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## Rethinking the culture-economy dialectic

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## chapter 4

# *INTENSIONAL MAPPING*

*Culture is the suggestion, from certain best thoughts, that a man has a range of affinities through which he can modulate the violence of any master-tones that have a droning preponderance in his scale, and succor him against himself. Culture redresses this imbalance, puts him among equals and superiors, revives the delicious sense of sympathy, and warns him of the dangers of solitude and repulsion.*

Ralph Waldo Emerson 1910, p. 136

*It [culture] includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people: Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar.*

T.S. Eliot 1948, p. 31

## 4 / 1 / introduction

The preceding chapter described the history of the main concepts of the CED and their onomasiological predecessors. In terms of the methodology proposed in section 2.7, the sections 3.2 to 3.5 described  $\mathcal{H}_{\text{culture}}$  and  $\mathcal{H}_{\text{economy}}$  and section 3.6 described the history of the related man - environment dialectic (MED). This chapter continues the mapping of "culture" and "economy" but changes the focus to  $\mathcal{S}$ , the set(s) of concepts onomasiologically and semasiologically related to "culture" and "economy" respectively.

Specification of  $\mathcal{S}$  is specification of the different forms, interpretations, definitions, and so forth of the concept within different contexts. This is more problematic for one pole of the CED, for the concept of "culture", than for the other. While "economy" is a relatively (!) straightforward concept, "culture" is extremely ambiguous and has been defined in a myriad of ways. 'Almost anything human could be, and at some point has been used as the basis for a definition of culture' (Bohannan 1973, p. 358).

The following sections deal with definitions of "culture" and elements, parts or aspects thereof (§§ 4.2 and 4.3); the intensional mapping of "culture" (§ 4.4); the definition and mapping of economy (and other concepts of the non-cultural pole of the CED) and the (intensional) relationships between the concepts within the CED (§ 4.5); and, finally, some notes towards the conceptual reconstruction in the next chapter (§ 4.6).

## 4 / 2 / "culture": definitions and interpretations

The concept of "culture" has been debated throughout the 20th century. The most important discussion probably took place in the 1930s and 1940s and culminated ultimately in Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952). Later discussions (e.g. White & Dillingham 1973; Smith 2000; Hofstede 2001; see also O'Hear 1998; Schweder 2001) have had far less scientific impact and most of the interpretations of "culture" were already put forward in the 1940s or earlier. Hence, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) seems to be the most appropriate starting point for the analysis of "culture". Kroeber and Kluckhohn provided a brief description of the history of the concept, a list and analysis of the most important definitions, and commented on the most important theoretical statements on (the concept of) culture. They described approximately 35 interpretations of "culture" in the historical section of their book and listed 176 definitions and 130 statements on the meaning of the concept of culture. Some of the most important definitions quoted by Kroeber and Kluckhohn are repeated below and some more (mainly newer) are added. This chronological list of definitions and interpretations is the raw material for an analysis of aspects of the concept of "culture". (Of course this list is not an arbitrary sample of definitions of culture or even intended to be; it is merely intended to show the variation in interpretation of the concept.)

### *concepts of "culture"*

- C1 Culture is the application of skilled human activity to transform non-human, non-cultural nature. (agriculture, horticulture, etc.; see § 3.3.1)
- C2 *Cultura animi*, culture or *Bildung* is a process of individual development and education. (see § 3.3.1)
- C3 A *gens* is a social group bound together by customs, language, law and descent. (see § 3.3.2)
- C4 The *spirit* of a society arises from the interrelationships between social phenomena, morals habits, social institutions and laws. (Montesquieu 1748; see also § 3.2.2)
- C5 Culture is a process of development of nations. (Herder 1784-91; see § 3.3.1)
- C6 Culture is a pre-Enlightened stage in the development of nations. (see § 3.4.2)
- C7 Culture is a label for non-Western practices, values and institutions. (see § 3.4.2)
- C8 The *superstructure* of a society includes the legal and political institutions; the social, political and spiritual processes of life; social being and social consciousness. (Marx 1859; see § 3.4.2)
- C9 The concept of *Volksgeist* refers to the law-governed behaviour and development of inner activity. *Volksgeist* includes language, thoughts, convictions, mythology, religion, cult, oral literature, writing, built structures, industrial products, and art forms (Lazarus & Steintal 1860; Lazarus 1865; see § 3.3.2).

- C10 'Culture or Civilisation, taken in its ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.' (Tylor 1871, p.1)
- C11 The evolutionary anthropologist regarded culture to be a 'cumulative social legacy'. (Murphree 1961, p. 278; see § 3.4.2)
- C12 Culture is man's domination of nature; culture includes economy and technology. (Barth 1897)
- C13 'the total equipment of technique, mechanical, mental, and moral, by use of which the people of a given period try to attain their ends' (Small 1905, p. 344)
- C14 'That which distinguishes men from animals we call culture.' (Ostwald 1907, p. 510)
- C15 'a culture is a definite association complex of ideas' (Wissler 1916, p. 197)
- C16 Culture is the whole of the arts, philosophy and religion. (Spengler 1918-23)
- C17 'the socially inherited assemblage of practices and beliefs that determines the texture of our lives' (Sapir 1921, p. 221)
- C18 'Culture may be defined as *what* a society does and thinks.' (Sapir 1921, p. 233)
- C19 'culture is technically used by the ethnologist and culture-historian to embody any socially inherited element in the life of man, material and spiritual. Culture so defined is coterminous with man himself' (Sapir 1924, p. 402)
- C20 Culture is 'individual refinement'. (Sapir 1924, p. 403)
- C21 "Culture" 'aims to embrace in a single term those general attitudes, views of life, and specific manifestations of civilization that give a particular people its distinctive place in the world.' (Sapir 1924, p. 405)
- C22 "'culture' (...) is what remains of men's past, working on their present, to shape the future' (Myres 1927, p. 16)
- C23 'the sum of men's adjustments to their life-conditions' (Sumner & Keller 1927, p. 46)
- C24 'that part of the environment which man has himself created and to which he must adjust himself' (Willey 1927, p. 500)
- C25 'the sum of all activities, customs and beliefs' (Dixon 1928, p. 3)
- C26 'Culture is the sum total of all that is artificial. It is the complete outfit of tools, and habits of living, which are invented by man and then passed on from one generation to another.' (Folsom 1928, p. 15)
- C27 'that complex whole which includes all the habits acquired by man as a member of society' (Benedict 1929, p. 806)
- C28 'the mode of life followed by the community or the tribe' (Wissler 1929, p. 341)
- C29 'Culture is the sum total of the ways of doing and thinking, past and present, of a social group.' (Bogardus 1930, p. 336)
- C30 'the artificial objects, institutions, and modes of life or of thought which are not peculiarly individual but which characterize a group' (Wallis 1930, p. 9)

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- C31 'culture includes all the activities which develop in the association between persons or which are learned from a social group, but excludes those specific forms of behavior which are predetermined by inherited nature' (Hiller 1933, p. 3)
- C32 'Culture is the dissipation of surplus human energy in the exuberant exercise of the higher human faculties.' (Carver 1935, p. 283)
- C33 Culture is a '*system* of "institutions" and "ideas"' about traditions and the assimilation thereof in a group. (Thurnwald 1936, p. 394)
- C34 'the sum total of what an individual acquires from his society (...) as a legacy from the past' (Lowie 1937, p. 3)
- C35 'Culture is to society what personality is to the organism. Culture sums up the particular institutional content of a society.' (Katz & Schanck 1938, p. 551)
- C36 'culture is a man-made or superorganic order, self-generating and dynamic in its operation, a pattern-creating order, objective, humanly useful, cumulative, and self-perpetuating' (Panunzio 1939, p. 106)
- C37 'The term *culture* is used to signify the sum-total of human creations, the organized result of human experience up to the present time.' (Reuter 1939, p. 191)
- C38 'Culture includes everything that can be *communicated* from one generation to another. The culture of a people is their *social heritage*' (Sutherland & Woodward 1940, p. 19)
- C39 'the way in which the people in any group do things, make and use tools, get along with one another and with other groups, the words they use and the way they use them to express thoughts, and the thoughts they think' (Sears 1940, pp. 78-9)
- C40 'Culture consists of traditional ways of solving problems.' (Ford 1942, p. 555)
- C41 'Culture consists of common and more or less standardized ideas, attitudes, and habits which have developed with respect to man's recurrent and continuous needs.' (Young 1942, p. 35)
- C42 'Culture is all behavior mediated by symbols.' (Bain 1942, p. 87)
- C43 'culture in general as a descriptive concept means the accumulated treasury of human creation: books, paintings, buildings, and the like; the knowledge of ways of adjusting to our surroundings, both human and physical; language, customs, and systems of etiquette, ethics, religion, and morals that have been built up through the ages' (Kluckhohn & Kelly 1945, p. 96)
- C44 'The culture of a society is the way of life of its members; the collection of ideas and habits which they learn, share, and transmit from generation to generation.' (Linton 1945b, p. 203)
- C45 'Culture is (...) a set of ready-made definitions of the situation which each participant only slightly retailors in his own idiomatic way.' (Kluckhohn & Kelly 1945, p. 91)
- C46 'the organized repetitive responses of a society's members' (Linton 1945a, p. 5)
- C47 'A culture is any given people's way of life, as distinct from the life-ways of other peoples.' (Kluckhohn & Leighton 1946, p. xviii)
- C48 'Culture may be said to be the common use and application of complex ideas by the members of a social group.' (Feibleman 1946, p. 73)

- C49 'the mass of learned and transmitted motor reactions, habits, techniques, ideas, and values (...). Culture is the special and exclusive product of men, and is their distinctive quality in the cosmos' (Kroeber 1923/48, p. 8)
- C50 'Culture is the man-made part of the environment.' (Herskovits 1948, p. 17)
- C51 Culture 'includes all the characteristic activities and interests of a people: Derby Day, Henley Regatta, Cowes, the twelfth of August, a cup final, the dog races, the pin table, the dart board, Wensleydale cheese, boiled cabbage cut into sections, beetroot in vinegar, nineteenth-century Gothic churches and the music of Elgar.' (Eliot 1948, p. 31)
- C52 'I would define culture as *the individual's or group's acquired response systems*.' (Henry 1949, p. 218)
- C53 'La culture, c'est la manière de vivre du groupe.' (Maquet 1949, p. 324)
- C54 Culture is cultural behaviour. Cultural behaviour is 'all human functioning that conforms to patterns learned from other persons.' (Haring 1949, p. 29)
- C55 'The *culture* of a people may be defined as the sum total of the material and intellectual equipment whereby they satisfy their biological and social needs and adapt themselves to their environment.' (Piddington 1950, pp. 3-4)
- C56 'Culture is generally understood to mean learned modes of behavior which are socially transmitted from one generation to another within particular societies and which may be diffused from one society to another.' (Steward 1950, p. 98)
- C57 "'A culture" refers to the distinctive way of life of a group of people, their complete "design for living".' (Kluckhohn 1951, p. 86)
- C58 Culture consists of symbols, value orientations and convictions regarding the physical world. (Parsons & Shills 1951)
- C59 'Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action on the other as conditioning elements of further action.' (Kroeber & Kluckhohn 1952, p. 181)
- C60 'the concept of *culture* refers to certain of the qualities displayed by classes of social events which are similar with respect to those qualities' (McNitt 1958, p. 71)
- C61 In cross-cultural psychology, culture is regarded to be a set of basic value orientations. (see § 3.5.2)
- C62 'Culture is not generally considered actual behavior itself, nor need the actual products or artifacts of culture be considered as culture itself. Culture is that which is constructed by inference from behavior and artifacts.' (Sykes 1963, pp. 256-257)
- C63 A cultural system is 'a system of symbols'. (Schneider 1968, p. 1)

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- C64 Culture is best seen as 'a set of control mechanisms – plans, recipes, rules, instructions (what computer engineers call "programs") – for the governing of behavior.' (Geertz 1968, p. 150)
- C65 Culture patterns are 'organized systems of significant symbols'. (Geertz 1968, p. 150)
- C66 Culture is shared; culture is about communication. Culture is the means by which social order is perpetuated. Culture is both about difference and sameness. Culture is both material and ideal. (Boon 1973)
- C67 'an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life' (Geertz 1973, p.89)
- C68 'culture is coded in memory, in behavior, in materials, in language, in art, writing, and computers, and (...) the most important thing about culture is that it is always encoded twice – once within the human being, in electrical and chemical form, and once outside the human being in some other form' (Bohannan 1973, p. 357)
- C69 'A culture is the total socially acquired life-way or life-style of a group of people. It consists of the patterned, repetitive ways of thinking, feeling, and acting that are characteristic of the members of a particular society or segment of a society.' (Harris 1975, p. 144)
- C70 'Culture consists of four kinds of symbols: values: choice statements that rank behavior or goals; norms: specifications of values relating to behavior in interaction; beliefs: existential statements about how the world operates that often serve to justify values and norms (...); and finally, expressive symbols: any and all aspects of material culture, from stone axes to swastikas, from the Kula ring to constitutions and cockfights' (Peterson 1979, pp. 137-138)
- C71 'learned systems of meanings, communicated by means of natural language and other symbol systems, having representational, directive and affective functions, and capable of creating cultural entities and particular senses of reality' (D'Andrade 1984, p. 116)
- C72 'Culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action is oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or 'tool kit' of habits, skills, and styles from which people construct 'strategies of action'. ' (Swidler 1985, p. 273)
- C73 'Culture is a system of attitudes, values, and knowledge that is widely shared within a society and transmitted from generation to generation. While human nature is biologically innate and universal, culture is learned and may vary from one society to another.' (Inglehart 1990, p. 18)
- C74 'Culture (...) is the sharing and transmission of memory, ideology, emotions, life-styles, scholarly and artistic works, and other symbols.' (Iriye 1990, p. 100)
- C75 Culture is 'the software of the mind'; culture is 'the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another' (Hofstede 1991, p. 5).
- C76 'The core of culture (...) is formed by *values*' (Hofstede 1991, p. 8).
- C77 'a shared set of ideas, held to be valid simply because they constituted the joint conceptual banks of custom of an ongoing community' (Gellner 1992, p. 18)

- C78 'Culture is a set of human made objective and subjective elements that in the past have a) increased the probability of survival, b) resulted in satisfaction for the participants in an ecological niche, and thus c) become shared among those who communicate with each other because they had a common language and lived the same timeplace.' (Triandis *et al.* 1993, p. 219)
- C79 'Culture is the socially transmitted knowledge and behavior shared by some group of people.' (Peoples & Bailey 1994, p. 23)
- C80 'the systems of shared meanings which people who belong to the same community, group, or nation use to help them interpret and make sense of the world' (Hall 1995, p. 176)
- C81 'The two primary aspects of culture are institutions and technology. Under technology is tools and tool using and warranted or scientific knowledge, instrumental logic. The technological heritage is based upon an instrumental system that is derived from tools and skills. Under institutions is myths, legends, and traditions, and ceremonial or ideological knowledge, ceremonial logic. The institutional heritage is based upon a ceremonial system that is derived from myths, legends, and traditions.' (Bowles *et al.* 1999, p. 407)
- C82 'the clusters of common concepts, emotions, and practices that arise when people interact regularly' (Brumann 1999, p. S1)
- C83 Culture can be defined by twelve features: (1) culture consists of ideals, values, and assumptions about life that people widely share and that guide specific behaviour; (2) culture influences the environment; (3) culture is transmitted from generation to generation; cultural values tend to exist for long periods in a society; (4) culture is based on / learned by childhood experiences; (5) culture is not widely discussed; people rarely talk about cultural influence on their own behaviour; (6) cultures may clash; norms and values from one culture may be inconsistent with the norms and values of another; (7) culture helps people to make sense of reality; (8) cultural values persist even when they become unpractical; (9) people react emotional when cultural norms are violated; (10) cultural norms and values change over time; people may have different attitudes to norms and values in different situations; (11) fast change is difficult; (12) a culture can be summarised in sharp contrasts. (Brislin 2000)
- C84 Culture is man's faculty to use representation(s) to give form, sense and meaning to reality. (e.g. Ankersmit 2001)
- C85 'Culture is a shared interpretive scheme.' (Douglas 2001, p. 3147)
- C86 'culture' refers to community-specific ideas about what is true, good, beautiful, and efficient' (Schweder 2001, p. 3153)



## 4 / 3 / aspects of "culture"

The definitions and interpretations of "culture" above can be analysed and compared as sets of aspects, elements or components (of "culture"): 'The majority of the definitions in Kroeber and Kluckhohn's volume see culture as a set consisting of identifiable elements and use a noun followed by "of" and an enumeration of the elements to define it (...)' (Brumann 1999, p. S4). Analysing the definitions and interpretations as such shows that – while modern definitions do not deviate fundamentally from the Tylorian definition (*e.g.* Peterson 1979; Brumann 1999) – different weights are assigned to the different elements of culture by different approaches, in different contexts, and in different times (Peterson 1979). A number of aspects of "culture" keeps returning throughout the list. Some of these seem to be more obvious than others. The majority of the definitions on the list, for example, interpret culture as a condition of a social group. This, however, is a relatively modern interpretation (see § 3.3). A small number of concepts (C2, C20, C52) are about individuals rather than social groups and a slightly larger number focussed on processes rather than conditions (C1, C2, C5, C20, C32, C74). Other aspects that keep returning in the list above are:

- (1) culture is human (§ 4.3.1);
- (2) culture is socially learned (§ 4.3.2);
- (3) culture is or guides behaviour (§ 4.3.3);
- (4) culture is or provides meaning (§ 4.3.4);
- (5) culture is about the products of the mind (§ 4.3.4).

Besides these more common aspects of "culture", there are a few rarer ones dealt with in subsection 4.3.5. Subsection 4.3.6, finally, discusses the classification of aspects distinguished in this section.

### 4 / 3 / 1 / culture is human

Nearly all dictionaries of quotations on the Internet contain an early 19th century quote from Fitzroy James Raglan: 'culture is roughly anything we do and the monkey don't'. Unfortunately, none of these specify the source of the quotation. Nevertheless, it illustrates a general feeling among theorists of culture: culture is 'possessed only by human beings' (Case 1927, p. 906). This view is, however, contested by a number of scientists who describe animal culture. Hart and Pantzer (1925) see culture in birdsong; Vogel (1999), de Waal (2001) and van Schaik *et al.* (2003) find culture with apes (chimpanzees and orangutans); and Rendell and Whitehead (2001) describe culture in whales and dolphins. What all of these have in common is that they interpret (or define) culture as socially learned (or otherwise transferred) patterns of behaviour that are specific to groups of animals, but not to the species as a whole. Wynne (2004) on the other hand, explains that animals do not

need culture to come up with similar solutions for similar problems in similar circumstances.

Whether animals can and do possess culture is a difficult question that may be more about concepts than about humans and animals. There is, however, a further and more fundamental argument against the exclusivity of culture to humanity. This argument is beautifully summarised by Geertz (1968) as: 'men have birthdays, but man does not' (p. 151). The point is that there is no 'mental Rubicon', no sudden break in hominid evolution when man (or one of its predecessors) 'as a member of society' suddenly became able to acquire 'knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom', etc. (see C10 above). It took man over a million of years to develop, slowly and gradually, something that could be called culture (e.g. Geertz 1968). (Moreover, it becomes increasingly clear that men and apes are far more similar than often assumed; see e.g. Wildman *et al.* 2003.)

The human appropriation of culture is strongly related to the culture - nature dichotomy. The same boundary that distinguishes culture from nature, distinguishes humans from animals. Geertz's argument, however, not only undermines the exclusivity of culture to humans but also the culture - nature dichotomy. Cultural evolution was strongly related to genetic, biological evolution. 'Our central nervous system grew up in great part in interaction with culture' and, hence, 'without men, no culture, certainly; but equally, and more significantly, without culture, no men' (Geertz 1968, p. 152).

Although many theorists of culture *feel* that the notions of animal culture or early hominid culture 'are needlessly depriving us of our proper domain' (Holloway 1969, p. 47), there seems to be no good reason to restrict culture to humans. The phrase 'culture is human', therefore, is no proper part of a definition of culture.

**4 / 3 / 2 / culture is socially learned**

The application of the concept of culture to animals described above is mainly based on definitions of culture as socially rather than genetically transmitted behaviour. Indeed, the social transmission of culture seems to be one of its key aspects. Twenty-eight of the definitions and interpretations above state that culture – in some way – is socially learned (see box 4.1).

**box 4.1:** *culture is socially learned*

C10	C22	C33	C44	C59	C73	C79
C11	C26	C34	C49	C66	C74	C82
C17	C27	C38	C54	C67	C77	C83
C19	C31	C40	C56	C71	C78	C85

Again, this aspect of culture reflects the culture - nature dichotomy. Cultural behaviour is not natural in the sense that it is not determined by biology, but is learned in and from the social group. While not explicitly mentioned in all definitions, the social transmission of culture is probably the only undisputed aspect of the concept's definition. It is probably also the only aspect that was used in a formal definition:

**D4.1** "culture" =<sub>def</sub> {  $\alpha \mid \exists x,y \diamond [x \text{ learns } \alpha \text{ from } y \wedge x \neq y]$  } ,

in words: culture is the set of all things learnable (by x from y) (Anderson & Moore 1962; Brownstein 1995; formula adapted to notational standards as specified in § 1.3.2).

### 4 / 3 / 3 / culture and behaviour

The relationship of culture to behaviour is a complicated one. Peterson (1979) claims that while culture 'was once seen as a map *of* behavior it is now increasingly seen as a map *for* behavior' (p. 159). Whether indeed such a development took place is, however, doubtful. It seems that both interpretations of culture have coexisted. The difficulty is that the concept of "culture" has to steer free from the *Scylla* and *Charybdis* of behaviourism and idealism. A strictly behaviourist interpretation of culture claims that culture is behaviour and ignores everything that determines this behaviour. A strictly idealist position would entail that culture is some metaphysical entity above and determining our actual behaviour. The relationship of culture and behaviour, hence, is related to the ontological status of culture (see also § 4.2.2). Most definitions and interpretations do not go very deeply into the murky waters of metaphysics. Thirty of the definitions and interpretations above, however, give relatively explicit answers on the question whether culture is behaviour or *meta-behaviour*, that which guides behaviour (see boxes 4.2a and 4.2b).

**box 4.2a:** *culture is behaviour*

C9	C28	C39	C47	C69
C18	C29	C42	C53	C78
C25	C31	C46	C54	C79

**box 4.2b:** *culture is meta-behaviour*

C17	C55	C61	C66	C72	C78
C36	C57	C62	C70	C75	
C52	C59	C64	C71	C76	

Even if culture is defined as behaviour, the concept refers primarily to the *way* a group does things. "Culture" is not about (behavioural) events themselves, but about the characteristics of these events (McNitt 1958). Culture in this sense, is interpreted as *patterns* of behaviour. Culture as meta-behaviour refers to the *rules* and *institutions* that co-determine or guide behaviour (e.g. Cushner & Brislin 1986/96). Patterns, rules and institutions are referred to in many of the definitions and interpretations on the list (see boxes 4.3a to 4.3c).

**box 4.3a:** *patterns (ways of doing things: customs, habits, practices, etc.)*

C3	C18	C29	C44	C54	C69	C82
C4	C25	C30	C46	C57	C72	
C7	C26	C39	C47	C59	C74	
C10	C27	C41	C49	C62	C78	
C17	C28	C43	C53	C68	C79	

**box 4.3b:** *rules (incl. values, norms, attitudes, roles, structures etc.)*

C4	C10	C43	C59	C67	C73	C78
C7	C21	C49	C61	C70	C75	C83
C9	C41	C58	C64	C71	C76	C86

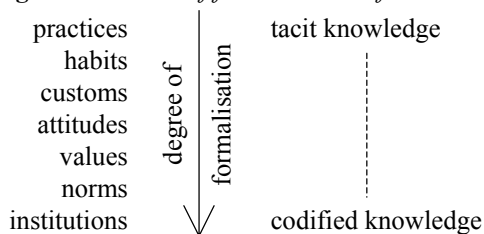
**box 4.3c:** *institutions (formalised / codified rules, patterns and structures)*

C3	C7	C10	C33	C59	C81
C4	C8	C30	C35	C64	C86

The distinction of the three categories in general may be one of degree of formalisation (or institutionalisation) similar to Polanyi's (1958) distinction of *tacit* and *codified knowledge* (see figure 4.1). The main difference between a habit and a norm, for example, is that the latter is more explicit, more formal. Nevertheless all 'levels' are forms of meta-behaviour: customs are tacit meta-behaviour, while laws (institutions) are extremely formal meta-behaviour. Tacit meta-behaviour is difficult to transfer and difficult to change; while formal meta-behaviour can be enforced and is relatively easily changed. (Note that more formal meta-behaviour is not necessarily more powerful in the (co-)determination of actual behaviour.)

It is not behaviour itself, which the theorist of culture is interested in, but the patterns of and rules for behaviour: the *way* of doing things rather than the *doing* itself. Hence, culture is meta-behaviour. (Section 5.2 deals with the notion of meta-behaviour more extensively.)

**figure 4.1:** *levels of formalisation of meta-behaviour*



**4 / 3 / 4 / meaning, ideas, products of the mind**

Of the eighty-six definitions and interpretations listed above forty-nine refer in some way to meaning and/or ideas. Many theorists claim that culture has to do with language and concepts or with beliefs and convictions (see boxes 4.4a and 4.4b).

**box 4.4a:** *categories (language, concepts, meaning, etc.)*

C3	C42	C58	C66	C71	C78	C84
C9	C43	C59	C67	C74	C80	C85
C13	C45	C63	C68	C75	C82	
C39	C48	C65	C70	C77	C83	

Culture is often associated with the products of the mind, both material and spiritual. These products not only include knowledge and theories (see box 4.4b), but also literature, buildings, tools, skills, and many more (see boxes 4.5a and 4.5b).

**box 4.4b:** *beliefs (knowledge, ideas, theories, convictions, etc.)*

C8	C17	C32	C43	C59	C74	C86
C9	C18	C33	C44	C67	C77	
C10	C21	C37	C48	C68	C79	
C13	C25	C39	C49	C69	C81	
C15	C29	C40	C55	C70	C83	
C16	C30	C41	C58	C73	C84	

**box 4.5a:** *tools and skills*

C1	C12	C23	C39	C43	C55	C72
C10	C13	C26	C40	C49	C59	C81

**box 4.5b:** *artefacts (objects, texts, the arts etc.)*

C9	C16	C37	C51	C62	C74
C10	C30	C43	C59	C68	

Although material artefacts like books and buildings are often regarded to be part of culture, specific reference to this material culture is relatively rare (C1; C9; C19; C51; C55; C66). More common is the reference to the spiritual or intellectual aspects of culture (see box 4.6).

**box 4.6:** *spiritual and intellectual aspects of culture*

C2	C32	C9	C19	C51	C66
C20	C8	C16	C48	C55	

**4 / 3 / 5 / less common aspects**

Besides the relatively common aspects described above, there is a small number of relatively rare aspects. C3 (*gens*), for example, includes descent; C6 and C7 refer to the pre-Enlightened and/or non-Western aspects of early 19th century interpretations of culture (see § 3.4.2); and 8 definitions include a reference to culture as the transformation and/or domination (by man) of nature (see box 4.7).

**box 4.7:** *culture as the transformation and domination of nature*

C1	C23	C43	C55
C12	C24	C50	C83

Although this latter aspect is not often mentioned explicitly, the domination of nature may have been one of the key aspects in the development of the concept. It is, moreover, in this aspect that "culture" seems to be most closely related to the traditional (normative) concept of "civilisation" as societal development. Guadarrama González (1999), for example, defines culture as a level of domination or control:

La cultura expresa el grado de control que posee la humanidad, en una forma histórica y determinada, sobre sus condiciones de existencia y desarrollo. Ese dominio se ejecuta de manera específica y circunstanciada, por lo que puede ser considerado de manera auténtica cuando se corresponde con las exigencias de diverso carácter que una comunidad histórica, pueblo o nación, debe plantearse. (p. 66)

#### 4 / 3 / 6 / classification and meta-classification

The aspects distinguished in the preceding subsection are a classification of definitional elements in the list of definitions and interpretations of "culture" presented above. Of course other classifications are possible. Above, it was shown, for example, that there are no crisp boundaries between patterns, rules and institutions; neither are there between patterns and skills or between beliefs and some immaterial artefacts.

Classifications are dependent on concepts or categories and are therefore cultural themselves. Moreover, as conceptual frameworks or languages co-determine the perception of reality (see § 2.1.1), these may be related to (almost) all other definitions of "culture". However, some classification of aspects is necessary to analyse such a large and diverse set of concepts. The classification presented here seems to capture most of the intensional diversity of "culture". The aspects of "culture" (the set of aspects **A**) distinguished in the preceding subsections are:

- A1 human;
- A2 A2a process / development;
- A2b condition / stage in development;
- A3 A3a social / group / national;
- A3b individual;
- A4 transformation / exploitation / domination of nature;
- A5 socially learned / transmitted;
- A6 descent;
- A7 patterns (ways of doing things: customs, habits, practices, etc.);
- A8 rules (incl. values, norms, attitudes, roles, structures etc.);
- A9 institutions (formalised / codified rules, patterns and structures);
- A10 categories (language, concepts, meaning, etc.);
- A11 beliefs (knowledge, ideas, theories, convictions, etc.);
- A12 tools and skills
- A13 artefacts (objects, texts, the arts etc.);
- A14 pre-Enlightened / non-Western;
- A15 spiritual / intellectual;
- A16 behaviour;
- A17 meta-behaviour.

These aspects are a classification, but can be classified themselves as well. The aspects are of different types: some relate directly to the real world counterparts of the concept of "culture"; others seem to be higher-level aspects that point at, for example, the transfer or goals of these real world counterparts. It seems there is a meta-classification of aspects of "culture" in which two levels or classes must be distinguished. First-level aspects are the aspects that determine what kind of things, actions, events, etc. the concept of "culture"

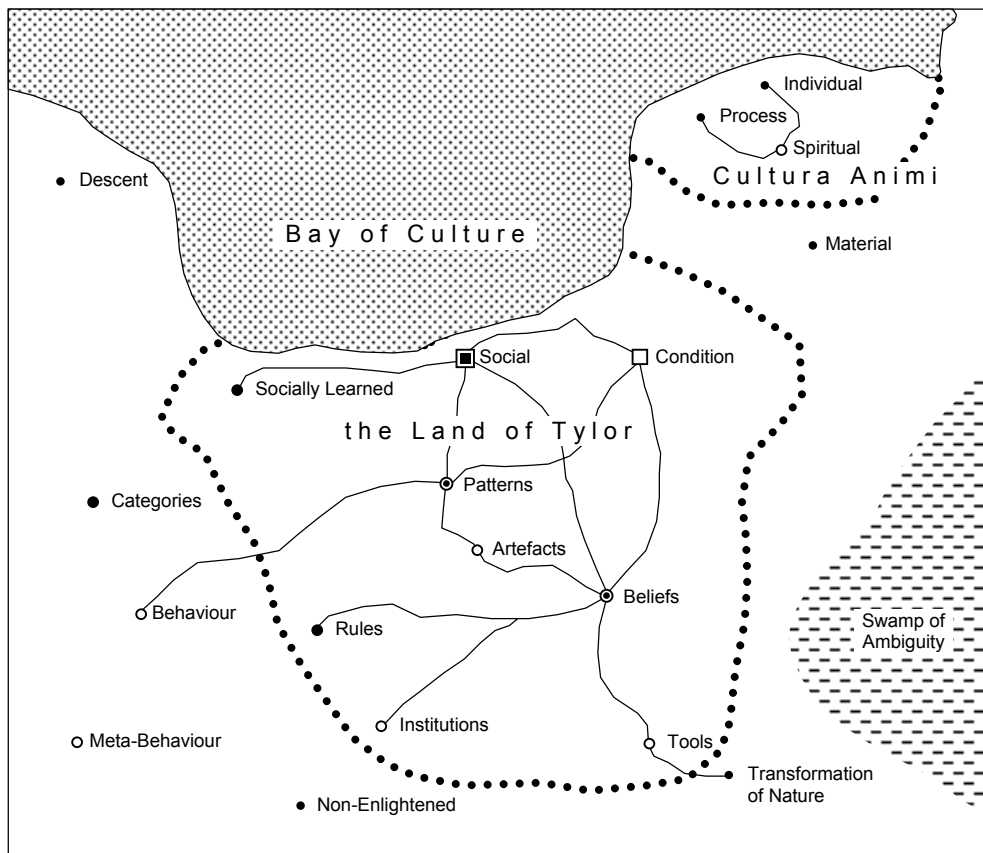
refers to. These function – more or less – as the nouns in definitions of culture. The set of aspects of "culture"  $\mathbf{A}$  contains two different subsets of first-level aspects:  $\mathbf{A}^1_1$  and  $\mathbf{A}^1_2$ .  $\mathbf{A}^1_1$  is {A7, ..., A13};  $\mathbf{A}^1_2$  is {A16, A17}. These two subsets classify more or less the same things, but  $\mathbf{A}^1_2$  uses less and far more general terms. The set of second-level aspects  $\mathbf{A}^2$  can be regarded as (the) adjectives in the definitions.  $\mathbf{A}^2$  is {A1, ..., A6, A14, A15}. These aspects give additional information by restricting the first-level aspects by kind (A14, A15), goal (A4), transfer (A5, A6) or temporal context (A2). All definitions of culture include (although not necessarily explicitly) at least one first-level aspect. Second-level aspects may or may not be included to further restrict the definition. A definition of culture as socially transferred habits (C27), for example, is the set {A4, A6}. In other words: this definition is constructed as aspect A6 (patterns) restricted by aspect A4 (social transfer). Table 4.2 at the end of this chapter presents a matrix of eighty-six cases (the concepts C1 to C86) and eighteen variables based on the list of aspects above. The first aspect (human) is not included for two reasons: (1) it is implicitly assumed in nearly all definitions and interpretations and (2) it was shown in the subsection 4.3.1 that it is not a proper part of a definition of culture. The number of variables in the table is eighteen rather than sixteen because aspects 2 and 3 have two variants that are not necessarily mutually exclusive. This matrix is the starting point for an attempt to distinguish clusters of similar definitions and interpretations in section 4.3.

## 4 / 4 / mapping "culture"

This section tries to answer two questions: (1) are there clearly distinguishable groups or clusters of concepts of "culture"; and (2) if so, do the boundaries between these groups or clusters coincide with disciplinary boundaries? 'Mapping' culture could be taken quite literally. The objective is to draw a map of the conceptual field of culture. This can be done by formal means, as will be attempted below, but it is also possible to draw a – more or less – geographical map as in map 4.1. This map shows cities of varying sizes: the aspects identified above, the elements of  $\mathbf{A}$  (aspects mentioned more often are represented as bigger cities; aspects more often mentioned together are nearer to each other on the map); roads connecting aspects that are (very) often mentioned together; and regional boundaries for definitions as clusters of aspects. In case of map 4.1 only two regions are drawn: 'the Land of Tylor' (C10) and 'Cultura Animi' (C2). Adding more of the eighty-six concepts / regions of the list in the preceding section would quickly make the map incomprehensible.



map 4.1: mapping culture, literally...

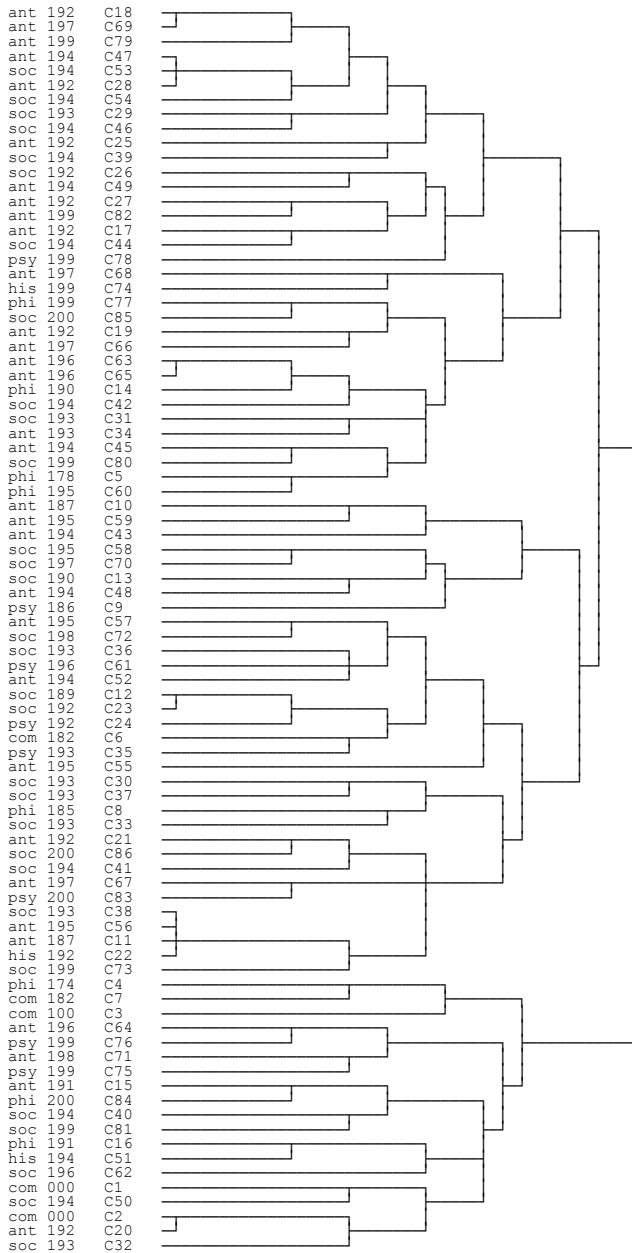


While map 4.1 may be helpful to imagine the conceptual field of "culture"; it is of limited use in finding structure therein. Formal methods may be more fitting here. As explained in subsection 2.6.2, two formal methods for mapping the intensional structure of a concept (or set of related concepts) are (readily) available: cluster analysis and formal concept analysis (FCA). The first is relatively easy but comes with a major disadvantage: it does not take the (possible) *genus - species* relationships between different concepts into account. FCA does, but is far more complicated and far more difficult to interpret.

#### 4 / 4 / 1 / cluster analysis

Figure 4.2 graphically represents the results of a (hierarchical) cluster analysis of the eighty-six cases based on the distance between all eighteen dummy variables (absolute Euclidean / furthest neighbour linkage). (See below for further explanation.)

figure 4.2: *intensional clusters: dendrogram*



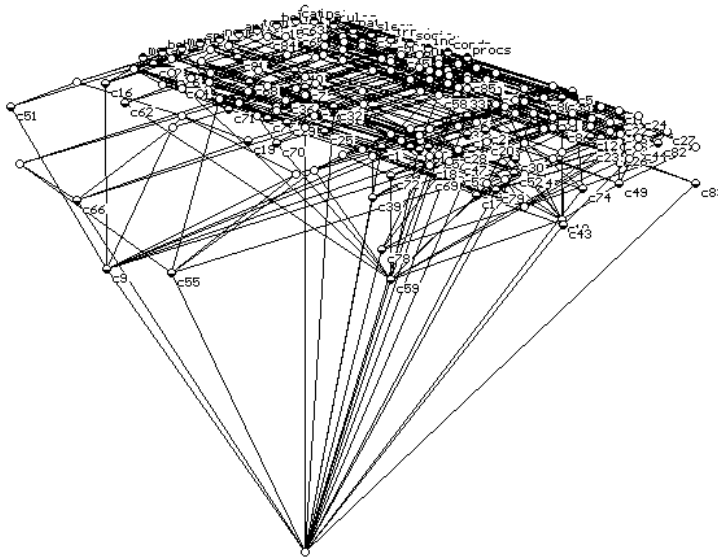
ant = anthropology; com = common usage; his = history;  
 phi = philosophy; psy = psychology; soc = sociology

All eighty-six cases are identified by case numbers (C1 to C86) and a code that refers to two parts of the context of that case. The first three letters are an abbreviation of the scientific field the definition is from, the next three figures refer to the decade when the definition was published or used: "ant 193", for example, means that that definition was published in an anthropological book or journal in the 1930s. The question that needs to be answered is whether this dendrogram reveals or (clearly) suggests any clustering or grouping of concepts. This, however, does not seem to be the case. The dendrogram only illustrates the bewildering variety of notions of "culture". Only rarely definitions from the same field and period are grouped at an early stage and there is no obvious clustering at all.

**4 / 4 / 2 / formal concept analysis**

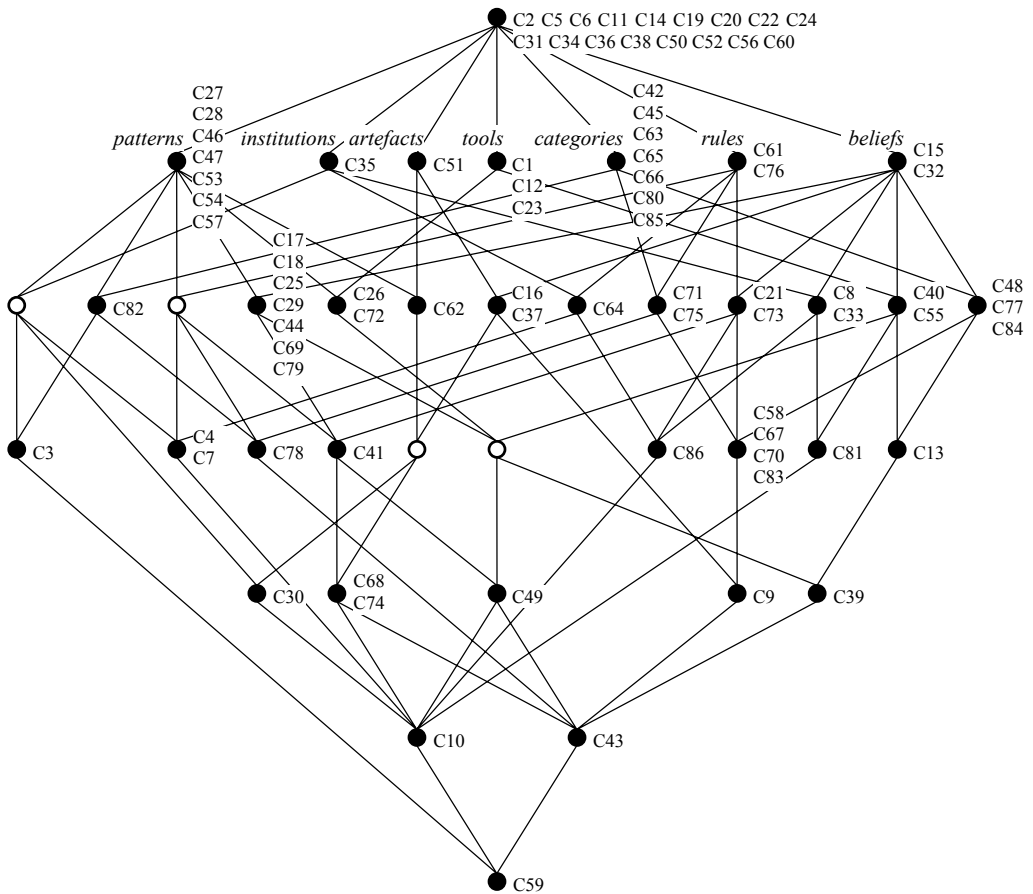
As mentioned above, FCA is far more difficult. It is nearly impossible to draw a lattice based on a formal context of eighty-six objects (the cases) and eighteen attributes (the aspects) without the help of specialised software. However, even with help of such software (ConImp v4.09 and Diagramm v2.12), the resulting lattice, which is drawn in figure 4.3, is impossible to interpret. There simply is too much information and too much diversity (see also § 2.6.2).

**figure 4.3:** *computer generated FCA lattice based on all attributes*



Stepwise, the number of attributes was decreased until a lattice could be drawn that was not just a black cloud of lines and dots (as in figure 4.3), but that is interpretable, although the complexity of "culture" still makes this very difficult. Figure 4.4 presents the lattice based on a subset of attributes, the set of first-level aspects  $\mathbb{A}_1^1$  distinguished in subsection 4.2.2: (1) patterns (ways of doing things: customs, habits, practices, etc.); (2) rules (incl. values, norms, attitudes, roles, structures etc.); (3) institutions (formalised / codified rules, patterns and structures); (4) categories (language, concepts, meaning, etc.); (5) beliefs (knowledge, ideas, theories, convictions, etc.); (6) tools and skills; and (7) artefacts (objects, texts, the arts etc.).

figure 4.4: FCA lattice based on a subset of attributes



Although the lattice in figure 4.4 is redrawn to minimise the number of empty concepts (hollow dots), lines and knots (crossings of lines), the figure is still extremely complex. It is a map of the intensional diversity of the definitions and interpretations of "culture"

presented in the preceding section. Lines connecting the dots on the map represent relationships between different interpretations of culture. For example, C64 is composed of the aspects of rules and institutions. C86 adds beliefs to C64.

Figure 4.4 shows that Tylor's definition (C10) and Kroeber and Kluckhohn's (1952) synthetic definition (C59) are two of the broadest interpretations of culture, but the figure does not reveal what it was intended to reveal: there is no clear clustering of concepts of culture (which was also concluded from the cluster analysis above), although the lower levels of the figure suggest that there may be two broad groups of definitions, the first including institutions (C10 and above), the second excluding it (C43 and above). Nevertheless, any definition (or group thereof represented by a black dot) of the thirty-four in the lattice can be reached from any other definition within a very small number of steps. For any two definitions, there are a number of intermediate definitions. Disciplinary boundaries (and/or period) do not make the picture any clearer. From both cluster analysis and FCA, there is only one conclusion possible: the intensional structure of culture is a bewildering mess.

#### **4 / 5 / civilisation, economy, *anti-culture***

Contrary to "culture", "economy" is a relatively straightforward concept. However, while hundreds (if not thousands) of definitions of "culture" have been put forward, definitions of the concept of "economy" are extremely rare. Generally, dictionaries and encyclopaedias of economics do not have an entry on the concept that describes their subject matter: "economy". Nevertheless, the preceding chapter supplies sufficient information to map the concept of "economy". The most important aspects of "economy" seem to be:

- (1) reason;
- (2) creation of wealth;
- (3) production, consumption and distribution (PCD)
- (4) behaviour;
- (5) institutions.

Different concepts of "economy" and the related "civilisation" are different combinations of these aspects as shown in table 4.1. Three concepts of "economy" are distinguished in this table. E18 is the 18th century concept of economy as the political organisation and institutions for the creation of national wealth; E19 is the late 19th and early 20th century concept of economy as the institutions of (or related to) production, consumption and distribution (PCD); and E20 is the late 20th century concept of "economy" as aggregate productive, consumptive and distributive behaviour (see § 3.4.3).

**table 4.1:** *concepts and aspects of "economy"*

	reason	wealth	PCD	behaviour	institutions
civilisation	<b>X</b>				<b>X</b>
E18	x	<b>X</b>			<b>X</b>
E19	x		<b>X</b>		<b>X</b>
E20	x		<b>X</b>	<b>X</b>	

The 18th and 19th century concept of "civilisation" referred specifically to the rationalised institutions that arose (or should arise) from the Enlightenment. Reason was and is an important aspect of the concept of "economy", but does not belong to the key aspects as it did in the case of civilisation (hence, the smaller Xs).

Drawing a FCA lattice based on table 4.1 is relatively easy, but still comes with a problem: the relationships between attributes (aspects) and objects (concepts) must be dichotomous. Hence, the small 'x's in the table have to be replaced by big 'X's or removed. The first option was chosen here, which resulted in figure 4.5:

**figure 4.5:** *FCA lattice of "economy"*

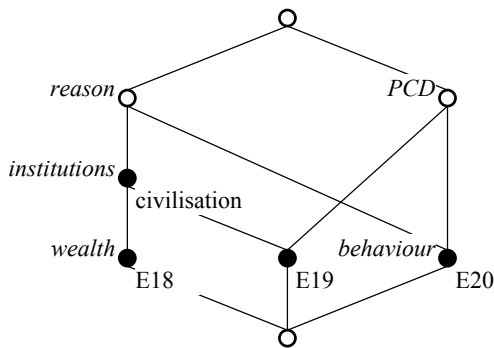


Table 4.1 and the lattice in figure 4.5 can be expanded easily to include a small number of concepts of culture. Adding "rules" to the list of attributes and seven concepts of "culture", all possible combination of behaviour, rules and/or institutions coded CS1 to CS7, results in figure 4.6.

**figure 4.6:** *FCA lattice of "culture" and "economy"*

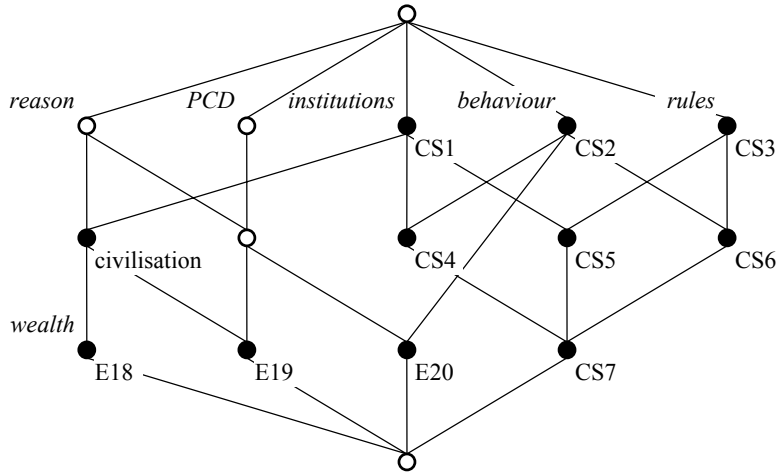


Figure 4.6 shows the relationships between a number of basic concepts of "culture" and "economy". Economy as E19, for example, is a specific part or form of civilisation (in terms of the graph: there is a line segment connecting E19 upwards to "civilisation"), which in its turn is a specific part or form of culture as CS1. Similarly, economy as E20 is a specific part or form of culture as CS2 and (possibly) overlaps with culture as CS4, CS6 or CS7. Hence, in several cases the CED would be a conceptual rather than a real-world relationship.

## 4 / 6 / notes towards conceptual reconstruction

If this section makes anything clear, it is that the concepts of the CED, "culture" especially, are in a state of complete and utter chaos. "Culture" can, and in fact does, mean (almost) anything (e.g. Geertz 1973), which makes it a rather useless concept. The other pole of the CED, "economy" is less problematic but can also mean a number of very different things. Moreover, depending on their definition or conceptualisation, the poles of the CED may overlap or one pole may be a part or subset of the other. Hence, conceptual reconstruction is necessary. To investigate the possible relationships between culture and economy and the theories about these relationships, a common language that avoids the problems presented in this section is needed. This common language should provide rules for translation of the different concepts; *not* their final definitions. The next chapter presents an attempt to construct such a language.

table 4.2: data matrix for intensional mapping of "culture"

	process	condition	individual	social	transf. of nature	socially learned	descent	patterns	rules	institutions	categories	beliefs	tools and skills	artefacts	non-Enlight.	spiritual	behaviour	meta-behaviour
C1	X				X								X					
C2	X		X													X		
C3				X			X	X		X	X							
C4				X				X	X	X								
C5	X			X														
C6		X		X											X			
C7								X	X	X					X			
C8		X		X						X			X				X	
C9		X		X					X		X	X		X		X	X	
C10		X		X		X		X	X	X		X	X	X				
C11		X		X		X												
C12		X		X	X								X					
C13		X		X							X	X	X					
C14																		
C15												X						
C16												X		X		X		
C17		X		X		X		X				X						X
C18		X		X				X				X					X	
C19				X		X										X		
C20	X		X													X		
C21		X		X					X			X						
C22		X		X		X												
C23		X		X	X								X					
C24		X		X	X													
C25		X						X				X						X
C26		X		X		X		X					X					
C27		X		X		X		X										
C28		X		X				X										X
C29				X				X			X							X
C30		X		X				X		X		X	X					
C31				X		X												X



table 4.2 – continued

	process	condition	individual	social	transf. of nature	socially learned	descent	patterns	rules	institutions	categories	beliefs	tools	artifacts	non-Enlight.	spiritual	behaviour	meta-behaviour
C32	X											X				X		
C33				X		X				X		X						
C34						X												
C35		X		X						X								
C36		X																X
C37		X		X								X		X				
C38		X		X		X												
C39		X		X				X			X	X	X				X	
C40						X						X	X					
C41		X		X				X	X			X						
C42											X							X
C43		X		X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X				
C44		X		X		X		X				X						
C45				X							X							
C46				X				X										X
C47		X		X				X										X
C48		X		X							X	X				X		
C49		X		X		X		X	X			X	X					
C50					X													
C51														X		X		
C52		X	X	X														X
C53		X		X				X										X
C54		X		X		X		X										X
C55		X		X	X							X	X			X		X
C56		X		X		X												
C57		X		X				X										X
C58		X							X		X	X						
C59		X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
C60				X														
C61		X		X					X									X
C62								X						X				X

table 4.2 – continued

	process	condition	individual	social	transf. of nature	socially learned	descent	patterns	rules	institutions	categories	beliefs	tools	artifacts	non-Enlight.	spiritual	behaviour	meta-behaviour
C63											X							
C64								X	X									X
C65											X							
C66			X		X						X					X		X
C67	X		X		X			X		X	X							
C68							X				X	X		X				
C69	X		X				X					X					X	
C70	X							X		X	X							X
C71					X			X		X								X
C72	X		X				X						X					X
C73	X		X		X			X			X							
C74	X		X		X		X			X	X			X				
C75			X					X		X								X
C76								X										X
C77			X		X					X	X							
C78	X		X		X		X	X		X							X	X
C79	X		X		X		X				X						X	
C80	X		X								X							
C81									X		X	X						
C82	X		X		X		X			X								
C83	X		X	X	X			X		X	X							
C84										X	X							
C85			X		X					X								
C86	X		X					X	X		X							

