Chapter 2

The Meaning of Progress and Development

Problem 2

• How do we explain the transformation of human societies over the past 10,000 years from small-scale, nomadic bands of hunters and gatherers to large-scale, urban-industrial states?

Progress

• We inhabit a world that is divided into wealthy nations and poor nations.
• Can we explain the division of wealth in the world by saying that some nations have progressed while others have not?
• Or is the concept of progress a fabrication of contemporary societies based on ethnocentric notions of technological superiority?

Modes of Subsistence

- Foraging (Hunters and Gatherers)
- Horticulture
- Intensive Agriculture (Pre-Industrial and Industrial)
### Hunters and Gatherers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Density</th>
<th>1 person per square mile.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>Hunting, gathering, fishing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>Very high yield relative to labor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Organization</td>
<td>Informal political organization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>Small family groups. Marriage for economic partnership and interfamily alliance.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Horticulturalists

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Density</th>
<th>10 to 15 people per square mile.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>Slash-and-burn agriculture with mixed livestock herding.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>High yield relative to labor expended.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Organization</td>
<td>Formalized political organization with well-established chiefs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>Emphasis on extended family groups. Descent for distribution of wealth and property.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Intensive Agriculture

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Population Density</th>
<th>300 people per square mile.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>Plow or irrigation agriculture.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>High labor needs relative to yield. High degree of specialization.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Organization</td>
<td>Highly developed state organization, with a clear hierarchy of authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Organization</td>
<td>Emphasis on nuclear family. Bonds of intergenerational dependence are built on inheritance needs.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Development From Gatherers and Hunters To Agricultural States

- Until approximately 10,000 years ago earth's inhabitants were in small-scale, nomadic bands of 30 to 100 people who gathered wild plants and hunted small and large game.
- These hunters and gatherers began to plant crops and domesticate wild animals and became sedentary, living in settlements of 200 to 2,000 people.
• Sedentary groups required leadership, so certain members assumed the roles of chief.

• People organized themselves into clans—groups of 200 to 500 people who claimed descent from a common ancestor.

• Later, perhaps because of a need for defense against other groups, settlements combined under common leaders to form states consisting of many thousands of persons.

• The development of agriculture intensified, and plow or irrigation agriculture replaced slash-and-burn techniques.

• Leaders organized labor to construct roads, defensive fortifications and irrigation networks.

• As technological complexity increased, people began to specialize in occupational tasks.

• Some 300 years ago, ranked, state societies began to develop into large-scale, industrialized states.

• Progress Theory: Sedentary agriculture was easier and less dangerous.

  --Studies of hunting and gathering societies suggest it was not as harsh and dangerous as had been supposed.

  --Studies found they had plenty of food and didn't have to work very hard to get it.
Ju/wasi

- Readily available plant foods, such as the nutrient-rich mongongo nut, were the mainstay of the Ju/wasi diet.
- Here, Ju/wasi women return to camp after foraging for mongongo nuts to feed their families.

The Transition to Agriculture

- One perspective views the change from hunting and gathering to modern industrial society less as progress and more as a necessary evil.
- This perspective emphasizes the influences of population growth and population density, the number of people living in a given area.

### Days Of Labor Per Acre Per Harvest By Type Of

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Agriculture</th>
<th>Days of Labor per Acre</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advanced Swidden</td>
<td>18-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plow cultivation</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoe cultivation</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation agriculture</td>
<td>90-178</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Land Needed To Feed 100 Families Using Different Agricultural Methods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agricultural Method</th>
<th>Acres Needed to Feed 100 Families</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Swidden agriculture</td>
<td>3000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swidden with garden plots</td>
<td>1,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrigation agriculture</td>
<td>90-200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Why Are Some Societies More Industrially Advanced?

- Why do most people of the industrial world enjoy a superior standard of living?
- Why, in 1995, did more than a billion people live in absolute poverty, earning less than one dollar a day?
- Meanwhile, 358 billionaires listed by Forbes magazine have a combined net worth equal to the combined income of the bottom 45% of the world's population?

The British Textile Industry

- In 1700, 13% of the population of England lived in towns of 5,000 or more.
- England had a thriving trade in textile goods, most notably raw wool and inexpensive wool textiles.
- Textile production was a handicraft industry centered in rural families or small cooperatives.
- The finished cloth or wool might be sold at a local market or to urban merchants for shipment overseas.

British Textile Industry

- Although home-produced textiles were profitable, traders wanted more control over the cloth produced by spinners and weavers.
- In the "putting out" system, merchants supplied weavers with materials and required them to produce cloth of the desired type.
- This system gave textile merchants more control over the production process and provided a source of cheap labor.

The British Textile Industry

- Beginning in the 18th century, English merchants transformed the putting out system into a factory system by bringing spinners, weavers, and others together in one location to produce the cloth.
- There were no laws restricting child labor and by 1834, children under 13 represented 13% of the British cotton industry.
- By 1838, only 23% of textile factory workers in England were adult men.
British Textile Industry

• The increase in technology and production created two problems:
  – Where was the market for all these textile products to be found?
  – Where were the raw materials, such as cotton, to come from?

Cotton and Slavery

• Cotton and the growth of the textile industry in England are part of the story of slavery.
• The British sold Indian cotton to China, but Indian cotton was not acceptable to European and American markets.
• Cotton produced in Egypt and the American South produced a longer, more desirable fiber.
• Cotton production in the Americas was labor intensive and, to be profitable, required slave labor.

British Textile

• Reliance on slave labor in the United States was closely tied to the rise of the British textile industry.
• Here, a slave family picks cotton on a plantation near Savannah, Georgia, during the early 1860s.

Cotton and Cherokee Removal

• The Cherokee were horticulturists.
• After the American Revolution they occupied fertile land from North Carolina into Georgia.
• The Georgia Compact of 1802 called for Georgia and the Carolinas to give up claims to western territories in exchange for land held by the Cherokees.
• The tribes fought the removal and began a modernization plan.
Cotton and Cherokee Removal

- Within decades the Cherokee had plantations with slaves, and their own newspapers, schools, and alphabet.
- The Cherokee lobbied Congress to repeal the Georgia Compact to no avail.
- Andrew Jackson signed the final order and the army was sent in to forcibly move the population as land speculators flooded onto what had been prosperous Cherokee farms and plantations.

Impact of the British Textile Industry

- The growth of the textile industry in England produced great wealth for some people but, in the process:
  - Extended slavery in the United States while it drained Africa of productive labor.
  - Enhanced the wealth of the United States while leading to the forced removal of indigenous people from their lands.

Why Don’t Poor Countries Develop the Same Way as Wealthier Countries?

- Central to the idea that less developed countries need to progress is the notion of “economic development.”
- The assumption is that non-industrial countries of the world are backward and need to develop.
  - Development is often a code word for “westernized.”

Economic Development

- Three assumptions:
  1. Economic growth and development is the solution to national and global problems
  2. Global economic integration will help solve ecological and social problems
  3. Foreign assistance to undeveloped countries will make things better.
The World Bank

- The World Bank was created in 1944 at a meeting of representatives of the major industrial nations allied against the Germans, Japanese, and Italians.
- They wanted to plan for reconstruction of countries devastated by World War II and develop a postwar plan for economic and monetary stability.

The World Bank

- The bank would lend money to governments for specific projects (highways, dams, power plants, factories) and governments would pay the loans back over a set period of time.
- The charter specified that loans must be made without regard for political factors and the bank must not interfere in the political affairs of any member or debtor nation.

How Does Modern Medical Treatment Compare with Traditional Treatments?

- To answer this we need to examine two things:
  - We have to ask whether or not we have progressed in our ability to treat disease.
  - We have to ask whether we understood the traditional medical techniques that modern medicine sought to replace.

Illness and Inequality

- Antibiotics save millions each year, and modern diagnostic methods allow medical practitioners to easily identify the onset of disease.
- Worldwide, 32% of deaths are caused by infectious disease.
- In poorer countries, infectious disease is responsible for 42% of deaths.
Interpersonal Theory of Disease

- This theory assumes that illness is caused not by microorganisms but by tensions or conflicts in social relations.

- Traditional theories of illness, such as soul loss, spirit possession, sorcery, and witchcraft, are all expressions of an the interpersonal theory of disease.

Traditional Healing

- In a healing ceremony designed to restore the patient to his proper place in the world, a traditional Navajo doctor paints an image of the universe with colored sand on an earthen floor.

Why Are Simpler Societies Disappearing?

- Globalization.
  - Expansion into virtually all areas of the world of a culture that assumes that trade is the source of all well-being.
  - Encroachment from more developed societies.

Extermination of the Ona Tribe

- The Ona inhabited the island of Tierra del Fuego just off the southern tip of South America.

- After their first encounters with Europeans in the 1870s and 1880s:
  - The Ona were exposed to European diseases such as syphilis, measles, and tuberculosis.
  - They were systematically hunted and killed by European shepherders and miners.
  - They were captured by Argentine soldiers and sent to mission stations or kept as servants.
Extermination of the Ona Tribe

- Those who survived were pushed inland, and European hunters systematically depleted the animals on which they depended for food.
- They began to raid sheep ranches and were shot by hunters who were paid a bounty for each Ona killed.
- In 1973, 100 years after the first European settlement was built on Tierra del Fuego, the

Extermination of the Ona

- Through disease, starvation, and outright killing, European settlers completely exterminated the Ona tribe of Tierra del Fuego, just off the southern tip of South America.
- The last fullblooded Ona died in 1973.

Cultural Devastation

- Plenty Coups, chief of the Crow, told his life story to Frank Linderman, but ended the story when his people were forced onto a reservation, explaining “after that, nothing happened.”

Case Study In Doing Anthropology: Doing Development

- Governments, international organizations such as the World Bank, United Nations, and US AID, along with non-governmental organizations (NGOs) such as Oxfam, Amnesty International, and Doctors Without Borders/Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF), recognize that anthropological perspectives are critical to addressing issues of economic development.
- This creates career opportunities for professional anthropologists and people with a background in anthropology.
Factory Model of Agriculture

- The factory model produces a single product in as short a time as possible.
- In Central America, the factory model of cattle raising has required clearing large tracts of land with fire and herbicides and reseeding with grasses that are not well suited to the environment.
- The result is degradation of the land by

Agroecological Approach

- Incorporates indigenous practices that have produced food yet preserved the environment with contemporary agricultural research.
- Creates a polyculture—the production of multiple crops and animals.
- Indigenous methods of production in the rainforest create a system that enhances regeneration of land, flora, and fauna.

Development: Understanding Cultures

- A failure of development professionals to understand cultures and values of people has, in the past, had disastrous consequences.
- An example is the construction of the town of Ennuk in the Canadian Arctic.