	HUMR 5502/Dealin	g with Diversit	ty/Lecture 5-1/Anthro	opological pe	erspectives/2016
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Exercise: What does law and social science have in common?

#### Seeing society as a unit

- which law regulates
- is defined by the reaches of the law (laws of the nation-state)

This duality is a departure point for discussing legal pluralism or plural legalities. Does law create community? Or are laws expressions of communities?

Another departure point: Investigating modernity

- law an expression of modern social solidarity (Durkheim)
- law is reason-based sociality (Weber)

Cotterell: establishing pure types of 'normativity'

## Towards a legal concept of community

Four pure types of social action (after Weber) corresponding to four pure types of community:

- 1. Habitual or traditional form traditional (local) community
- Convergence of interest (purpose-rational) instrumental community
- 3. Sharing of belief (value-rational) community of belief
- 4. Mutual affection (affective) affective community

What type is a 'clan'?

## Towards a legal concept of community

Characteristics of 'community' ('polity', 'political society') as a social unit, or society:

- Stable, joint, lasting action (as an identifiable (corporate?) group)
- Sense of attachment (mutual concern, membership/citizenship)
  - Attitudes to outsiders (degrees of exlusivity/inclusivity)

Analytical focus: formation of trust, along axes of social action (cf. anthropology: on 'culture' or 'the stuff inside symbols')

Example: why is the nation-state so eager at regulating the affective community even as it simultaneously provide for the autonomy of instrumental communities

# Ethnicity: the social organisation of cultural distinctiveness

- ethnicity: a 'dual' concept
  - it categorises 'the other', creating cognitive maps of relevant others
  - it defines the self, it is the collective aspect of self-identification
- ethnicity: a labelling system where collective identities ('cultures') are negotiated and fixed, making social groups stable across time (generations), and boundaries more permanent ('cultural' by being 'second nature'))
- types of group relations/typical empirical foci of anthropological studies:
  - modern migrants (urban ethnic minorities)
  - indigenous peoples
  - proto-nations (ethnonationalist movements)
  - ethnic groups in plural societies
  - post-slavery minorities

### **Cultural and legal diversity**

Exercise: find examples of pure types of communities and of emerging cultural boundaries in your own countries

# Studying ethnicity, anthropologically

#### Whatever the 'cultural stuff' is, it can be studied as

- (a) representations (emblems, symbols) we use for social navigation, prompting rules of social behaviour
- (b) representations we use for belonging, prompting social affiliation or membership
- (a) is studying the fixing of group representations, typically by analysing boundary dynamics or labelling processes involving
  - > Stereotyping
  - Stigmatisation
  - > Under- and over-communication of differences
  - > Reification (e.g. turning practices/customs into stable symbols or representations)
  - Dichotomisation (separating by contrasting)
  - Complementarisation (matching; making equal in value)

auxiliary disciplines: semiotics, communication theory

# Studying ethnicity, anthropologically

- (b) is studying the fixing of social groups (internal cohesion) by analysing
  - the collective identities of the self.
  - the construction of the community (us and them; we and you)
  - processes of inclusion and exclusion (and marginalisation)
  - > rules of membership
    - > in affiliative groups by descent or kinship
    - in political communities by citizenship
  - contrasting case: epistemic communities (instrumental?)

# **Ethnicity and Power**

The role of power in fixing meaning and stabilising hierarchies

- The role of the state / using affiliation & categorisation to unite and control
- From social class to ethnic group (South Africa)
- From occupational specialisation to ethnic group (India)
- Incorporation by conquest and colonisation
- Exclusion/inclusion
- Ascription of rights and human rights
- Identity politics
- Law as an instrument in all this

# Studying States I

- The evolution of the state
  - from band to tribe/clan/house to kingdom to empire to modernity
- The history of the nation-state
  - Primordialist v constructivist perspectives
  - Romantic v republican nationalism: citizenship from below v from above
  - > Globalisation and human rights
- The Genocide Convention: a ban on destroying the 'cultural stuff' inside or building material of national, racial, ethnic or religious groups
- Types of inter-state group relations and of conflict and constitutional arrangements:
  - Federalism/autonomy for urban ethnic minorities, indigenous peoples, protonations, plural societies, post-slavery societies?

# Studying States II

#### Studying state formation:

- > analysing the history of states as "peoples" or "nations": ancestry, descent, origin myths (ontology); example: European history as the history of nation-states
- > analysing "everyday state formation" or "state effects"; the mechanisms of constructing political communities, example: turning peasants into Frenchmen
  - processes of exclusion and inclusion, integration and segregation
  - > rights-based or bureaucratically produced exclusion or inclusion

Social distance in contrast to bureaucratically effected distance

From empire to nation-state: the «culturing» of central authority or «ethnifying» social boundaries

### Ethnogenesis (the culturing of social distance)

Degrees of ethnic incorporation							
	category	network	association	community (ethnie)			
standardised ascription	X	X	X	X			
interaction along ethnic lines		X	X	X			
goal-oriented corporate organisation			x	X			
territorial base				x			

### **Nationalism**

- Romantic nationalism: a form of political incorporation based on identity, «kinship writ large» (German romanticism)
- Republican nationalism: political incorporation based on citizenship (French revolutionism)
- Gellner: nationalism is a political principle holding that all ethnic groups must have states, i.e., political and cultural boundaries must be congruent (constructivism)
- Smith: abstract principles cannot account for emotional attachments (primordialism)
- Anderson: nations are 'imagined communities', sovereign and bounded, symbolically constructed – but where is the 'stuff' giving the symbols of nationalism their power
- Cohen: the self in the symbolic construction of the community

### Cases

(students' cases)

for next class: apply Cotterell's 'pure types' and the anthropological (social constructivist) perspective to analyse a case of conflicting group interest in a chosen country

### A Case from Guatemala I

#### Interpretation of situation varies with choice of contextual frame:

- (ethnicity as frame:) a 'plural' or 'multiethnic' state, a result of colonialism, a case of indigenous peoples in a nation-state
- (social conflict: ) a peace process, a case of transitional justice, of nation-building, modernisation, globalisation, etc.
- Applying ethnicity and 'indigeneity' as frames highlights the cultural aspects of state building
- Applying the social conflict frame highlights the economic and political aspects of state building and the role of power asymmetries

The Maya community is 'dual': both Maya and Guatemalan

The view from below/building selves: how residents become 'the children of the community' by acquiring respectability (performing community service etc.)

## A Case from Guatemala II

The view from above and at the boundary: residents are citizens, peasants or Indians now fast becoming ethnicised as Mayan citizens

- > before: incorporation through colonialism
- now: incorporation through development and modernity

#### The role of human rights:

- group rights empower community authority against state authority
- individual rights force social change

Human rights: a device for creating republican nation-states

# The Case of Nepal

- the jati: religious, cultural, ethnic, or national groups?
- -group relations: from hierarchy to ignoral to equality
- 1846-1951: the hierarchical, caste-based model of the Rana period (sanskritisation)
- 1960-1990: the developmental and culturally homogenising model of the Panchayat period (nationalism, modernisation)
- 1990- : the 'different but equal' model of today's ethnic activists (multiculturalism)

# The Community

- the community as an analytical concept, used to discuss:
  - social transformation, from tradition to modernity (from gemeinschaft to gesellschaft)
  - social cohesion (group formation); from tribe to class and nationality
- anthropology's full turn: from 'community' as an actual social form, to an idea or quality of sociality, to 'the realisation of solidarity'
- from 'culture' as discrete units to 'symbolic systems' to 'willed groups'