdeveloped precapitalist societies for the cheap labor and
raw materials needed to maintain their own industrial tech-
nologies. Through this process, impoverished underdeveloped
countries became economic and political dependencies of
wealthy industrialized capitalist countries.

Dependency theorists suggest that capitalism increased the
prosperity and the power of Western nations at the expense of
poor nations. Especially after 1870, following the early phases
of industrialism, a new type of relationship developed between
industrialized and nonindustrialized societies. As manufactur-
ing expanded, the industrial nations’ needs for raw materials and
markets for their manufactured goods increased. Also, changing
patterns of consumption created more demands for new foodstuffs
and goods such as tea, coffee, sugar, and tobacco from nonindus-
trialized regions. The availability of cheap labor in underdeveloped
countries contributed to increasing wealth and profits in industrial
nations. Thus, according to dependency theorists, the wealth and
prosperity of the industrial capitalist countries was due largely to
the exploitation of the underdeveloped world.

The need for raw materials, consumer goods, cheap labor,
and markets led to increasing imperialism, the economic and
political control of a particular nation or territory by an external
nation. Although imperialism had developed among preindus-
trial agricultural states, it did not involve the whole world. In
contrast, industrial countries such as Great Britain, the United
States, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Belgium, Russia, and
Japan divided the nonindustrialized areas into “spheres of eco-
nomic and political influence.” Most of the nonindustrialized
regions became colonies that exported raw materials and provided
labor and other commodities for the industrialized nations.

Dependency theorists categorize the industrial capitalis-
countries as the metropole societies that maintain dependent
satellite countries in the underdeveloped world. Through the
organization of the world economy by the industrial capital-
ist societies, the surpluses of commodities produced by cheap
labor flow from the satellites to the metropole. The satellites
remain underdeveloped because of economic and political domination by the metropole. Despite the fact that many satellite countries have become politically independent from their former colonial rulers, the emergence of multinational corporations based in the industrialized capitalist societies has produced a new form of imperialism, neo-imperialism. The industrial capitalist societies control foreign aid, international financial institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and international political institutions such as the United Nations, all of which function to maintain their dominant position.

Criticism of Dependency Theory

Unlike modernization theory, the dependency approach demonstrates that no society evolves and develops in isolation. By examining the interrelationships between the political economies of industrial capitalist and precapitalist countries, theorists showed conclusively that some aspects of underdevelopment are related to the dynamics of power, conflict, class relations, and exploitation.

Critics, however, have noted a number of flaws in the dependency approach. Generally, dependency theory tends to be overly pessimistic. It suggests that dependency and impoverishment can be undone only by a radical restructuring of the world economy to reallocate wealth and resources from wealthy industrial capitalist countries to impoverished precapitalist countries. Economic development, however, has occurred in some countries that have had extensive contact with industrial capitalist societies. Notably, Japan moved from an undeveloped society to a wealthy industrial capitalist position after the 1950s. Other countries such as Taiwan and South Korea have also developed in a similar manner. In contrast, some poor societies that have had less contact with the industrial capitalist societies remain highly undeveloped.

Critics also point out that dependency theorists neglect the internal conditions of underdeveloped countries that may inhibit economic development. Rapid population growth, famine and hunger, the excessive control of the economy by centralized governments, and, in some instances, traditional cultural values may inhibit economic development.

World-System Analysis

Another general model that tried to explain global trends is known as the world-system analysis. These theorists maintain that the socioeconomic differences and inequalities among various countries are a result of an interlocking political economy. The inequalities among wealthy and poor countries result from the division of labor of the world economy. The world-system analysis represents a response to both modernization and dependency theories. Sociologist Immanuel Wallerstein (1974, 1979, 1980), who developed this approach, agrees with the dependency theorists that the wealthy industrial nations prosper through the economic domination and exploitation of people in poor countries. His holistic model defines all countries as core, peripheral, and semiperipheral depending on the strength of their states and the profitability of the activities of their enterprises. Core countries were states where enterprises within monopolized the most profitable activities of the economy’s division of labor. These core countries became the most powerful in respect to their technologies, militaries, and financial and legal complexities. Later, after 1900 A.D., these powerful core states or empires incorporated all other societies on the planet.

Most undeveloped countries are classified as peripheral and have weak states and few profitable enterprises. Wallerstein notes that between the core and peripheral countries are the semiperipheral countries that are somewhat more profitable, but they are not as powerful as the core countries. In the world-system perspective, the core, periphery, and semiperiphery are inextricably connected, forming an unequal global economic and political network. No country or society is isolated from this global web of connections, and economic development occurs unevenly.

Wallerstein believes that the world system plays a “game of musical chairs” under specific evolutionary and historical circumstances. The positions of countries are not fixed and immutable. Enterprises and states may go into decline, or they may rise. Countries within the peripheral and semiperipheral zones may become more developed. For example, during the worldwide depression of the 1930s, some peripheral Latin American countries, such as Brazil and Mexico, advanced to a semiperipheral position. Wallerstein also explains the recent rapid economic development of countries such as Taiwan and South Korea in terms of their favored status by core countries. Because the United States was in Cold War competition with the Soviet Union and feared the emergence of communism in Asia, it invested huge amounts of technology and capital in Taiwan and South Korea. Wallerstein demonstrates when and where different types of countries exist in time and space and offers a perspective to comprehending the uneven development of the global economy.

Criticism of World-System Analysis

Although Wallerstein’s world-system analysis has some advantages over modernization and dependency theories, critics note some weaknesses. One criticism is that the theory leads to overgeneralizations regarding the different countries within the core, semiperipheral, and peripheral zones. Different local types of subsistence and economic systems are not treated as specific forms of productive enterprises. In other words, both global and local factors need to be treated in more nuanced and complex ways. In addition, Wallerstein generalizes and classifies premodern bands, tribes, and chiefdoms as “mini-systems,” without describing the actual differences among them as anthropologists have done.

Although world-system analysis has been helpful in allowing for a more comprehensive historical and holistic view of global
economic and political interconnections, it is not a perfected model. However, the terms used by Wallerstein, such as core, semiperipheral, and peripheral, have been adopted widely by the social sciences. These terms do illustrate how different types of global networks interrelate, and provide a much-needed substitute for the older terminology of First, Second, and Third Worlds.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS AND GLOBALIZATION

14.4 Discuss how anthropologists analyze globalization.

Before the 1960s, many anthropologists were influenced by the modernization approach, which tended to view societies in isolation. Since the development of the dependency and world-system perspectives, however, anthropologists have become more attuned to the global perspective. For example, a pioneering book on globalization by the late Eric Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* ([1982] 1997), reflected these developments in anthropological thought. Wolf espoused a global perspective by drawing on modernization, dependency, and world-system approaches, while criticizing all of them for their weaknesses. Yet, as more in-depth ethnographic research has been conducted throughout the world, anthropologists have become more skeptical of these general approaches. Such labels as traditional, modern, metropole-satellite, and peripheral are too simplistic to classify realistically the diverse economic and cultural traditions in the world. Anthropologists discovered that there are no predictable, unilinear, or unalterable patterns of societal evolution.

Many anthropologists refer to themselves as studying “globalization from below” by focusing on the people in local areas being affected by these multinational technological as well as international economic and political policies produced by globalization. Additionally, cultural anthropologists find that globalization is not a process dominated by the major industrialized capitalist or socialist countries; rather, it is a nuanced process of interactive relations between the local and global levels. As Wolf emphasized in his works, ethnographers must attend to the study of local-level processes, as well as integrating an empirical understanding of the global trends that are incorporated at the local level. Sometimes anthropologists refer to this *glocalization*—the incorporation of the global into the local—as an indicator of what this process entails. Instead of viewing various societies as becoming similar and homogeneous with the expansion of Western consumption patterns and global capitalism, anthropologists emphasize how societies are transforming into sites of “cultural hybridity” and heterogeneity as glocalization occurs.

Following the end of the Cold War in the 1990s, a new paradigm of economic development began to emerge, primarily from within the United States. This model of economic development incorporated some elements of modernization theory, but it also reflected the expansion and predominance of a capitalist economic system that resulted in the subsequent decline of socialism in most societies after the end of the Cold War. This model of economic development is referred to as *neoliberalism*. *Neoliberalism* is a philosophical, political, and economic strategy that focuses on reducing government regulation and interference within the domestic economy and on cutting back on social services that are deemed to be a drag on a free market global economy. It emphasizes fewer restrictions on both capitalist business operations and property rights. Neoliberalism tends to reject unionism for labor, environmentalism, and social justice causes that would interfere with capitalist enterprises. These neoliberal economic projects were adopted by the World Bank and the IMF in the 1990s to enhance the expansion of capitalism after the Cold War. Since the 1990s, anthropologists have been describing the consequences of these global policies for different countries and local levels throughout the world. Anthropologist Keith Hart (2018) refers to neoliberalism as “market fundamentalism,” or the belief that the so-called free market will solve all economic problems. The consequences of these neoliberal policies will be discussed in later chapters.

Many anthropologists refer to their ethnographic projects as studying globalization from below. In a recent collection of ethnographic studies titled *Globalization From Below: The World’s Other Economy*, cultural anthropologists focus on the people in local areas being affected not only by large multinational corporations and their capital and technology and governments (globalization from above), but also by the transnational flow of people and goods with relatively small amounts of capital and illegal and semilegal forms of transactions outside of bankers, bureaucracies, and lawyers (Mathews, Ribeiro, and Alba Vega 2012). Globalization from above can be understood through government and corporate statistics, sales figures, and national economic indicators. However, this “bottoms-up” globalization from below is reliant on ethnographic studies that focus on the daily lives of people and their transactions outside the realm of state and corporate business statistics. The extensive, in-depth fieldwork based primarily on qualitative data collected by ethnographers can often challenge some of the statistical generalizations and abstract models of mainstream political science and economics.

GLOBALIZATION, POLITICS, AND CULTURE

14.5 Discuss how anthropologists criticize some of the approaches to understanding politics, culture, and globalization.

Aside from economic developments, some recent globalization models that focus on political interrelationships and culture have been associated with particular political scientists. In one
Jihad vs. McWorld: Terrorism’s Challenge to Democracy (2001), political scientist Benjamin Barber argues that globalization represented by the spread of McWorld (McDonald's, Macintosh computers, and Mickey Mouse) through many societies has resulted in jihad (the Arabic term for “holy war” and defense of the Islamic faith) by those who resist these global trends and, therefore, react in antagonistic ways, including supporting terrorism of the sort that led to 9/11. Barber emphasizes how the proliferation of McDonald’s restaurants and the expansion of other related cultural trends have imposed cultural homogeneity or domination in the media, individual consumption preferences, politics, religion, and other institutions in the world. The jihad reaction (which is not limited to the Islamic world) includes many other local-level political and religious responses to McWorld’s cultural uniformity. For example, the country of France has mounted protests against McDonald’s “fast food” as representing an assault on the “slow food” of French cooking. In addition, France has tried to limit the amount of English vocabulary that penetrates the media through films and television programs from America. Barber gives many other examples of jihad that represent a defense of an indigenous culture from the McWorld global tendency, some of which have become extremely violent and dangerous.

The late Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington wrote The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of the World Order (1996), another well-known analysis of globalization that continues to resonate with many people in the West and other regions of the world. In this influential book, Huntington argues that a unitary “Western civilization and culture” is at odds with “Islamic civilization and culture,” “Hindu civilization and culture,” and “Confucian civilization and culture.” Huntington argues that these Islamic and Asian cultures do not have the institutions for developing civil democratic societies, individualism, free markets, or other elements that will enable them to coexist peacefully with Western culture. He envisions these cultural and regional blocs as fragmenting the world order and resulting in more conflict and instability throughout the world. Huntington’s essentialist perspective of these different civilizations has perpetuated a view that has been widely accepted within both the West and the Islamic world, especially after the tragedy of 9/11 and the aftermath of the U.S.-led invasions of Afghanistan and Iraq. Huntington had been an influential political advisor to the U.S. government, including the State Department. His essentialist constructions of this clash-of-civilizations thesis have been used to develop foreign policy strategies in the Islamic world and in Asia since its initial publication.

Cultural anthropologists who do current ethnographic research in the Islamic world or Asia are critical of the sweeping generalizations and essentialist constructions perpetuated by Barber and Huntington (recall our discussion of essentialism in Chapter 1). In contrast to these political scientists, who generally interview the political elites of these different countries and read the religious doctrines of these people, ethnographers live among these people on a day-to-day basis for years and observe and interview them. Cultural anthropologists do not just interview the political elites; they also interview and observe the middle class, the working class, peasants and rural villagers, religious clerics of all levels, and other indigenous people. They find tremendous diversity in terms of religions, ethnic groups, and politics, as well as in terms of aspects of civil society, within these regions. The views of Huntington and Barber are also based on antiquated understandings of “culture” as forms of fixed beliefs and values shared within an essentialized “homogeneous civilization.” These essentialist understandings of a fixed and widely shared “culture” are not found in non-Western societies (or any society) by cultural anthropologists. People in both non-Western Islamic and Asian (and Eastern) societies are constantly reinterpreting and transforming their cultural conceptions as they are exposed to rapid changes through the internet, the media, consumption patterns, and other results on globalization processes. Cultural anthropologists find that there is no essential or uniform “Islamic culture or civilization,” “Confucian culture or civilization,” “Asian culture or civilization,” or “Western culture or civilization,” despite the rhetoric that political and religious leaders espouse in these respective regions (Eickelman and Piscatori 2004; Scupin 2003, 2006a, 2008b, 2017a, 2017b).

There are considerable variations in culture among the peoples in all these regions of the world. These so-called civilizations and cultures have been cross-fertilizing one another for generations, and simplistic essentialist stereotypes cannot summarize the enormous diversity in culture that exists in these societies.

**GLOBALIZATION AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

14.6 Discuss the consequences of globalization for indigenous peoples.

We discussed how the modernization theorists during the Cold War years divided the world into three major types of societies: the First, Second, and Third Worlds. However, as we have seen, anthropologists have done much research on band, tribal, and chiefdom societies. Sometimes these societies are referred to as the indigenous or aboriginal or first nation, indicating the fact that these societies were the initial native peoples in a particular region. Another phrase used for these peoples is Fourth World societies, adding another classification to the First, Second, and Third World categories. However, as we have already discussed the limitations of the “three worlds” modernization approach associated with the Cold War, we will not use this phrase.

The expansion of globalization often produced traumatic and violent changes in many of these indigenous societies.
These peoples were absorbed as subordinate ethnic groups in larger nation-states or in some cases became extinct. When absorbed, they usually were forced to abandon their traditional language and culture, a process anthropologists refer to as ethnocide. In other situations, aboriginal peoples faced genocide, the physical extermination of a particular group of people. The Tasmanians of Australia and some Native American groups were deliberately killed so that colonists could take their lands and resources. The attitudes of the Europeans toward these indigenous peoples reflected racism and ethnocentrism, which resulted in many massacres of these aboriginal peoples.

Vanishing Foragers

As seen in Chapter 8, most contemporary bands, or foraging societies, have survived in marginal environments: deserts, tropical rain forests, and Arctic regions. Because these lands are not suitable for agriculture, foragers lived in relative isolation from surrounding populations. Following the emergence of industrial states and the extensive globalization induced by industrialism, these former marginal areas became attractive as unsettled frontiers with low population densities and bountiful, valuable natural resources such as land, timber, energy resources, and minerals. Industrial states have expanded into these regions, searching for energy supplies and resources such as oil and minerals in the deserts and Arctic areas and land and timber from the tropical rain forests. One result of this process has been increased contact between globalization processes and foraging societies, often with tragic results such as ethnocide—and sometimes even genocide.

The Ju/'hoansi San

The bands of the African deserts and tropical rain forests have been devastated by confrontations with expanding industrial states and globalization. The Ju/'hoansi San people of the Kalahari Desert, who, before the 1950s, had little contact with industrialized nations, are now caught in the midst of forced change. Many of the Ju/'hoansi San live in Botswana and Namibia, which for many years were controlled by the more industrialized country of South Africa. Currently, the Ju/'hoansi San population in Botswana and Namibia is about 12,000 people (Biesele and Hitchcock 2011; Hitchcock 2019a). Beginning in the 1960s, the South African government began to expand into the Kalahari Desert. In the process, it restricted the Ju/'hoansi San hunting territories and attempted to resettle them in a confined reservation at Tjumkui, which represented only 11 percent of their ancestral land (Hitchcock 2004a; Hitchcock et al. 1996). It further attempted to introduce the Ju/'hoansi San to agriculture—the cultivation of maize, melons, sorghum, and tobacco—and cattle raising. However, because of the unsuitability of the land and inadequate water supplies, these activities have not succeeded. Consequently, the Ju/'hoansi San have become increasingly dependent on government rations of corn, salt, sugar, and tobacco.

In both Botswana and Namibia, the only economic opportunities for Ju/'hoansi San males lie in doing menial chores, clearing fields, and building roads. The government initially paid Ju/'hoansi San laborers with mealie (ground corn), sugar, or tobacco but eventually switched to money. The introduction of this cash economy transformed traditional relationships in Ju/'hoansi San society. People who previously had embraced a reciprocal exchange system that enhanced their kinship and social ties now had to adjust to a system in which resources were managed for one's own family. Conflicts arose between those who wanted to share and others who were forced to become self-interested and hide resources even from their own kin. Inequality and reduced reciprocity were having consequences for the Ju/'hoansi people (Hitchcock 2019a). In some of the areas where the Ju/'hoansi San were settled, population began to increase. This is a typical consequence of a shift from a foraging to a settled life. With increased crowding came epidemics, particularly tuberculosis, that have claimed many lives. Moreover, in response to the rapid transformation of their lifestyle, many Ju/'hoansi San resorted to frequent drinking, and much of their wage labor earnings went into alcohol consumption. As a consequence, alcoholism is a common problem.

Other Ju/'hoansi San males at the Tjumkui reservation were recruited by the South African military to engage in campaigns during the 1960s and 1970s against the South West Africa People’s Organisation (SWAPO), guerrilla insurgents who opposed the South African regime. The Ju/'hoansi San were valued as soldiers because they were good trackers and courageous fighters. Most of them, however, were unaware of the geopolitical strategies and racist policies of the South African government. They were simply attracted to military service by the promise of high wages.

Richard Lee believed that this involvement in the South African military increased the amount of violence in Ju/'hoansi San society. Lee (2013) documented only twenty-two cases of homicide among all the Ju/'hoansi between 1922 and 1955. In contrast, seven murders were recorded in a single village known as Chumkwe during the brief period from 1978 to 1980, a major increase. According to Lee, the aggressive values and norms associated with militarism increased the tendency toward violence in Ju/'hoansi San society.

The confinement to the reservation and the restriction from hunting-and-gathering subsistence resulted in reduced access to protein, foods, and other items for reciprocal exchanges; a decline in handicraft production; and rising dissatisfaction and frustration by the Ju/'hoansi San people toward the outsiders and the government that controlled their land (Biesele 2000; Biesele and Hitchcock 2011). In addition, increasing health and social problems, including higher suicide and murder rates, alcoholism, more patriarchal control and abuse of
women, and increases in sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS infections, have resulted in higher mortality rates (Bieseke and Hitchcock 2011; Hitchcock 2004b).

Since the 1990s, many of these San people have been involved in legal battles with their governments over land and hunting rights. In Botswana, the government has been trying to relocate the San from their ancestral land in the Central Kalahari Desert to other locations. The Botswana government has claimed that these San people needed to take up an agricultural lifestyle and abandon their traditional hunting-gathering way of life. In three different relocation events, San homes, health centers, schools, and water supplies were destroyed and shut down by the government. The San were placed in resettlement camps outside of the Kalahari and had no access to hunting or their traditional lands. Although the government has denied that they were forcing the San off their ancestral land, the Botswana courts ruled that the attempt at relocation was unconstitutional. Opponents of the relocation have said that the real motivation for these government actions was because diamonds were discovered in the 1980s, and the government wants to use the Kalahari as a tourist attraction. In 2006, the Botswana courts ruled that the San could go back to their ancestral land to continue their traditional lifestyle; however, the government has tried to prevent them from resettling by blocking their access to water supplies and denying them hunting permits (Survival International 2010). In April 2008, the Human Rights Council of the United Nations criticized the Botswana government for not allowing the San to return to their ancestral land.

In Namibia, the Ju/'hoansi San established what is known as a conservancy to oversee the wildlife resources in the region. It is a block of communal land of about 9,000 square kilometers on which people can utilize the wildlife resources and make decisions about land use. A number of game animals such as the springbok and eland were imported into the area to promote tourism there. This conservancy, called Nyae Nyae, has been successful in producing income for the group and giving assistance for conservation projects. However, a number of refugees have flooded into Namibia, which has created problems for resettling these populations in the Kalahari region.

To some degree, these refugees threatened the conservancy projects in Namibia (Bieseke and Hitchcock 2011; Hitchcock 2019a; Hitchcock and Bieseke 2002).

The Nyae Nyae Conservancy has established successful literacy and education programs among the Ju/'hoansi San, and they are recording their history and cultural heritage. Yet, the resource base in Nyae Nyae is threatened by increased numbers of livestock, firewood gathering, illegal hunting, and illegal fencing (Bieseke and Hitchcock 2011; Hitchcock 2019a).

The Kalahari Peoples Fund (KPF) is a nonprofit organization based in the United States that includes anthropologists and has provided assistance to the Nyae Nyae Conversancy and the San people (Hitchcock 2018). The KPF has a website (www.kalaharipeoples.org) and facilitates legal work on land and resource rights against illegal grazers, protection of water rights, and other issues. Although the Namibian government has supported the land rights of the Ju/'hoansi San, there is pressure from multinationals who want to exploit the mineral resources of the Kalahari. Though the Nyae Nyae Conservancy in Namibia has been more successful for the Ju/'hoansi San than in Botswana, there are many challenges for these indigenous people as they adapt to globalization.

The Mbuti

The late Colin Turnbull (1963, 1983) examined cases of African foragers who have faced decimation through forced cultural change. Turnbull did the major ethnographic study, discussed in Chapter 8, of the Mbuti, who live in the Ituri rain forest of the Congo, formerly Zaire. He noted that the Mbuti had been in contact with outsiders for centuries, but they had chosen to retain their traditional hunting-and-gathering way of life. During the colonial period in what was then the Belgian Congo, however, government officials tried to resettle the Mbuti on plantations outside the forest.

Following the colonial period, the newly independent government of Zaire continued the same policies of forced resettlement. In the government’s view, this move would “emanipate” the Mbuti, enabling them to contribute to the economy and to participate in the national political process (Turnbull 1983). The Mbuti would become national citizens and would also be subject to taxation. Model villages were built outside the forest with Mbuti labor. Convinced by government officials that they would benefit, many Mbuti at first supported these relocation projects.

The immediate results of this resettlement, however, were disastrous. Turnbull visited the model villages and found many of the Mbuti suffering from various diseases. Because the Mbuti were unaccustomed to living a sedentary life, they lacked knowledge of proper sanitation. Turnbull found that the Mbuti water had become contaminated and that the change of diet from forest products to cultivated crops had created nutritional problems.

More recently, globalization has had other effects on many of the Mbuti people. Presently, there are about 600,000 Mbuti in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC). In 1992, as a result of international pressure, the government created an area called the Okapi Wildlife Reserve or “green zone” to conserve the rain forest and indirectly to preserve the Mbuti way of life. The law protecting the reserve decreed that poaching protected animals such as elephants, leopards, chimpanzees, and gorillas was forbidden (Tshombe 2001). In 2006, the DRC government established the Itombwe Nature Reserve, consisting of 15,000 square kilometers of land, protected and supported by the Wildlife Conservation Society (Gauthier and Praveroneti 2016). About
60,000 Mbuti were living in the Itombwe reserve, continuing their seminomadic foraging lifestyle and dependent on this ecosystem for centuries. The indigenous groups including the Mbuti were not consulted when the reserve was developed. The Mbuti rejected the Itombwe reserve regulations of their habitat and protested. In 2016, with the help of some international organizations, the Mbuti and other indigenous groups were able to get the DRC government to recognize new boundaries of the reserve. However, due to the extreme political, institutional, and horrifying genocidal warfare and conflict crises faced by the DRC, the Mbuti are in a precarious situation.

One of the most devastating consequences in the Ituri forest came from the introduction of coltan mining (Harden 2001). Coltan is a mineral found in the forests of the Congo near where the Mbuti live. The DRC has at least 70 percent of the world’s coltan. Coltan is refined in the United States and Europe into tantalum, a metallic element used in capacitors and other electronic components for computers, cell phones, laptops, and video game consoles. Electronics and computer companies such as Apple and Samsung are heavily dependent on coltan. Many of the Mbuti were recruited by the mining industry to dig for coltan. The mining companies chop down great swaths of the rain forest and dig large holes in the forest floor to obtain this vital mineral, which is used in electronic equipment far away from the Congo forest. The Mbuti used picks and shovels to dig out this mineral, which was worth $80 a kilogram in the early part of 2001. They could earn as much as $2,000 a month, which represented more cash wages than the Mbuti had ever seen. Thousands of other immigrants began to pour into the area to take advantage of this new, profitable mineral needed by the high-tech businesses of the postindustrial societies.

This encounter between the high-tech world and the Congo forest resulted in painful circumstances for the Mbuti. First, the mining created major environmental damage to the rain forest, which these people depended on in their hunting and gathering. The streams of the forest were polluted, trees were cut down, and the large holes in the ground ruined the environment. A health problem brought about by resource extraction is the effect of coltan mining on women and children who work in the mines. As more women and children pound the stone that contains coltan, it releases fibers that get into their lungs, causing respiratory problems.

The growing migrant population began to poach and kill the lowland gorillas and other animals for food. Lowland gorillas have been reduced to fewer than 1,000, and other forest animals were overhunted. Along with the increase of the population in the mining camps came prostitution, the abuse of alcohol, conflict, exploitation by outside groups, and the spread of diseases such as gonorrhea.

The region of the DRC is besieged by civil wars, and political stability continues to go into decline. Almost 6 million people have been killed since 1998. High prices for coltan after 2001 led to smuggling and other illegal activities during this civil war. Some of the children in the region are also being forced to become soldiers. Because of the weakened state and the impossibility of monitoring and regulation, immigrants to the Congo forest cleared the land for agriculture, resulting in the rapid deterioration of the soil: Multinational companies continued logging throughout the forest area, and elephant poaching increased, with the killing of about 100 elephants between 1998 and 2000. The weakness of the state, civil wars, and ethnic conflict surrounding the Mbuti enabled outsiders to take over much of their forestland. Globalization resulted in ecological damage and social and cultural dislocations for the Mbuti people in a very short time.

Despite the consequences of globalization and its impact on these foragers of the rain forest, some of these people have been adapting more successfully to their new circumstances. Some of the Baka foragers of Cameroon have established themselves outside of the rain forest with schools, hospitals, and other modern facilities. Some of the Baka even travel to Europe to perform their traditional music and dance. Despite the fact that the Baka are a very small minority in Cameroon, they have established themselves as very effective administrators throughout the country. Success among the Baka debunks the simplistic stereotype of “pygmies” in Africa as being “undeveloped” and “unintelligent.” At the same time, globalization and its subsequent developments have led to rising rates of epidemic diseases including the HIV/AIDS problem among the former foraging populations (Froment 2004).

The Ik

Aside from his ethnographic research on the Mbuti in the Ituri forest, the late Colin Turnbull (1972) did research in 1965 and 1966 on another group of hunter-gatherers known as the Ik. Prior to World War II, the Ik were nomadic bands who moved throughout the countries of Kenya, Sudan, and Uganda. Their major hunting territory was the Kidepo Valley below Mount...
Morungole. After the war, Kidepo was turned into a national park. The Ugandan government forced the Ik to move to the arid and barren mountains of northeastern Uganda. Although the Ik were resettled to become farmers, the mountain areas were unsuitable for agriculture. Consequently, famine was common for the Ik during the period of Turnbull’s research.

Turnbull did his ethnographic research on the Ik in their new surroundings. He was disturbed by the characteristics of Ik life that he observed. In contrast to the hospitality and reciprocity of hunting-and-gathering life that he had observed among the Mbuti, and that presumably had existed among the Ik before their resettlement, Turnbull found the Ik inhospitable, cruel, and insensitive. They had become self-interested to the point of not having any “social” life at all. Family and band unity had become completely fragmented, and individual survival became their only governing principle.

The elderly Ik were abandoned by the family; Turnbull describes situations in which food was snatched from the mouths of older people. Children were thrown out of their parents’ homes when they reached the age of three and had to reside in age bands that foraged for themselves. Turnbull described the Ik’s only shared value as ngg, or food. It was the only standard by which they valued right from wrong. Their word for good was marang, and it is defined with respect to food. Among the Ik, a good person was a person with a full stomach. Turnbull characterized the Ik as “the loveless people.”

A number of anthropologists criticized Turnbull for his portrayal of the Ik as dehumanized and inhumane (Barth and Turnbull 1974). In a recent study of the Ik, now numbering about 11,600 people, anthropologist Cathryn Townsend reevaluated “the loveless people” that Turnbull had discussed (Cronk and Atkipis 2019; Shaffer 2019). Townsend did her research through the Human Generosity Project (HGP) that was organized by anthropologist Lee Cronk and his colleagues. This cross-cultural research project focused on the cultural and biological factors that motivate generous human behavior. Townsend found that this so-called selfish society had thriving traditions of generosity and reciprocity, despite its deprived environment. The Ik had a belief in spirits called kijawikà that monitored behavior by punishing the selfish and rewarding the generous. This generosity involved the Ik assisting one another as forms of social insurance in very bad circumstances.

Townsend, Cronk, and colleagues refer to this spirit of reciprocal and altruistic giving as “need-based transfer.” Townsend describes how the Ik engaged in many acts of kindness including sharing food and providing meals for elderly people. She used an experimental game, known as the “dictator game,” that involved sharing a sum of money with other players to measure reciprocity among the Ik. The Ik were as generous as any other group of humans who played this game.

Townsend notes that Turnbull had studied the Ik during an extreme famine. She indicates that extreme deprivation can demonstrate the limits of cooperation and generosity. However, the Ik had survived those years and have maintained a culture of reciprocity and sharing with family and neighbors who are in need of food, shelter, or labor. Need-based transfer had become an embedded tradition among the so-called loveless people.

The team of anthropologists who work at many different sites for HGP has demonstrated that the world cannot be divided into generous versus selfish societies. Instead, charity, altruism, and reciprocity are baked into human societies regardless of where they exist.

**Tribes in Transition**

The process of globalization that began with increased contact between societies throughout the world has dramatically affected many horticulturalist and pastoralist tribes. For example, many Native American societies suffered serious disruptions as a result of European colonization of the Americas. The Spanish, French, Dutch, and British came to the Americas in search of precious metals, furs, and land for settlement. Each of these countries had different experiences with the indigenous peoples of North America. But wherever the Europeans settled, indigenous tribes were usually devastated through depopulation, deculturation, and, in many cases, physical extinction.

**Native North American Horticulturalists**

The collision of cultures and political economies between Native Americans and Europeans can be illustrated by the experience of the Haudenosaunee (formerly Iroquois) of New York State. The traditional horticulturalist system of the Haudenosaunee was described in Chapter 8. British and French settlers established a fur trade with the Haudenosaunee and nearby peoples during the late 1600s. French traders offered weapons, glass beads, liquor, and ammunition to the Haudenosaunee in exchange for beaver skins. Eventually, the Iroquois abandoned their traditional economy of horticulture supplemented by limited hunting to supply the French with fur pelts. The French appointed various capitans among the Haudenosaunee to manage the fur trade. This resulted in the decline of the tribe’s traditional social and political order (Kehoe 1995; Sutton 2011).

Meanwhile, the intensive hunting of beaver led to a scarcity of fur in the region, which occurred just as the Haudenosaunee were becoming more dependent on European goods. The result was increased competition between European traders and various Native Americans who were linked to the fur trade. The Haudenosaunee began to raid other tribal groups, such as the Algonquins, who traded with the British. Increasing numbers of Haudenosaunee males were drawn into more extensive warfare. Many other Native American tribal peoples also became entangled in the economic, political, and military conflicts between the British and French over land and resources in North America.
The Relocation of Native Americans

Beginning in the colonial period, many Native American tribes were introduced to the European form of intensive agriculture, with plows, new types of grains, domesticated cattle and sheep, fences, and individual plots of land. The white settlers rationalized this process as a means of introducing Western civilization to indigenous peoples. However, whenever Native Americans became proficient in intensive agriculture, many white farmers viewed them as an economic threat. Eventually, following the American Revolution, the government initiated a policy of removing Native Americans from their lands to open the frontier for white settlers. A process developed in which Native Americans were drawn into debt for goods and then pressured to cede their lands as payment for these debts (Sutton 2011).

Ultimately, the U.S. government developed the system of reservations for resettling the Native American population. Under Andrew Jackson in the 1830s, many southeastern tribal groups were resettled into western regions such as Oklahoma. In many cases, Native Americans were forcibly removed from their land, actions that colonists justified as a way of bringing Western civilization and Christianity to these peoples. The removal policies led to brutal circumstances such as the Trail of Tears, when thousands of Shawnees and Cherokees living in Georgia and North Carolina were forced to travel hundreds of miles westward to be resettled. Many died of starvation and other physical deprivations on this forced march.

The patterns of land cession were repeated as white settlers moved westward. European Americans justified these behaviors through the concept of Manifest Destiny, the belief that they were responsible for extending the benefits of Western civilization throughout the continent. Military force was used to overcome Indian resistance.

In 1890, Native Americans held title to 137 million acres of land. By 1934, these holdings had been reduced to 56 million acres. After suffering the dispossession of most of their lands, the majority of Native Americans were forced to live on reservations, most of which were unsuitable for agriculture. Lack of employment opportunities led to increased impoverishment for many of these people. The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) oversees the reservations. Before 1934, Native Americans were viewed as wards of the state, and the BIA established Indian schools to introduce “civilization” to Native American children. The BIA was empowered to decide whether Native Americans could sell or lease their land, send their children to boarding schools, or practice their traditional religion.

Native North American Indians in the Twenty-First Century

Based on a survey of archaeological materials and fossil evidence, anthropologists have assessed and estimated how dramatic the population decline precipitated by colonization and settlement was. Estimates based on these studies indicate that there were from 8 to 18 million Native Americans in North America prior to European contact (Sutton 2011). But by 1890, when Native Americans made their last stand at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, their population had declined to under 400,000, a reduction of about 95 percent. This trend reflects the effects of warfare, forced marches, loss of traditional lands, and diseases such as smallpox, measles, influenza, and tuberculosis, to which Native Americans lacked immunity.

In the twenty-first century, the Native American population has increased to about 4 million. Approximately two-thirds of Native Americans live on reservations, and most of the remaining one-third reside in major metropolitan areas. Native Americans are far below the average American in terms of income and education.

Today, multinational corporations want to develop the reserves of coal, oil, natural gas, and uranium on Native American reservation lands, such as the Hopi and Navajo territories. Other companies have been making lucrative offers to lease Native American lands to be used as garbage landfills and toxic waste dumps. These monetary offers have produced splits within Native American communities; some favor the offers as a means of combating poverty, whereas others condemn mining or any other commercial activity as a desecration of their sacred land. Many other Native American Indian communities have developed casinos as a source of income for their people. These issues have also caused splits in the communities and present difficult decisions for Native Americans regarding how much they want to participate in the gambling industries.

Native South American Horticulturalists

In the Amazon rain forests, tribal peoples such as the Yanomamö, the Jivaro, and the Mundurucu are facing dramatic changes as a result of globalization. Beginning in the 1950s, European and American missionaries representing different Christian denominations began to settle in the Amazon region and competed to “civilize” peoples such as the Yanomamö. In Venezuela, the major missionary group is the Salesians, a Catholic missionary order. The missionaries attempted to persuade Yanomamö communities to reside in their mission stations. The Yanomamö who have settled near the missions have increased the population density in the region, and this has led to a shortage of vital resources (Hames 2004). The missionaries set up schools and teach the Yanomamö new methods of agriculture and train them to spread these ideas among others. However, most of the Yanomamö have not adopted Christianity and have tremendous pride in their own native traditions (Hames 2004). With the building of highways and increased settlement in the Amazon rain forest—developments sponsored by the Brazilian government—the Yanomamö became increasingly exposed to influenza, dysentery, measles,
and common colds. In some regions, almost 50 percent of the population has fallen victim to these diseases (Hames 2004; Kellman 1982).

One consequence of contact with the outside world was the Yanomamö’s adoption of the shotgun for hunting in the forest. The Yanomamö originally obtained shotguns from the missionaries or other employees at the missions. Initially, Yanomamö hunters who knew the forest very well became proficient in obtaining more game. In time, however, the game in the rain forest became scarce. Consequently, the Yanomamö had to hunt deeper and deeper into the rain forest to maintain their diet. In addition, as indicated by anthropologist Raymond Hames (1979a), the Yanomamö had to expend much more labor in the cash economy to be able to purchase shotguns and shells to continue hunting. Additionally, some Yanomamö began to use the shotgun as a weapon in waging warfare and political intimidation and raiding others.

Recent Developments Among the Yanomamö

The Amazon rain forest is experiencing new pressures. Prospectors, mining companies, energy companies, and government officials interested in industrial development are eager to obtain the gold, oil, tin, uranium, and other minerals in the 60,000 square miles of forest straddling the Brazil–Venezuela border, where the Yanomamö live. A 1987 gold rush led to the settlement of at least 40,000 prospectors in Yanomamö territory. The prospectors hunt game in the forest, causing scarcities and increased malnutrition among the Yanomamö. Clashes between prospectors and the Yanomamö have led to many deaths. In August 1993, gold miners massacred and killed sixteen Yanomamö men, women, and children in Venezuela. After the attack, a Yanomamö leader described the massacre: “Many miners surrounded the lodge and started to kill Yanomamö. The women were cut in the belly, the breasts and the neck. I saw many bodies piled up” (Brooke 1993, A9). This is similar to what happened in the United States when gold miners came into Native American territories in the 1800s. The miners bring epidemic diseases and violence that result in high mortality rates for the Yanomamö (Hames 2004).

Although the Venezuelan government has made some efforts to identify locations of isolated and uncontacted indigenous groups in the Brazilian Amazon (R. Walker, Kesler, and Hill 2016). They were able to locate the uncontacted Yanomamö (also known as the Moxihatetea) through a satellite photo. FUNAI had worried that their village had been abandoned because of the invasion by gold miners. But Walker and his
team using Landsat satellite data with high-resolution images were able to locate the Yanomamö villages that had been recently cleared. They were able to report these data to FUNAI and other indigenous organizations that help to protect indigenous land (R. Walker and Hamilton 2019).

In contrast to Brazil, the Venezuelan government had been developing more humane and effective policies toward the Yanomamö natives. In 1991, then Venezuelan president Carlos Andrés Pérez took action to develop a reserve for the Yanomamö, a “special biosphere” or national park of some 32,000 square miles of rain forest that would be closed to mining and other development (Chagnon 2012). Then, in 1992, the Venezuelan government designated the Venezuelan Amazonas as a new state in its national political structure. State governments are being given more control over their own populations and resources. The resources of the new Amazonas state will probably include mineral wealth and tourism. Thus, the Yanomamö of Venezuela will become increasingly drawn into contact with outsiders. Currently, as of 2019, the authoritarian government of Nicolás Maduro is in a state of crisis. Whether this will mean more tragedy and epidemic diseases and economic problems for these natives is a question that can be answered only in the future.

Pastoralist Tribes
Pastoralists have also been subjected to expanding industrial societies. The adaptive objectives of pastoralists tend to be at odds with the primary aims of state societies. Because of their nomadic way of life, pastoralists cannot be easily incorporated into and controlled by state societies. They are not usually subject to the same processes of enculturation as settled peoples. They do not attend schools, and they may place their tribal loyalties above their loyalties to the state. Rapid change among pastoralist societies is evident in some Middle Eastern countries.

Middle Eastern Pastoralists: The Bedouins
Anthropologist Donald Cole (1984) conducted research on the Bedouins of Saudi Arabia, groups of nomadic pastoralists. Cole focused on one particular group, the Al-Murrah, a tribe of 15,000 who live in the extreme desert conditions of Rub al-Khali. Traditionally, Al-Murrah subsistence was based on caravan trade, which depended on the care of camels and other animals. The Al-Murrah traded commodities with oasis centers for dates, rice, and bread. On average, they traveled about 1,200 miles annually during their migrations across the desert. They were also an autonomous military force, conducting raids and warfare.

The attempt to incorporate the Bedouin population into the Saudi state has been an ongoing process, going back to the early phases of state formation in the Arabian Peninsula during the age of Muhammad (622–632 A.D.). As Cole indicates, this process of settling and controlling the Bedouins accelerated following the emergence of the modern petroleum industry. To facilitate this process, the Saudi government drafted Al-Murrah males into the country’s national guard. The principal leader of the Al-Murrah, the emir, has been recognized by the Saudi government as the commander of this national guard unit. The government gives the emir a share of the national budget, and he distributes salaries to the tribespeople. Thus, the emir has become a dependent government official of the Saudi state.

The traditional subsistence economy based on nomadism and the care of herds of animals appears to be at an end. Camels are being replaced by pickup trucks. Bedouins are settling in cities and participating in the urban economy. All of the formerly self-sufficient Bedouin communities are being absorbed into nation-states throughout the Arabian Peninsula.

The Qashqa’i
Cultural anthropologist Lois Beck (1986, 1991, 2014) has written in-depth ethnographic accounts of how globalization has influenced the Qashqa’i pastoralist tribe of Iran. The Qashqa’i reside in the southern part of the Zagros Mountains. Beck emphasized that the Qashqa’i “tribe” was to some degree a creation of state processes within Iran. In other words, the Qashqa’i tribe was not a self-contained entity, but rather was formed through the long-term process of incorporating tribal leaders into the Iranian nation-state. During different historical periods, the state offered land and political protection to the Qashqa’i in exchange for taxes. Through that process, the Qashqa’i leadership was able to maintain some autonomy. Eventually, the Qashqa’i political system became increasingly centralized around an economic and political elite. This is an example of how tribes may be formed as a result of an expansionist state political system.

As with other pastoralist societies, the Qashqa’i relationship with the central government in Iran was not always beneficial. During the 1960s, the Iranian government under Shah Pahlavi wanted to modernize and industrialize Iran rapidly with Western support. The government viewed the Qashqa’i as resisting modernization and used military force to incorporate them. This policy resulted in the establishment of strong ethnic boundaries between the Iranians and the Qashqa’i. The Qashqa’i began to emphasize their own ethnic identity and to demand more autonomy.

In the initial stages of the Iranian Revolution led by Ayatollah Khomeini, the Qashqa’i joined demonstrations against the shah. Following the revolution, however, the Qashqa’i found themselves subject to patterns of discrimination and repression similar to those they had endured under the shah. Because they never accepted the revolutionary doctrines of the Khomeini regime, they were considered a threat to the ideals of the state. Consequently, Khomeini’s Revolutionary Guards harassed the Qashqa’i. Thus, Qashqa’i autonomy and local authority...
Chiefdom societies were economically and politically central to the societies they governed. Continued to erode under the pressures of the nation-state of Iran. Since that time, the Qashqa’i people have had difficulties in adapting to the political atmosphere in postrevolutionary Iranian society (Beck 2014).

**East African Pastoralists and Globalization**

In Chapter 8, we discussed pastoralists of East Africa such as the Nuer, Maasai, Dinka, and others who maintain cattle-keeping on the savannah. Many of these East African tribes are now caught within the interregional net of globalization and disaster. A series of regional wars have broken out in East Africa as a by-product of colonialism, ethnic rivalry, and political competition within the last decade. For example, during the 1990s in the Republic of Sudan, a war between the Muslim north and the Christian south had affected the Nuer and Dinka tribes that reside in the southern area. Nuer tribal peoples had been recruited into the Sudanese People’s Liberation Army to fight against the north. Weapons have flowed into their society and have become new luxury items. Instead of cows being exchanged through reciprocal ties between kinsmen, weapons are now used as a source of wealth and money. The Nuer and other groups were using their cattle to obtain guns and ammunition from different military factions, and these guns have begun to displace the traditional power relationships within the communities (S. Hutchinson 1996). In 2011, following twenty years of civil war, South Sudan became an independent country from Sudan based on a referendum. However, warfare between the Nuer and Dinka fueled by ethnic political conflict and the international importation of weapons has continued. If these tribal people do survive the warfare, many of them become displaced migrants living in poverty in urban areas and refugee camps. Globalization has brought tragedy to most of these once self-sufficient autonomous tribal pastoralists. Eventually, the traditional salmon-fishing activities of these native chiefdoms were made obsolete by the more industrialized forms of fishing and the canning factories introduced through the American and Canadian multinational firms. This, along with the epidemics introduced by Europeans, resulted in both depopulation and economic decline. Common problems such as malnutrition and alcoholism found among many societies disrupted by rapid global transitions remain systemic among these Native American chiefdoms (Sutton 2011). Yet, many of these people of the Northwest Coast chiefdoms have restored their traditional potlatch feasting activities and are becoming more educated and adept at dealing with the new global trends. They are constructing new, beautiful museums and relearning their traditional art forms, including the building of the totem poles and other artistic works. This represents a new cultural and religious revitalization among these people.

**Chiefdoms in Transition**

Chiefdom societies were economically and politically centralized societies existing in different regions of the world (see Chapters 8 and 12). Some chiefdoms experienced a fate similar to that of many of the other indigenous societies. For example, when the Canadian European settlers, followed by their military and political apparatus, confronted the Northwest Coast Native American chiefdom societies such as the Nootka and the Kwakiutl (Kwakwaka’wakw), they did not have any understanding of the functions and uses of the redistributive exchange system known as the potlatch (see Chapter 9). The European Canadians viewed these practices as wasteful, destructive, and anticapitalistic. The custom of chiefs giving away large amounts of resources at large potlatch feasts was perceived as extremely dysfunctional. The Canadian government banned these practices in the 1880s and used military force against the Indian groups that were not cooperative.

**The Hawaiian Islands**

Anthropological and historical research demonstrates that centrally organized chiefdoms, such as those of Tahiti and Hawaii in Polynesia, developed complex state organizations themselves following Western contact. Before contact with the West, Hawaii contained eight inhabited islands with a population of about 600,000. Paramount chiefs who maintained a redistributive exchange economy ruled through divine authority. The Hawaiian islands were contacted by the English expedition of Captain Cook in 1778, and the islands were eventually penetrated by traders, whalers, missionaries, and other outsiders. The impact of the Western encounter resulted in a unique religious “revolution” when compared with the experience of other aboriginal societies we have discussed.

Cook’s expedition on behalf of the British, which began in the 1760s, set the stage for the colonization of the Pacific. At the time of Captain Cook’s discovery of Hawaii, the paramount chief on the island of Hawaii was engaged in warfare with the chief of the island of Maui, who had already incorporated the islands of Oahu and Molokai under his chiefcy. The reaction to Cook’s arrival during this period was shaped by the aboriginal religious culture. He appeared during *Makahiki*, a time of religion-based human sacrifices, and he was perceived as someone extremely powerful, perhaps a *god* or at the least an important foreign chief. There is a heated debate among anthropologists who have investigated the historical records of Cook and other British explorers along with ethnographic accounts from native Hawaiians today about whether Cook was perceived as a god, and whether the natives killed him for religious or cosmological reasons or for political purposes (Obeyesekere 1992; Sahlins 1985, 1995). Anthropologists do concur that both the native accounts and the British historical records indicate that the distribution of Cook’s bones supports the theory that he was being treated as a sacrificial victim (Sahlins 1995).
Later, Kamehameha, a nephew of the Hawaiian chief, built his reputation as a fearless warrior in the Maui campaign. When the chief of Hawaii died, Kamehameha became his successor. Because the island of Hawaii offered good anchorage and became a vital strategic point of contact with Europeans, Kamehameha had an advantage over any other rivals in trading with European ships. The Hawaiians began to trade products such as sandalwood with Europeans, and in exchange, Kamehameha received guns and light cannon. Eventually, he was able to employ European help in conquering most of the other islands of Hawaii and transformed the Hawaiian chiefdoms into a unified, centralized military kingdom or state.

Kamehameha died in 1819 and was succeeded by his son Liholiho, later known as Kamehameha II. Since Western contact, Hawaii continued to be heavily influenced by Western culture. A number of traditional taboos of the Hawaiian culture were violated on a regular basis. Some of the Hawaiian women became involved in sexual and romantic relationships with Westerners and openly ate with men, violating traditional taboos (Ortner 1996; Sahlins 1995). Some of the commoner people traded openly with Europeans, which also violated traditional norms and taboos, causing tension between the rulers and commoners. Seeing practical advantages in trading with the Europeans and enhancing their power over their kingdom, in 1819 Liholiho, the new ruler, and other members of the royal family began to deliberately flout the most sacred traditional taboos of their ancient religion. The royal family began to systematically dismantle the aboriginal religious traditions and practices, which represented a revolutionary transformation in religious thought and culture for Hawaiian society. This transformation of religion was accomplished prior to the coming of Christian missionaries to Hawaii. This religious revolution was resisted by some of the conservative people of Hawaii, and Liholiho had to arm his forces to defeat the more conservative faction within the kingdom. This Hawaiian revolution appeared to be an intentional strategy on the part of the ruling family to enhance its political control over the military kingdom.

The sandalwood trade declined in the 1830s and was replaced by the whaling industry, which began to dominate commerce in Hawaii. Because the island was located in the vicinity of a major whaling area of the Pacific, New England whalers used Hawaii as an important base for provisioning and relaxation. However, during the 1830s, various companies began to develop sugar plantations in Hawaii, which eventually became successful, resulting in the influx of more Europeans, including various Christian missionaries from the United States. Many of the missionaries were themselves sugar planters or were connected with sugar planters. Private property was introduced, and land was bought and sold. As the sugar plantations were developed, substantial native Hawaiian land was lost to the planters.

Additionally, the native Hawaiians were subjected to devastating epidemics introduced by the Westerners. Whooping cough, measles, influenza, and other diseases led to rapid depopulation among the native peoples. As Hawaii became increasingly incorporated into the U.S. political economy during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the native population dwindled to about 40,000 people. Depopulation resulted in a labor shortage for the sugar planters, who began to import labor from the Philippines, Japan, and China. In 1893, the United States, backed by American Marines, who represented the families of the missionaries and plantation owners, such as Sanford Dole (the cousin of the founder of Dole pineapples), overthrew the Hawaiian monarchy. Five years later, Hawaii was annexed as a colony of the United States.

Following U.S. colonization, the Hawaiian islands were dominated by U.S. global, political, and economic interests, and the native Hawaiians became a marginal group in their own islands. Eventually, through more contact with Western societies, the Pacific islands such as Hawaii and Tahiti experienced depopulation, deculturation, forced labor, and increased dependency on the global economy. The American and European settlers imported labor from Asia, introduced the system of private property, abolished the traditional patterns of authority, and incorporated the islands into colonial empires. As these islands were integrated into colonial systems, the people were forced to adjust to the conditions of the global economy.

Through missionary schooling and activities, the native Hawaiian people were forbidden to speak their native language or practice any of their traditional religious or cultural activities, which were deemed barbaric and uncivilized. These policies led to societal and cultural disintegration for the native population. Combined with the growing Asian population, with new settlers from North America who were rapidly developing the sugar economy, and with the expansion of mass tourism to Hawaii from the mainland United States, the small Hawaiian population began to lose not only its native lands, but also its cultural and ethnic identity (J. Friedman 1992).

**FORMS OF RESISTANCE AMONG INDIGENOUS PEOPLES**

Describe the different forms of resistance to globalization by indigenous peoples.

As described earlier, globalization processes have dramatic consequences for most of these indigenous societies. In most cases, they have resulted in depopulation, epidemic diseases, increased warfare, loss of political autonomy, and loss of control over their future. In some cases, indigenous societies
responded with resistance movements to try to stem the tide of globalization. At times, these resistance movements involved revitalization movements that attempted to restore some traditional aspects of native culture.

**Revitalization Among Native Americans**

Native American societies developed a number of revitalization movements as a defensive strategy in their confrontation with European colonialism and increasing globalization. One type of movement was associated with a particular prophet who was able to mobilize the population both politically and spiritually. In the Pueblo groups of the Southwest, a prophet leader known as Popé organized a rebellion against the Spanish rulers in 1680. The Pueblo tribes attacked the Spanish, killed the Catholic priests in the missions, and attempted to reintroduce Pueblo traditions. Twenty years later, Spanish troops based in Mexico defeated this movement and reasserted their authority over the region.

Other Native American prophets such as Handsome Lake, Pontiac, Tecumseh, and Chief Joseph combined traditional religious values with military activities to resist European and American expansion into their territories. Eventually, the U.S. military defeated all of these leaders (Sutton 2011).

**The Ghost Dance**

One of the best-known revitalization movements was the Ghost Dance movement of the late 1800s. The Ghost Dance spread through the region of Nevada and California and across the Rocky Mountains to Plains groups such as the Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Sioux. The movement became associated with the prophet Wovoka, a Paiute who was believed to have received spiritual visions of the future during an eclipse of the Sun. Wovoka taught that if the Native American people did the Ghost Dance, a hypnotic dance with spiritual meanings, the whites would disappear, and a train would come from the East with the ghosts of recently deceased Native Americans, signaling the restoration of Native American autonomy and traditions. Wovoka stressed nonviolent resistance and nonaccommodation to white domination (Kehoe 1989; Scupin 2008a).

Among the groups influenced by the Ghost Dance was the Lakota Sioux, who were forced to reside on five reservations in South Dakota. In 1890, the Lakota Sioux leader, Kicking Bear, introduced a special shirt, called a “ghost shirt,” that he claimed would protect the Sioux from the bullets of the white soldiers. The wearing of the ghost shirts precipitated conflicts between the U.S. military and the Sioux, culminating in a massacre of almost 200 Sioux at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, on December 29, 1890. Following that confrontation, Sioux leaders such as Kicking Bear surrendered to the U.S. military.

The following are among the most common refrains of the Ghost Dance songs:

- *My children, when at first I liked the whites, I gave them fruits, I gave them fruits.* (Southern Arapaho)
- *The father will descend/The earth will tremble/Everybody will arise,/Stretch out your hands.* (Kiowa)
- *We shall live again./We shall live again.* (Apache) (Rothenberg 1985, 109–110)

These Ghost Dance songs and dances are heard among the Native Americans up to the present. For example, in February 1973, Wounded Knee once again became the site for a violent confrontation between the Plains Indians and U.S. military forces. Led by Russell Means and spiritual leader Leonard Crow Dog, who were Lakota Indians, the organization known as AIM, the American Indian Movement, took over the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation at Wounded Knee. AIM accused the tribal government leaders of political and economic corruption and demanded justice and civil rights for all Native Americans. Leonard Crow Dog led a Ghost Dance ritual during the seventy-day occupation to create solidarity and spiritual renewal among the Sioux at Wounded Knee. In addition, the Sun Dance ritual was conducted at Pine Ridge in 1973. Firefights between AIM and the Federal Bureau of Investigation and U.S. forces were common throughout the longest siege in American history since the Civil War. The events of 1973 at Wounded Knee represented the frustration and resentment of many Native Americans regarding their conditions after a century of subordination by the U.S. government. The Ghost Dance led by Leonard Crow Dog symbolized the spiritual resurgence and religious renewal of contemporary Native Americans on the Plains.

More recently, since 1986, an annual Chief Big Foot Memorial Ride, a 191-mile horseback ride by the Lakota and others through the Badlands of South Dakota in the middle of the winter, is held in remembrance of Sitting Bull, who was killed by agents of the U.S. Army, and commemorates Chief Big Foot’s band of Minneconjou Lakota and the painful history of Native Americans. Meeting at the Standing Rock
Reservation on December 14, the riders begin their journey to Chief Sitting Bull’s camp on December 15, the place where he was assassinated on that day in 1890. There, the riders offer prayers and remembrance as they continue their journey to Wounded Knee Creek, which ends on December 29, on the Pine Ridge Reservation, where hundreds of Lakota were massacred by the 7th Cavalry. This use of history is an illustration of the ongoing revitalization movement related to the Ghost Dance that anthropologists and Native American activists and scholars are describing as a means of understanding how globalization continues to have an impact on these indigenous societies.

The Peyote Cult

Another form of revitalization movement developed among Native Americans on one Oklahoma reservation in the 1880s. It was also a nonviolent form of resistance, based on a combination of Christian and Native American religious beliefs. The movement is referred to as the peyote cult. Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a mild hallucinogenic but nonaddictive drug contained in the bud of a cactus, which is either chewed or drank as tea. For thousands of years, peyote was used in some Native American rituals for inducing spiritual visions, especially in the southwestern desert areas around the Rio Grande in both Mexico and the United States. A number of Navajo Indians in the Southwest became involved in the ritual use of peyote (Aberle 1966). During their incarceration on the Oklahoma reservation, some of the Comanche, Kiowa, and other Plains Indians began to combine biblical teachings with the peyote ritual (Steinmetz 1980). During the ritual, which took place in a tepee, the participants surrounded a fire and low altar and took peyote as a form of communal sacrament to partake of the “Holy Spirit.” Eventually, the peyote cult grew in membership and was legalized on the Oklahoma reservation as the Native American Church (NAC) in 1914. It has spread throughout at least fifty other Native American tribes, and approximately 250,000 Indians are associated with the NAC (Sutton 2011).

Melanesia and New Guinea: The Cargo Cults

As various Europeans colonized the islands of Melanesia, the native peoples’ lives were forever transformed. The Dutch, French, British, and Germans claimed different areas as colonies. The Dutch, from their colonial base in Indonesia, took over the western half of New Guinea. It is now known as Irian Jaya and is a province of the country of Indonesia. In the 1880s, German settlers occupied the northeastern part of New Guinea. In the 1890s, gold was discovered in New Guinea, and many prospectors from Australia and other places began to explore the region. At the beginning of World War I in 1914, the Australians conquered the German areas. During World War II, the Japanese, Australians, and U.S. troops fought bitter battles in New Guinea. After the war, Australia resumed administrative control over the eastern half of the island until 1975, when Papua New Guinea was granted political independence. Today, the country of Papua New Guinea occupies the eastern half of the island of New Guinea and has about 4 million people.

The colonization of Melanesia and Papua New Guinea was both a dramatic and a traumatic experience for native peoples as they faced new economic systems with the introduction of cash wages, indentured labor, plantations, taxation, new forms of political control, and the unfathomable technologies and apparently fabulous riches of the Europeans. Prospectors, traders, and soldiers during the world wars created a highly unstable and unpredictable environment for Melanesian natives. Among the Melanesian religious reactions to this rapid change, often loosely labeled revitalization movements, were the “cargo cults,” a form of millenarian religious movement.

Beginning in the nineteenth century and continuing up to the present, millenarian cult movements spread throughout many areas of Melanesia. Generally, in New Guinea, the coastal or seaboard peoples were contacted first by Europeans, and by the end of the nineteenth century, they were subjected to intensive pressures from the outside world. The highland peoples were contacted much later and were not fully penetrated by the Europeans and Australians until after the 1930s. Many native peoples referred to the European or Australian goods that were loaded off ships or aircraft as *kago*, translated by anthropologists as “cargo.” The native peoples became aware of a dazzling array of goods, such as steel axes, matches, medicines, soft drinks, umbrellas, and, eventually, jet planes and helicopters. Because native peoples had no exposure to industrial production, they did not see how these Western goods were manufactured. Many, therefore, believed that these goods were generated through spiritual forces, which delivered cargo to humans through spiritual means. Many tribal groups of this region attempted to discover the identity of the cargo spirits and the magical-ritual techniques used by Westerners to induce the spirits to deliver the particular commodities.

One New Guinean man who led a millenarian cult movement is known as Yali. Yali had lived in the coastal area of New Guinea, and in the 1950s, the Australians recognized him as an important future leader of his people. He had been a World War II hero, fighting with the Allies against the Japanese. The Australians took Yali to Australia to show him how the industrial goods were produced. Nevertheless, Yali maintained the belief that there must be a supernatural cause or divine intervention for the ability of Westerners to be able to produce
cargo. He originated a millenarian cult movement known as Wok bilong Yali (Lawrence 1964) and began to preach in hundreds of villages throughout New Guinea about the need to develop spiritual techniques to duplicate the white man’s delivery of cargo. Over the years of this movement, Yali’s teaching ranged from recommending close imitation of the Europeans to opposing white culture and returning to traditional rituals to help deliver the cargo. Although later Yali openly rejected the millenarian cult movement’s beliefs, after his death in 1973 many of his followers began to teach that Yali was a messiah, equivalent to the white man’s Jesus. In their religious literature, they propagated these ideas of messiahship by using Yali’s sayings to help develop a religious movement that was an alternative to Christianity.

However, some of the millenarian cult movements combined traditional rituals with Christian beliefs in the hope of receiving the material benefits they associated with the white settlers. One movement, described by anthropologist Paul Roscoe (1993), developed among the Yangoru Boiken from Papua New Guinea. It emerged from the millenial teachings of Canadian missionaries from the Switzerland-based New Apostolic Church (NAC). Roscoe describes how those in the movement believed that on Sunday, February 15, 1981, Yaliwan, a leading spiritual and political leader, was going to be crucified, ushering in the millennium. The villagers believed that the Earth would rumble, hurricanes would arrive, the mountains would flash with lightning and thunder, and a dense fog would cover the Earth. Afterward, Yaliwan would be resurrected as the native counterpart of Jesus, and the two Jesuses would judge the living and the dead. They believed that the whites and native members of the NAC would usher in a new “Kingdom of Rest,” described as an earthly utopian paradise with an abundance of material goods and peaceful harmony between native peoples and whites. The millennial teachings of the NAC were interpreted and integrated with traditional Yangoru beliefs in spirits of the dead and other magical practices. Some of the traditional aboriginal beliefs had millenarian aspects, promising the Yangoru economic prosperity and political autonomy. Therefore, the NAC missionary teachings based on millennial views were easily integrated with the traditional beliefs of the Yangoru. Though the crucifixion did not take place, millenarian movements continue to have some influence on religious and political affairs in Papua New Guinea.

Various anthropologists have attempted to explain the development of the millenarian cult movements of Melanesia. One early explanation by anthropologist Peter Worsley (1957) viewed these millenarian cults as rational attempts at explaining unknown processes that appeared chaotic to the natives. The myths and religious beliefs of the cults also helped mobilize political resistance against colonialism. The cults provided an organizational basis for political action for the various Melanesian tribes. Groups who spoke different languages and maintained separate cultures joined the same religious cult, which enabled them to form political organizations to challenge European and Australian colonial rule. Other explanations rely on more spiritually based phenomena, emphasizing how the cargo cults represent the resurgence of aboriginal religious thought, which is more creative and authentic than that of the newer missionary religions that came to Melanesia.

Today, most anthropologists recognize that these millenarian cults are extremely varied. As they learn more about cult movements in different regions of Melanesia, they discover that some have millenarian aspects, while others do not. Some integrate aboriginal beliefs and practices with the teachings of Christianity, a form of syncretism, whereas others feature a revival of the aboriginal elements and a rejection of the Christian teachings. A few of the movements developed into vital political movements and even violent rebellions, whereas others tend to have a purely spiritual influence. Anthropologists agree that the analysis of these cults is a fruitful area of investigation, and much more needs to be documented through interviews, historical examination, and intensive ethnographic research.

A Hawaiian Religious Renaissance

As U.S. corporate capitalism and tourism came to dominate the economy in Hawaii, every aspect of the traditional Hawaiian culture was affected. At present, the tourist industry generates close to 40 percent of Hawaii’s income. Tourists crowd the hotels, restaurants, streets, highways, beaches, golf courses, and parks throughout Hawaii. The advertising industry attempts to promote the image of Hawaii as a romantic and exotic paradise setting where tourists can enjoy the traditional dancing, music, and culture of “primitive” peoples. Ads show skimpy clad women and men dancing before fires on near-deserted beaches. The tourist industry is trying to preserve the traditional culture of Hawaii because it is “good for business.”

However, native Hawaiians resist the marketing of their culture. Beginning in the 1970s, with a growing awareness of their marginal status in the U.S., political economy and with more familiarity with the civil rights movement in the mainland United States led by various minorities, many Hawaiians have launched a movement known as the Hawaiian Renaissance. The Hawaiian Renaissance is a resurgence of interest in aboriginal Hawaiian culture, including the traditional language and religious beliefs. The movement is fundamentally anti-tourist. Many contemporary native Hawaiians who are part of the new movement understand that their traditional culture has been mass marketed and mass consumed. They feel that their traditional culture has been overly commercialized,
and they resent the tourist industry for selling the Hawaiian tradition.

Some of the spiritual elements of the native religious beliefs have been reintroduced and revitalized in the context of the Hawaiian Renaissance movement. For example, a number of native Hawaiians have become involved in environmental activism. In doing so, they draw on traditional religious beliefs. They are attempting to prohibit the destruction of the rain forests and other natural settings by developers. The native peoples emphasize a spiritual renewal and refer to traditional Hawaiian gods and goddesses that are associated with the natural areas to protect these areas from destructive tourist and commercial forces. In some areas, the native Hawaiians are restoring some of the ancient temples, or heiaus. Up until recently, native Hawaiians have been seen making offerings to the goddess Pele at the rim of Halema’uma’u Crater in the Hawaii Volcanoes National Park. Some aboriginal young people complain about their parents’ conversion to Christianity and the negative views expressed by Westerners about their traditional culture and religion. However, most important, the revitalization of their religious culture is part of an overall attempt to preserve their heritage and reclaim their cultural identity and selfhood. As native peoples of Hawaii were subjected to overwhelming and traumatic cultural change, they found that they were marginalized in their own land. After losing their land, their autonomy, and their culture, these native Hawaiians have been involved in reconstructing and reinvigorating some of their aboriginal spiritual beliefs as a means of repossessing their cultural identity (J. Friedman 1995).

A Lost Opportunity?

As Brian Fagan noted in his book Clash of Cultures (1984), which surveys the disappearance of many indigenous societies, the same confrontations between incompatible cultural systems were played out in many parts of the world during the late nineteenth century and continue to this day in the Amazon rain forests and other remote areas such as the Pacific islands. Some government officials and businesspeople in industrial countries view the drastic modifications that took place and are taking place among prestate peoples as necessary for the achievement of progress. This view is, of course, a continuation of the nineteenth-century unilinear view of cultural evolution, which overestimates the beneficial aspects of industrial societies. Depopulation, deculturation, fragmentation of the social community, increasingly destructive warfare, unemployment, and increases in crime, alcoholism, and degradation of the environment are only some of the consequences of this so-called progress. As Fagan (1984, 278) emphasized:

> Progress has brought many things: penicillin, the tractor, the airplane, the refrigerator, radio, and television. It has also brought the gun, nuclear weapons, toxic chemicals, traffic deaths, and environmental pollution, to say nothing of powerful nationalisms and other political passions that pit human being against human being, society against society. Many of these innovations are even more destructive to non-Western societies than the land grabbing and forced conversion of a century and a half ago.

As we discussed in previous chapters and this one, these prestate societies were not idyllic, moral communities in which people lived in perfect harmony with one another and their environment. Warfare, sexism, infanticide, slavery, stratification, and other harmful practices existed in some of these societies. Nonstate societies are not inherently good, and industrial societies are not inherently evil. Both types of societies have advantages and disadvantages, strengths and weaknesses. There are benefits associated with industrial societies, such as hospitals, better sanitation, and consumer goods, that bring comfort and enjoyment, but nonstate societies also have benefits to offer to industrial societies.

Anthropological research has begun to alert the modern industrial world to the negative implications of the rapid disappearance of first nation peoples—specifically, the loss of extensive practical knowledge that exists in these populations. In the nineteenth-century view (and sometimes even in twenty-first-century discourse), nonstate societies were described as backward, ignorant, and nonscientific. Ethnographic research, however, demonstrates that these peoples have developed a collective wisdom that has contributed practical benefits for all of humankind.

Native American Knowledge

In a book titled Indian Givers, anthropologist Jack Weatherford (1988) summarized the basic knowledge, labor, and experience of Native American peoples that have contributed to mankind’s collective wisdom. Native Americans introduced 300
food crops to the world, including potatoes and corn. Their experiments with horticultural diversity generated knowledge regarding the survival of crops in different types of environments. They recognized that planting a diversity of seeds would protect the seeds from pests and diseases. Only recently have farmers in the industrialized world begun to discover the ecological lessons developed by Native Americans.

The medical knowledge of Native Americans, which is based on experience with various plants and trees, has benefited people throughout the world. Weatherford uses the example of quinine, derived from the bark of the South American cinchona tree, which is used to treat malaria. Ipecac was made from the roots of an Amazonian tree as a cure for amoebic dysentery. Native Americans treated scurvy with massive doses of Vitamin C, using a tonic made from the bark and needles of an evergreen tree. They also developed treatments for goiter, intestinal worms, headaches (with a medication similar to aspirin), and skin problems.

The lesson from Weatherford’s book is that without the contributions of Native American societies, humankind may not have acquired this knowledge for years. As globalization results in the disappearance of many of these indigenous societies and peoples, we risk losing a great deal of knowledge. For example, as the Amazon rain forests are invaded and destroyed by governments and multinational interests, not only do we lose hundreds of species of plants and animals, but we also lose the indigenous societies with their incalculable knowledge of those species. Thus, it is in humanity’s best interests to abandon the view that deculturation, subjugation, and—sometimes—the extinction of nonstate societies represent a form of progress.

The most difficult issue that faces anthropologists, government officials, and aboriginal peoples is how best to fit traditional patterns in with the modern, industrial world. The fact that these nonstate societies were, and are, almost powerless to resist the pressures from global economic and political forces creates enormous problems. Multinational corporations, national governments, missionaries, prospectors, and other powerful groups and institutions place these indigenous societies in vulnerable circumstances. How will nonstate societies withstand these pressures and continue to contribute to humankind?

Preserving Indigenous Societies

Most anthropologists argue that indigenous peoples should be able to make free and informed choices regarding their destiny, instead of being coerced into assimilating (Biesele and Hitchcock 2011; Bodley 1990; Hitchcock 1988, 2004b). As previously discussed, many nonstate societies have tried to resist domination by outside powers, but generally have lacked the power to do so successfully. In some cases, anthropologists assisted these peoples in their struggles. Many anthropologists such as Megan Biesele and Robert Hitchcock who do ethnographic research among the Ju/'hoansi San are not only engaged in ethnographic studies of these populations, but also are supporting human rights efforts and economic and educational projects to enhance the ability of these people to become more informed about what comes along with globalization and increasing contact with the outside world (Biesele and Hitchcock 2011; Hitchcock 2019a). Many anthropologists are active in Cultural Survival, an organization devoted to assisting indigenous peoples and their struggles with governments and multinational corporations.

Also, since the 1970s, many indigenous peoples themselves have become active in preserving their way of life. For example, at a 1975 assembly on the Nootka, a Northwest Coast American Indian chiefdom on Vancouver Island, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples was founded. Fifty-two delegates representing indigenous peoples from nineteen countries established this council, which has become a nongovernmental organization (NGO) of the United Nations (Fagan 1984). The council endorsed the right of indigenous peoples to maintain their traditional economic and cultural structures. It emphasized that native populations have a special relationship to their languages and should not be forced to abandon them. It further stressed that land and natural resources should not be taken from native populations. However, as we have seen, at times governments and multinational corporations are oblivious to the rights of indigenous peoples and their rights to their ancestral lands. As these peoples have become more educated, they have been involved in employing the internet resources and other communications technologies to unify different indigenous groups throughout the world. In 2007, after many years of negotiations, the United Nations adopted the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. Hopefully, this resolution will enable the indigenous people to improve their economic, social, health, and educational conditions in the global arena.

An Australian Aborigine man addressing a crowd in Melbourne, Australia, to protest the treatment of Aborigines. Many indigenous people are resisting globalization.
PRO- AND ANTI-GLOBALIZATION: AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONTRIBUTION

14.8 Discuss how anthropologists contribute to the understanding of globalization.

Throughout the world, there are both positive and negative appraisals of the process of globalization and its impact on different types of societies. In his book In Defense of Globalization (2004), international economist Jagdish Bhagwati notes that politicians and movements in the United States on the right and the left have mounted political arguments against globalization. The politicians on the right emphasize the negative effects of globalization on the U.S. economy, whereas some on the left argue that globalization serves only the capitalist interests of multinational corporations and results in harmful and negative consequences for the environment and in economic exploitation in underdeveloped societies. After many years of economic research on the developing global trends in Asia and elsewhere, Bhagwati suggests that both sides of this anti-globalization political crusade are extreme and that we need to empirically evaluate the realities of both positive and negative consequences of globalization. He urges a middle-of-the-road approach based on a pragmatic solution to deal with the impact of globalization.

Bhagwati suggests that globalization trends need to be studied to comprehend their effects not only on economic and environmental developments, but also on pro- and anti-globalization ideologies across the political spectrum. Areas that need to be examined include migration and immigration policies, the role of NGOs, increasing inequality both within societies and between societies, workers’ wages, child labor, prostitution, gender inequities, childcare and work issues, and constraints on the emergence of democratic institutions and civil society that can sustain positive and inhibit negative trends in globalization.

Cultural anthropologists and their research projects all around the world are perfectly situated to understand globalization at the local level through their ethnographic findings. Obviously, during this historical time period, globalization has produced some high-stakes winners and losers among different countries and groups within countries. For example, everyone in the pro- and anti-globalization factions concurs that there has been a widening of the wealth gap both within and among different societies. Anthropologists are continually evaluating this issue, as well as others, through their extensive ethnographic research.

CRITICAL PERSPECTIVES

GLOBALIZATION AND MCDONALD’S

When many people around the world think of globalization, the McDonald’s fast-food restaurants come to mind. McDonald’s (serving 20 million people a day around the world) represents to many people the cultural hegemony or dominance of U.S. capitalism around the world. As mentioned in this chapter, the political scientist Benjamin Barber views McDonald’s as an aspect of the McWorld (including Macintosh computers and Mickey Mouse) that signals the cultural spread of globalization stemming from U.S. society. The triumph of the Big Mac and Hollywood films is viewed by some people as a negative sign that a country has been penetrated by the imperial domination of U.S. culture. However, when cultural anthropologists study the cultural spread and diffusion of McDonald’s into the different societies of the world, they find that globalization is not a one-sided process and that, like other external cultural elements, McDonald’s restaurants are transformed and localized by the people within these societies.

This process of “globalization” of McDonald’s occurs throughout the world. Harvard anthropologist James Watson edited a volume called Golden Arches East: McDonald’s in East Asia (2006) that contains essays by cultural anthropologists who have studied how the “globalization” of McDonald’s takes place in China, Japan, Korea, and Taiwan. In this book, University of California–Los Angeles anthropologist Yunxiang Yan describes how this globalization of McDonald’s has emerged in China. Since McDonald’s moved in as the iconic symbol of American culture and globalization in Beijing during the 1990s, it has been attractive to Chinese citizens not only because of its food, but also because of the ability of the citizens to consume popular cultural values stemming from the United States. Following the decline of the rigid Maoist orthodoxy and Communist ideology prior to the 1990s, McDonald’s was perceived as a means of expressing freedom of choice in taste and lifestyle to many Chinese. Yan (2006) noted that other cultural values associated with American traditions also diffused into China, along with the popular culture associated with the Big Mac, and that these values were also absorbed and localized into Chinese society. For example, despite
some resistance to American cultural hegemony by some of the Chinese, he interviewed others who said that NBA games, Coca-Cola, Hollywood movies, and the Declaration of Independence all belong to the shared culture of all human societies.

The sociologist Peter Berger (2002) refers to this process observed by Yan as the "sacramental consumption" of food that carries the cultural freight of individual freedom, democracy, and human rights, which he also links with the eating of a Big Mac in the former Soviet Union. Similarly, anthropologist Conrad Kottak (2003) refers to McDonaldization as a secular religion with a sacred text called an "Operations Manual" that has strong cultural resonance for many. Anthropologists who study McDonald's in Japan, such as Tamotsu Aoki (2002) and Emiko Ohnuki-Tierney (2006), find similar glocalization processes at work. According to Ohnuki-Tierney, meat had been available since the 1920s, but prior to World War II, most Japanese did not eat much of it at all. They ate primarily vegetables and seafood. However, after the U.S. occupation of Japan following the war, gradually some of the wealthier Japanese began to consume meat products, including beef. Following the period of postwar affluence in Japan, they began to eat meat with gusto because it was associated with the Western civilization, science, technology, and culture being integrated into Japanese culture. Eventually, McDonald's came to Japan in the 1970s. By 1982, McDonald's was the most profitable fast-food company in Japan. McDonald's began a marketing campaign to target higher-income middle-class people who were benefiting from the growth of the Japanese economy by establishing its restaurants in areas where real estate was expensive, such as on the Ginza in Tokyo and near train stations. With the introduction of McDonald's into Japan, eating habits were changed radically, as described by these anthropologists. The traditional form of lunch for most Japanese was the box lunch called oden. However, as Japanese customers came to eat lunch in McDonald's, they learned to hold the bread and meat in their hands, munching on their favorite teriyaki burger or McCiao (chicken-fried rice), while standing (to appear more American) at the counters during their lunch breaks. Although other Japanese restaurants adopted the fast-food program for traditional dishes such as ramen Chinese noodles, take-out sushi, or gyudon (a bowl of rice topped with beef), McDonald's remained a very popular feature of Japanese cuisine.

Anthropologist Tulasi Srinivas (2002) has studied the McDonaldization process of globalization in India. The major marketing obstacle that faced McDonald's in India was the image of a beef patty on a bun in the eyes of the majority of Hindu peoples, who maintain beliefs regarding the sacredness of cows. Srinivas noted that McDonald's invested a great deal of time and money to build appropriate kitchens in its restaurants that prevented the mixing of vegetarian foods with meat products. Eventually, McDonald's began to localize its foods by developing the Maharajah Mac, a type of Indian spiced hamburger, along with a vegetarian menu. However, this was not appealing to the majority of Indian consumers. Srinivas concludes that companies such as McDonald's, Pizza Hut, and KFC, which represent the standardization and cultural homogenization of food, do not become profitable in the multiethnic, pluralistic consumer atmosphere in India. Sociologist George Ritzer, in his provocative book The McDonaldization of Society (2010), describes the standardized and homogenized commercialization of U.S. popular culture as lowering the level of sophistication wherever its long tentacles reach. In contrast to the change reflected in Peter Berger's (2002) phrase "sacramental consumption" for the former Soviet Union and China, Srinivas emphasizes that this aspect of the Big Mac does not apply to India because the Indian population resides in a pluralistic democratic nation. Thus, glocalization of McDonald's takes a much different form in India.

Finally, in a broad, comprehensive essay accompanying his study of McDonald's in Indonesia, anthropologist Ronald Lukens-Bull (2003) demonstrates the process of glocalization, which has taken a different form in that country. The Big Mac came to Jakarta, Indonesia, in 1990, and by 2003, there were 108 stores employing about 800 people. Lukens-Bull indicates that McDonald's is a prestigious and expensive form of dining for the vast majority of Indonesians. It is identified with an upwardly mobile middle class of consumers—young teens who wear jeans and watch a version of MTV Asia. In central Jakarta, the major McDonald's—near the Hard Rock Café, Chili's, movie theaters, and department stores—has a forty-foot inflatable Ronald McDonald in a Buddhist or Sufi Islamic-like meditative position. Local Indonesians refer to him as "Ronald Bertapa," or the Meditating Ronald. Thus, Ronald Bertapa is a powerful syncretic symbol in Indonesia associated with the original Hindu-Buddhist traditions of Indonesia blended with the legends of the nine original Sufi saints who brought Islam to Indonesia. Another Ronald McDonald statue in Bali appears to co-opt art and culture to market hamburgers to Western tourists. And one other Ronald McDonald figure in East Java was referred to as the "freedom fighter." This "freedom-fighting" Ronald McDonald was pictured riding on a tank with friends waving the Indonesian flag to celebrate independence from the Dutch. The multiplicity of symbols associated with McDonald's and its particular glocalization in Indonesia represents a cultural accommodation to external sources and also the ambivalence that those external sources reflect in various modes of discourse about modernity, Western influence, and its impact on Islamic culture in Indonesia.

Questions to Ponder

1. What do you see as the negative and positive aspects of McDonald's restaurants moving into different societies of the world?
2. What does the adaptation of the new forms of McDonald’s in different societies suggest about culture change?
3. If you were traveling outside of the United States, would you eat in a McDonald’s restaurant? Why or why not?
14.1 Discuss how anthropologists define globalization.

There is no widespread consensus within anthropology on what the definitive aspects of globalization are. However, globalization is usually referred to as the broad-scale changes and transformations that have resulted from the impact of industrialization and the emergence of an interconnected global economy, with the spread of capital, labor (migration), and technology across national borders. Globalization continues to occur today through the increasing spread of postindustrial technology—including electronic communications, television, and the internet—and the expansion of multinational corporations into the non-Western world.

14.2 Describe some of the technological and economic trends resulting in globalization.

Globalization is occurring rapidly through the development of a high-tech computer- and internet-based technology and the expansion of global capitalism throughout the world.

14.3 Compare the three theoretical approaches to analyzing globalization.

Various theories that developed from early ideas of Max Weber and Karl Marx to explain the process of globalization have led to models such as modernization, dependency, and world-system analysis theory. Weber investigated the cultural and religious beliefs of Western societies that resulted in capitalism, which inspired the modernization theories of the 1950s and ’60s during the Cold War. This modernization approach developed the model of the First, Second, and Third Worlds. Marx focused on the material factors such as technology and the economy that led to capitalism, which influenced the dependency approaches to globalization from the time of the 1970s. World-system analysis theories were also inspired by the Marxist approaches to how global capitalism had created interconnections among different types of societies throughout the world.

14.4 Discuss how anthropologists analyze globalization.

Anthropologists have drawn from different models of globalization to explore globalization, an understanding of global trends as they interconnect with the local cultures understood through ethnographic studies. Anthropologists often describe their research as “globalization from below,” as they focus on qualitative and quantitative data that are beyond the statistics of government or corporate reports analyzed by most political scientists and economists.

14.5 Discuss how anthropologists criticize some of the approaches to understanding politics, culture, and globalization.

Some of the approaches used by political scientists such as Benjamin Barber and Samuel Huntington have resulted in stereotypical and essentialist notions of Asian, Islamic, and Western civilizations and conflict based on simplistic concepts of culture and history. Ethnographic studies of Asian, Islamic, or Western societies have revealed a great deal of diversity among ethnic groups, socioeconomic classes, and political views within those societies that cannot be reduced to monolithic stereotypes regarding a “clash of civilizations.”

14.6 Discuss the consequences of globalization for indigenous peoples.

Anthropologists have found that globalization often results in ethnocide and sometimes genocide as globalization reaches indigenous peoples who have lived in various marginal environments or are small-scale ethnic minorities. As these small-scale indigenous societies are drawn into the world economy, they face new diseases, depopulation, forced settlement, and sometimes genocidal policies, warfare, and other negative consequences that result from globalization.

14.7 Describe the different forms of resistance to globalization by indigenous peoples.

Following their military defeat in the nineteenth century, many Native Americans developed revitalization movements such as the Ghost Dance tradition or the peyote cult as attempts to restore their native cultural and spiritual beliefs. Other revitalization or millenarian movements such as the cargo cults of Melanesia in New Guinea were forms of resistance to globalization. Native Hawaiians are involved in restoring their temples and religious traditions. They demonstrate to resist the tourism and commodification of their spiritual and cultural beliefs.

14.8 Discuss how anthropologists contribute to the understanding of globalization.

Through rigorous ethnographic studies, anthropologists investigate and assess both the positive and negative consequences resulting from globalization in different societies throughout the world.
KEY TERMS

core countries, p. 305
dependency theory, p. 304
ethnocide, p. 308
First World, p. 303
genocide, p. 308
globalization, p. 299
glocalization, p. 306
imperialism, p. 304
neoliberalism, p. 306
peripheral countries, p. 305
Second World, p. 303
semiperipheral countries, p. 305
Third World, p. 303
world-system theory, p. 305