Chapter 1 : City of walls Sao Paulo www.nxgvision.com - PDF Free Download

Introduction to Anthropology. Ed., with Additions by the Author, [And Tr.] by J.F. Collingwood. (Anthrop. Soc. of London). Paperback - March 7,

Introduction 11 tion, and creation of new urban forms to keep social groups apart certainly have specific and perverse characteristics in Sao Paulo, but they are manifestations of processes of social change taking place in many cities. Therefore, the comparison with Los Angeles has theoretical interest and furthers our understanding of widespread processes of spatial segregation. Yet it is certainly not the same as if I had never left. Because of this displacement, my Brazilian colleagues may think that I end up doing what Marco Polo feared: But I think not. Sao Paulo already changed for me when I studied its periphery, and it continues to change as I study it in new ways. VI My research, conducted in Sao Paulo from to the present, relies on a combination of methodologies and types of data. Participant observation, usually considered as the method par excellence of an ethnographic study, was not often viable for this study, for a number of interconnected reasons. First, violence and crime are difficult, if not impossible, to study through participant observation. Second, the unit of analysis for the study of spatial segregation had to be the metropolitan region of Sao Paulo. An urban area of sixteen million inhabitants cannot be studied with methods designed for the study of villages. However, I was primarily interested not in the ethnography of different areas of the city but in the ethnographic analysis of experiences of violence and segregation, and those could not be studied equally in different neighborhoods. Whereas working-class neighborhoods still have a public life and are relatively open to observation and participation, in middle- and upper-class residential neighborhoods social life is interiorized and privatized, and there is little public life. Because observers in these neighborhoods are suspect and become targets of the private security services, participant observation is not viable there. To rely on participant observation in poor areas and on other methods on the rich areas would mean to "primitivize" the working classes and disregard the relationships between class and public space. Finally, because I was interested in a process of social 12 Introduction change that could be only marginally captured through direct observation, I had to use other types of information. It was necessary, then, to use a combination of methods and types of data, bringing to my anthropology the perspectives of the other social sciences. To understand violent crime in contemporary Sao Paulo, I analyzed crime statistics. To evaluate these, I had to study the history of the civil and military police forces and uncover how their practice is entangled with the reproduction of violence. To understand changes in patterns of spatial segregation, I reconstructed the urbanization of Sao Paulo using demographic and socioeconomic indicators produced by different state agencies and academic institutions. To understand the new style of closed collective residences, I analyzed real estate advertisements in newspapers. Although these and other methods and sources of data provided information about broad processes of change, they could not tell me much about how Paulistanos were living out these processes. For that understanding, I relied on open-ended interviews with residents. I also used newspapers as a source of public debates on human rights and capital punishment. Finally, I interviewed public authorities, human rights activists, journalists, and people involved in the provision of security either in private enterprises or in fortified enclaves. I also draw on my own experiences and memories as a resident of Sao Paulo to discuss some of its transformations. Most of the interviews were conducted in the years to In chapter I I discuss the specificity of this period in Brazilian history. I conceived this research as a cross-class investigation of experiences of fear and crime and their relations with processes of social change. This crossclass perspective is central to my research for three interconnected reasons: To focus on only one social group or on one area of the city would limit severely the understanding of phenomena that fundamentally affect the relationships between groups and the ways in which the spaces and the possibilities of interactions between people from different social classes are structured in the city. Moreover, to capture the diversity of experiences of violence and crime and understand how associated measures of protection help to reproduce socialinequality and spatial segregation, I needed to

investigate them in different social contexts. Although I could have conducted interviews all around the metropolitan region, I decided to concentrate on three areas of the city occupied by people from different social classes. This was more easily done by concentrating my interviews in a few areas of the city, which I came to know well. This study is not, however, an ethnography of these areas. It is rather an ethnographic analysis of experiences of violence, the reproduction of social inequality, and spatial segregation as expressed in some areas and by the residents of Sao Paulo who live there. The first area in which I did research was the poor working-class periphery, created through" autoconstruction. Workers thus simultaneously become property owners, urbanize the outskirts of the metropolitan region, and are politicized. In demanding their "rights to the city," the new homeowners of the periphery have affirmed their citizenship rights and organized most of the social movements of the S and s, contributing to the political changes that led to the overthrow of military rule and to democratization. Most of my research on the periphery was conducted in Jardim das Camelias, in the eastern district of Sao Miguel Paulista. I have been doing research and following the organization of social movements in this area since Caldeira Because of my familiarity with the area, I draw on observations and interviews with its residents from earlier studies, although for this research I conducted new interviews about violence. Moreover, I use interviews and observations from other neighborhoods in the periphery of Sao Paulo during the years through , when the concern about crime started to increase. These interviews were part of a research project on the expansion of the periphery and the political mobilization of its inhabitants, in which we paid special attention not only to the process of democratization but also to the problems shaping everyday life on the periphery. MODca became an important part of Sao Paulo at the beginning of the twentieth century, when it was one of the first areas to be industrialized. However, it is no longer an important industrial area. Although its landscape is still marked by decaying warehouses and industrial buildings, most of the traditional textile and food factories have closed down. The industrial workers who settled in MODca around were European migrants: Most In traduction Introduction of their children never became industrial workers but instead took jobs in commerce and service. By the s, MODca had become a lower-middleclass neighborhood. The deindustrialization of the area was accompanied by a displacement of residents who rose socially and moved to other parts of the city. This out-migration, which has continued for four decades, reduced the local population. Currently, although MODca still retains its warehouses and factories and many of its old working-class houses, and although its population still cultivates an Italian accent and ethnic identity, two new and contradictory processes are reshaping the neighborhood. On the other hand, the construction of a subway line has led to reurbanization and gentrification. The construction of luxurious apartment buildings, mansions, and a more sophisticated commerce cater to a richer part of the population that prefers not to move out and to wealthier residents from other neighborhoods who are moving in. All these processes have produced a social heterogeneity and a social tension previously unknown in the neighborhood. This tension is clearly expressed in the talk of crime. Until the S these were areas with a small population, many green areas, and immense houses on large lots. After the midS, they were transformed by the construction of high-rise apartments, many built on the model of the closed condominium. Morumbi represents most clearly the new pattern of urban expansion that I describe in chapters 6 and 7. Today rich people who used to live in traditional central neighborhoods move to Morumbi to live in fortified enclaves. Morumbi is also more socially heterogeneous than those traditional areas because the rich enclaves are adjacent to some of the largest favelas shanty towns of the city, where its poorest residents live. Alto de Pinheiros pioneered the construction of closed condominiums in the s, but the pace of construction was slower, and today it has fewer favelas than Morumbi. I conducted all interviews on condition of anonymity. In marked contrast to other research projects I have done, in which residents were eager to talk to me and to see their words and ideas in printed form, in this project I faced resistance and reluctance toward discussing crime and violence. Many times people initially asked me not to tape-record the interviews, although they always gave me permission to take notes. In most cases they eventually gave me permission to record as well. When people fear the institutions of order, and when they feel that their rights are not guaranteed by the justice

system, this reaction is understandable. I decided not to use fictitious names to identify the interviewees: This rule of anonymity does not apply to state officials, members of human rights groups, journalists, and private security businesspeople, who talked to me in their capacity as public figures and in full knowledge that I could make their statements public. Part 1 focuses on the talk of crime. In chapter I, I analyze the structure of narratives of crime and the way in which they symbolically reorder a world disrupted by experiences of crime. I also give an overview of Brazilian politicat sociat and economic transformations in the s and S. Chapter 2 focuses on some of the specific themes articulated by the talk of crime: Part 2 deals with crime and the institutions of order. In chapter J, I analyze statistics of crime to demonstrate the significance of violent crime after the mids. Chapter 4 traces the history of the Brazilian police forces and shows their routine abuse of the population, especially of those in subservient social positions. Chapter 5 continues the analysis of police abuse, demonstrating how it escalated during the transition to and consolidation of democratic rule in the early s. Moreover, this association has contributed to persistent violence and to the erosion of the rule of law. The abuses by the police, the difficulties of police reform, the discrediting of the justice system, and the privatization of security generate what I call a cycle of violence. This cycle constitutes the main challenge to the consolidation of democracy in Brazilian society. Part 3 analyzes the new pattern of urban segregation. Chapter 7 focuses on the fortified enclaves that constitute the core of the new mode of segregation. I explore especially its residential version, the closed condominiums. I also show the difficulties of organizing social life within its walls and demonstrate that an aesthetic of security has become dominant in the city in the last twenty years. Chapter 8 analyzes the changes in public space and in the quality of public life that occur in a city of walls. The new pattern of spatial segregation undermines the values of openness, accessibility, freedom of circulation, and equality that inspired the modern type of urban public space and creates instead a new public space that has inequality, separation, and control of boundaries as organizing values. I use the comparable case of Los Angeles to demonstrate that the pattern of segregation inspired by these values is widespread. Part 4 has one chapter, in which 1 focus on a crucial aspect of the disjunction of Brazilian democracy: I ground my arguments on the analysis of two issues that surfaced after the beginning of democratic rule in the early s: I show that notions of individual rights are associated with conceptions of the body and indicate that in Brazil there is a great toleration for manipulating the body, even violently. On the basis of this association, I argue that this toleration of intervention, the proliferation of violence, and the delegitimation of justice and civil rights are intrinsically connected. Everyday life and the city have changed because of crime and fear, and this change is reflected in daily conversation. Fear and violence, difficult things to make sense of, cause discourse to proliferate and circulate. The talk of crime-that is, everyday conversations, commentaries, discussions, narratives, and jokes that have crime and fear as their subject-is contagious. Once one case is described, many others are likely to follow. The talk of crime is also fragmentary and repetitive. It breaks into many exchanges, punctuating them, and repeats the same history, or variations of it, commonly using only a few narrative devices. In spite of the repetition, people are never bored.

Chapter 2 : Guide to the Clifford Geertz Papers s

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Discussions of the topic are often greeted with raised eyebrows and comments like Natio nal identity? Yet among the Bahamian public, the sense that there is no national identity is not evident. My problem in discussing national identity in the Bahamas is manifold. How does one reconcile, theoretically, the disjuncture between the intellectual understanding of Bahamian national identity, and the actual national and nationalistic practices of Bahamians themselves? Part of my difficulty is descriptive, taking on the challenge of identifying Bahamian national identity in a context in which obvious methods mining the literature of the nation, interpreting collective symbols, delinea ting processes of integration do not yield expected results. In part, it is conceptual. Into what theoretical space can fit a study of national identity in the archipelagic Bahamas, a geographically fragmented, multi ethnic, postcolonial state? And fina lly, it is a question of auto ethnography. How do I balance my several roles anthropologist, Bahamian, nationalist writer in such a way that I might make sense of my data for all my potential audiences? I intend to address these problems by employing a n umber of theoretical approaches. Drawing upon widely ranging studies of nationalism, I shall examine how PAGE 4 Introduction 3 the Bahamian example fulfils, and deviates from, expected norms. With regard to the fragmentation of Bahamian territory and the multi ethnic nature o f its population, I shall rely on theories of ethnicity and multiplicity as well as studies of space, place and identity. And finally, I shall investigate the problem of writing about my own society indeed, of writing about myself by referring to a discou rse of auto ethnography that expresses that relationship in a variety of complex ways. National identity, proceeding from this imagined community, is the fictive commonality that exists among the members of a group that is too large to be linked otherwise. The trope of imagination is common throughout the theories on national ism. Indeed, as Foster observes, the concepts of invention or imagination highlight one assumption shared by various contemporary writers on nationalism All communities, from the lineage to the clan, are imagined communities. Second was the belief that society was naturally organized around and under high centres Third was a conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical. Combined, these ideas rooted human lives firmly in the very nature of things, giving certain meaning to the everyday fatalities of existence, and offering, in various ways, redemption from them. The slow, uneven decline of these interlinked certainties No surprise then that the 1 I am indebted to Marshall McLuhan, , for this term. PAGE 6 Introduction 5 sear ch was on Nothing perhaps more precipitated this search For those theorists who accept the association of nationalism with modernity, it follows that the co ncept of nationalism and, by extension, national identity is a construct that arises in a particular time and place; geographically and historically the nation is unique. Indeed, it is not uncommon to hear the expectation that in the postmodern world nati onalism and national identity will lose its force and relevance. The idea that nations are wholly constructed collectivities dreamed up for political purposes by nationalist elites, is, in his reading, as muc h a myth as the nationalist endeavour itself. While he recognises that certain circumstances must be present for modern nations to form, he argues simultaneously that the symbols and myths upon which nationalists draw have deeper roots: In many ways, the nation is an ideal of the nationalists which has come to be accepted b y very many people, and equally an abstraction and construct. But it cannot be defined apart from the conceptions of the nation entertained by nationalist and other participants, for these conceptions reflect the experiences and processes of the historica l and present situations in which so many find themselves I have opted for a definition of the nation which, while founded on ethnic elements, includes the civic components that emerge in more recent periods of history In this way, the two overlapp ing concepts of the nation are brought together, while allowing different emphases, and ethnicity is closely linked to the nation and nationalism, in a way that accords better with reality than the more common

attempt to oppose them. The Bahamas is part of a region whose original population was decimated within a generation of the first landfall of Columbus. How, then, does one approach the question of Bahamian national identity? However, certain distinctions must be drawn, among them the proximity of the territory to the North American mainland, the unique geography of the country, and the corresponding economic foundation that resulted, all of which ren der the Bahamas a notably different creature. As a result, the white population was not made up of fortune seekers and planters, but was rather a motley crew of opportunists and non conformists who sought in the Bahamas a measure o f personal autonomy. They found it in their relation to the sea; piracy, privateering, wrecking, stevedoring, blockade running, sponging, trade and smuggling of every kind have sustained Bahamians throughout the centuries. The earliest English speaking s ettlers were Bermudian religious dissidents who in established the independent republic of Eleutheria in the Bahama Islands see 2 Sugar production in the West Indies demanded many qualities the Bahamas does not possess: Although the aspiration was utopian, the actual fortunes of the republic were poor; it began with shipwreck, was followed by a generation of painful wresting of subsistence goods from the soil, and was sustained by the trade of hardwoods and ambergris whale sperm , not with Britain, or even Bermuda, but with the American colonies. The ensuing centuries saw Ba hamians engaged in various maritime activities, not least among them piracy, privateering and wrecking. Most scholars of Caribbean society and history regard the plantation or at the very least, the social structure resulting from it as central to their u nderstanding. Hannerz, writing of the Cayman Islands, makes a case for an alternative model, arguing that the existence of certain small islands on which extensive cultivation could not take place requires a different approach: Here, however, we will be concerned with another Caribbean. It has intimate links to Plantation A merica and shares much of its traditions, but it has no large plantations and is oriented instead toward the sea. Scattered islands in the eastern Caribbean may be considered representative of it, and in the past the Bahamas and Bermuda further north shar ed several of its characteristics It is argu able, for instance, that slaves in the Bahamas before the s possessed a measure of autonomy that slaves in the plantation Americas did not. First, the economy, based on commerce and seafaring, allowed for a cadre of skilled slaves whose activities per mitted a high level of personal responsibility. Several of these were able to buy their freedom, as the existence of New Guinea the Creek Village , a settlement of Free Coloured people, suggested Craton and Saunders, Bahamian pirate crews were thus to an extent multicomple xioned and polyglot. One might argue there was a certain pragmatic value in allowing slaves to buy their freedom rather than having to support them in their less productive years. Consequently, black Bahamians did appear better off than their counterparts in the rest of the New World. Craton and Saunders, This state of affairs was c hanged somewhat by the arrival of Loyalist refugees from the Thirteen Colonies who, retaining allegiance to the British Crown, were forced 3 For s ome examples see Mintz, ; Nettleford, ; Patterson, ; M. These came with their slaves to establish c otton plantations throughout the central and southern islands, and represent the first group of settlers with any extensive agricultural interest. Their presence transformed the colony socially, intellectually and politically. Many came from cities such as Charleston and Williamsburg in the Carolinas and regarded themselves as the superiors of the original white inhabitants of the colony, whom they considered the illiterate offspring of pirates Albury, This group established schools and churches, rebuilt the capital, and injected the spirit of the Enlightenment into the community. Others, planters and farmers, brought with them the mindset of the plantation, and for a while enforced the social order with which they had been familiar in the Americ an colonies. Parliament after their arrival concerned itself with the enacting of laws governing the owning and administering of slaves. Yet even they were unable to sustain an undiluted reliance on the land for long. Cotton flourished in the Bahamas du ring the first ten years of its cultivation, but by the early s pestilence, exhausted soils and bad weather had taken their toll. Plantations were abandoned, often along with the slaves, or else planters diversified their crops, turning to the sea mor e and more to supplement their living. As a result, the end of slavery in had less of an impact on the economic and social structure of the Bahamas than it had on many other Caribbean colonies. Because Bahamian slaves had long been permitted or requ ired to diversify their activities, the

planters had no need for massive importations of indentured labour; moreover, the colony, already fairly poor, did not suffer a drastic change in financial fortunes. The Bahamian plantocracy did not, as was the tend ency on the sugar islands, withdraw en masse to the metropolis which 4 Ironically, this village no longer survives. PAGE 12 Introduction 11 was, in any case, quite unlikely to be in Europe, as most of them had come originally from the Thirteen Colonies of the Americas ; rather, it remained in the Bahamas, withdrawing perhaps to the capital, transferred its agricultural interests to sea based commerce, as the Eleutherians had before it, and wielded power in that fashion. One legacy of the white presence in the colony is found in its politics. For most of the history of Europ ean settlement in the Bahamas, the archipelago has enjoyed representative parliamentary government, established in and continuing unbroken until today. By the twentieth century, therefore, indigenous whites, and not the more disinterested British, held the primary responsibility for the social and economic affairs of th e nation. Dominions wer e provided with full internal self government, with Great Britain, represented by a Governor, retaining ultimate control over foreign affairs. Certain other colonies were permitted Representative Government. Under this system there was a split government Limited adult suffrage permitted the election of a parliament to the lower house, which administered all local affairs; the Governor appointed the upper house, and controlled the civil service and foreign affairs. All West Indian colonies were governed in this fashion until the rebellions of the mid s which followed the abolition of slavery. After that, the sugar islands became Crown Colonies administered exclusively by the Governor and his appointees, most of them British, where local citizens ha d no say in their government. It is possible to relate the three forms of government to the numbers of Europeans resident in the relevant colonies. Possessions whose populations were predominantly white were accorded Dominion status. Colonies where loca l whites made up significant minorities were permitted Representative Government. Colonies where the numbers of native whites were insignificant, or where the non white majority proved intractable, were administered as Crown Colonies. Even the Governor was effectively controlled by Parliament, which paid his salary and maintained his residence Craton, ; Hughes, PAGE 13 Introduction 12 This state of affairs, ironically, provided the mass of the Bahamian people with fewer privileges than their counterparts in the West Indian Crown Colonies. While the removal of representative government in Jamaica at the end of the nineteent h century has been viewed as a setback by Jamaicans see, for instance, Nettleford, , the fact that such government in the Bahamas was controlled by a white minority meant that avenues of advancement opened to inhabitants of other British Caribbean co lonies by the British themselves education and the civil service were not available to the vast majority of non white Bahamians; in most cases, there were enough white Bahamians to fill such places. What occurred in the Bahamian situation, then, was the e stablishment of a society in which individual enterprise, coupled with skin colour and ancestry, mattered more than education. The oppression of the Bahamian masses by the mercantile elite was considerable Johnson, a. Although the colony was, like the other American colonies, integrated into the global cash economy throughout most of its history, many ordinary Bahamians, particularly those living in the outlying islands of the archipelago, were excluded from participation in that economy. These pe ople relied on subsistence farming or depended on the mercantile elite for employment. Such was the monopoly of the white bourgeoisie in the capital that most of these labourers, when hired, were not paid in cash. Other areas provided some benefits. Generally a customary tenure with little or no standing PAGE 14 Introduction 13 in the courts, but with considerable de facto value, this property provided many Bahamians not only with the ability to engage in subsistence agricul ture free from rents and taxes, but also with a collective identity upon which to draw. On the other hand, the intensifying depression of the turn of the twentieth century ironically increased the autonomy of many black Bahamians. In the late s the e xpansion of the States into the Pacific west coast, together with the acquisition of the Hawaiian islands, had resulted in protective tariffs being levied against foreign imports. The Bahamian export industry, hitherto relying primarily upon the sale of t omatoes and pineapples to the USA, thus effectively lost its major market. Their gradual integration into the global cash economy, and their remittanc es of their wages to their families at home, meant that many of their relatives

were no longer wholly dependent on the credit extended to them by whites. Finally, for those people who were able to build their own boats and man them themselves thus avoiding the maritime monopoly of the capital the ever present fortunes of the sea provided their own rewards. Despite thei r growing economic autonomy during the early twentieth century, the political influence of the black and coloured population was limited; black Bahamians, although a majority since , held no real political power until Not only was the Bahamas de prived of the educational and economic advantages available 7 Bahamian exporters traded with the United States of America, the proximity of that country providing much surer returns than trade with Great Britain. PAGE 15 Introduction 14 to middle class blacks in British crown colonies, 8 but the presence of a sizeable group of native whites also hindered the establishment of a significant middle class. Plantation Caribbean societ y is understood as being constructed in layers which marry class with race and colour. At the apex were a number of people of European descent, often expatriates who governed the country. At the base were a large mass of working people peasants, lumpenpr oletariat or both who tended to be of predominantly African or Amerindian descent.

Chapter 3 : Social Complexity in Prehistoric Eurasia: Monuments, Metals and Mobility - PDF Free Download

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Bell Sen Figure I. Formal versus informal structure in a petroleum organization. Names have been disguised at the request of the company. They claimed that the physical separation had resulted in a loss of many of the serendipitous meetings between the production division and people in the other two divisions that occurred when they were co-located. As a result, the members of this network decided to introduce more structured means of coordinating their efforts to compensate for the loss of serendipitous communication. Managerial Implications of Social Networks in Organizations The above provides one example of how managers can use social network analysis in their organizations. In general, there are several managerial applications that seem to fall in one or more of three domains: From this perspective, network analysis can be helpful for executives and managers in two unique ways. First, social network analysis provides a kind of X ray for assessing collaboration among employees or other units within an organization. By making often-invisible communication patterns visible, SNA helps inform interventions in which managers can engage to improve effectiveness of their groups. Yet while almost everyone intuitively knows that their network is an important asset for them, it is very rare for executives to take time out to systematically assess this asset. Social network analysis can be particularly effective for assessing and promoting collaboration in strategically important groups such as top leadership networks, strategic business units, new product development initiatives, communities of practice, joint ventures, and mergers. Consider your own work. Or the last time you learned how to do something important in your work via a database? Alternatively, SNA can help identify heavily central people that might have become bottlenecks unnecessarily slowing the work of many others. It is important for managers to be able to assess and support informal networks within organizations to ensure alignment with corporate objectives. Unfortunately, critical informal networks often compete with and are fragmented by such aspects of organizations as formal structure, work processes, human resource practices, leadership style, and culture. This competition and fragmentation is particularly problematic in knowledge-intensive settings where management is counting on collaboration among employees with different expertise. Social network analysis provides a series of opportunities to ensure alignment of a given network 8 Introduction with corporate objectives, in large part by making these patterns of interaction visible and thus actionable. These people intuitively acknowledge the existence, importance, and power of the broad and diverse patterns of relationships that develop among a group of people over time. Prospects for a New Concept. Managing the Flow of Technology. The Social Life of Information. Harvard Business School Press. Improving Performance by Building Organizational Memory. The 21st Century Firm. Introduction 9 Drucker, P. A Manifesto for Business Revolution. The Radical Reconstruction of Organization Capabilities. The Company behind the Chart. Corporate Social Capital and Liability. New Forms for Knowledge Work. Nervous and Mental Disease Publishing Company. Structure, Form, and Action. Knowledge Management in Practice. Social Network Analysis 2nd ed. The New Wealth of Organizations. You invest a million dollars. The going rate of return is 10 percent. Investments create an ability to produce a competitive product. For example, capital is invested to build and operate a factory. The rate of return is keyed to the social structure of the competitive arena and is the focus here. Each player has a network of contacts in the arena. This chapter is about that advantage. It is a description of the way in which social structure renders competition imperfect by creating entrepreneurial opportunities for certain players and not for others. Second, the player has human capital. Your natural qualities€"charm, health, intelligence, and looks€"combined with the skills you have acquired in formal education and job experience give you abilities to excel at certain tasks. Third, the player has social capital: The social capital of people aggregates into the social capital of organizations. The latter represent its social capital. Distinguishing Social Capital Financial and human capital are distinct in two ways

from social capital. First, they are the property of individuals. Second, they concern the investment term in the market production equation. Investments in supplies, facilities, and people serve to build and operate a factory. Investments of money, time, and energy produce a skilled manager. Financial capital is needed for raw materials and production facilities. Human capital is needed to craft the raw materials into a competitive product. Social capital is different on both counts. First, it is a thing owned jointly by the parties to a relationship. No one player has exclusive ownership rights to social capital. If you or your partner in a relationship withdraws, the connection, with whatever social capital it contained, dissolves. Second, social capital concerns rate of return in the market production equation. The investment to make you a skilled manager is as valuable as the opportunitiesâ€"the leadership positionsâ€"you get to apply your managerial skills. The investment to make you a skilled scientist with state-of-the-art research facilities is as valuable as the opportunitiesâ€"the projectsâ€"you get to apply those skills and facilities. More accurately, social capital is as important as competition is imperfect and investment capital is abundant. Under perfect competition, social capital is a constant in the production equation. There is a single 14 Social Networks as Important Individual and Organizational Assets rate of return because capital moves freely from low-yield to high-yield investments until rates of return are homogeneous across alternative investments. When competition is imperfect, capital is less mobile and plays a more complex role in the production equation. There are impediments to reallocating human capital, both in terms of changing the people to whom you have a commitment and in terms of replacing them with new people. Rate of return depends on the relations in which capital is invested. Social capital is a critical variable. Competition is never perfect. The rules of trade are ambiguous in the aggregate and everywhere negotiable in the particular. The allocation of opportunities is rarely made with respect to a single dimension of abilities needed for a task. Whatever you bring to a production task, there are other people who could do the same jobâ€"perhaps not as well in every detail, but probably as well within the tolerances of the people for whom the job is done. Those other criteria are social capital. New life is given to the proverb that says success is determined less by what you know than by whom you know. As a senior colleague once remarked and Cole, , chaps. Of the products that are of comparably high quality, only some come to dominate their markets. The question is how. Who and How The competitive arena has a social structure: This idea has circulated as power, prestige, social resources, and more recently, social capital. Coleman discusses the transmission of human capital across generations. Flap and Tazelaar provide a thorough review with special attention to social network analysis. Network structure is not used to predict attitudes or behaviors directly. It is used to predict similarity between attitudes and behaviors compare Barber, , for a causal analysis. Social capital theory developed from this line of work describes the manner in which resources available to any one person in a population are contingent on the resources available to individuals socially proximate to the person. Empirical evidence is readily available. People develop relations with people like themselves for example, Fischer, ; Marsden, ; Burt, Wealthy people develop ties with other wealthy people. Educated people develop ties with one another. Young people develop ties with one another. There are reasons for this. Socially similar people, even in the pursuit of independent interests, spend time in the same places. Socially similar people have more shared interests. Whatever the etiology for strong relations between socially similar people, it is to be expected that the resources and opinions of any one individual will be correlated with the resources and opinions of his or her close contacts. Indeed, it is little developed beyond intuitions in empirical research on social capital. Network range, indicated by size, is the primary measure. For example, Boxman, De Graaf, and Flap show that people with larger contact networks obtain higherpaying positions than people with small networks.

Chapter 4 : Felsefi DÃ¼ÅŸÃ¼n- Ã‡aÄŸdaÅŸ Siyaset Felsefesi | Felsefi DÃ¼ÅŸÃ¼n and Hakan CÌ§oÌˆreḱ

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Geography was sensed to be a hierarchy of a different sort, yet economic critiques of capitalism were evoked to counter that tacit order. Much of what is considered international or transnational or labor migration today transforms people of a wide range of social standings in the countries from which they migrate into laborers at the bottom social ranks of the countries towards which they migrate. We read in the papers of Russian one-time doctors, for example, and of Czech one-time managers, who, as immigrants to the United States, clean Wal-Mart stores for seven nights a week; we learn that Chinese one-time professors and one-time senior executives maintain casinos and bathrooms in Connecticut, that Armenian one-time engineers pump gas in New York City, that Vietnamese one-time medical doctors become census-takers, that Ethiopian one-time engineers sell candy in San Francisco. It was not uncommon over the last decade to hear of would-be immigrants locked in cargo planes or ships or trains for days or even weeks on end, with no food and no water, just to physically make it to the other side of the border that divided the world in which they were from the world in which they wanted to be. With some regularity, we also hear of those who, desiring to slip undetected through the ever less yielding border controls, squeeze their physical selves into the inner tubes of truck tires, stow themselves away in airplane wheel wells, or walk through deserts for days. Several thousands of such would-be immigrants died while attempting to reach the United States and the countries of the European Union in the last decade alone. The No-Nonsense Guide to International Migration Stalker quotes data from the United States Immigration and 1 2 1 International Migration as Socioglobal Mobility believed to have only increased since the s, especially after the early s and again in the s. Why do millions of would-be migrants so desire to be in the United States or in the European Union, where, as it is widely known, regardless of who they are when they start their journeys across international borders, they end up at the bottom and earn their keep by cleaning dishes and homes and offices, by shining shoes and waiting tables, at wages that are often but a fraction of those in the legal labor markets? What is the contemporary global appeal of a life lived sometimes quite literally under used cardboard or in drainage culverts? During the same period the INS reports rescuing over 2, others who faced a similar fate. Figures from the International Organization for Migration for the year put the death toll among those who attempted to enter Europe without permits to over 1,â€"a figure that refers only to the documented cases, and that might thus be just about one-third of the actual number ibid. Castles and Miller According to the United Nations Population Division, in the year migrant stock comprised 8. Analyzing the covers of several such magazines since the mid s, Leo Chavez argues that, in the United States, the discourse of immigration is a discourse of the nation. The remarkable selection of visual material Chavez reproduces in his book shows also how the images of immigration that feed on popular sentimentsâ€"and that in turn also shape those sentimentsâ€"typically depict immigrants as drawn towards the United States by prospects of indisputable economic advantage. The absence of reflection on the lot of the immigrants as human and social beings cannot be blamed on their invisibility. Instead, the absence in our culture of genuine sociological reflection on international migration as human mobility can be traced to the commonsensical belief that international migration has simply economic roots. In fact, the popular understandings of international migration and of the economics of the contemporary world appear to be trapped in a closed conceptual circle. One can easily see how myriad cultural representations of the wealth disparities between the countries towards which people migrate and the rest of the world from which they come, feed the general sense that the most profound reason for emigration is nothing but the material poverty that, in this same understanding, characterizes the countries where immigrants come from. Scholars attribute this effectively hegemonic vision of international migration as a move prompted by the prospects of relative economic advantage to the perspectives of especially those economists who have traditionally considered

rational choice and maximization of economic benefit as the core grounds for nearly all individual decisions. Unfortunately, the film assigns the transformation of the one-time doctor into a hotel receptionist and taxi driver to the lot of a refugee, the genuine hero who, unlike many of the other immigrants with whom the plot of the film involves him, has had to escape what shattered his family. As an artistic portrait of contemporary international migration, Dirty Pretty Things reaches the coda when the Nigerian one-time doctor, once he can, decides not to remain in Britainâ€"a move perhaps not typical of contemporary immigrants. From the perspective of neoclassical economics, international migration represents a response to the differences in wages and in conditions of employment between countries, and the simple and compelling explanation of international migration offered by neoclassical macroeconomics has strongly shaped public thinking and has provided the intellectual basis for much immigration policy Massey et al. Predictably, theoretical frameworks about virtually anything are sooner or later challenged, and some are eventually revised or replaced by alternatives. As Massey and his colleagues thoroughly discuss, the neoclassical economics model for making sense of international migration has drawn elaborate competition. Both the macro and the micro versions of the neoclassical economics model, for example, are founded upon a conceptualization of the individual as the maker of the decision to migrate internationally. In this framework, international migration is attracted by advanced industrial countries, the high wages of which represent structural needs for labor ibid. This situation has changed; there appears to be some agreement that, at present, the study of migration might even constitute a subfield within the social sciences DeWind And this is not just the case within the disciplinary boundaries of economics or economic sociology. The inveteracy of conceptualizing international migration as driven by the prospects of economic advantage can be particularly striking in sociocultural anthropology, given the tradition, from Bronislaw Malinowski e. Leo Chavez, on the other hand, has seen endurance in the anthropological engagement with international migration, and has recalled the interest Franz Boas showed in the physical transformation of immigrants in the United States Chavez In fact ethnographers of migration have long maintained a creative tension with certain mainstream currents in anthropology and sociology and offer a critique of both Glick Schiller While the history of the study of migration in anthropology might thus be a matter of some disagreement, general agreement exists on its increasing prominence since the s and especially in the s and after Foner ; Brettell ; di Leonardo Besides generating a wealth of documentation of and keen insights on the lived experiences of international migration, anthropologists have also engaged the various theoretical perspectives on the workings of contemporary migration e. As their interest in migration has grown, anthropologists, sociologists, and other scholars who share the ethnographic methodology and its related perspectives have conducted research on both ends of migration, and a number of recent studies have covered within the same framework more than one migration or re-migration routes or more than one destination of migration. Anthropologists may have not felt so strongly about the explanatory frameworks of push-pull economics as to extensively engage in illustrating them through ethnographic investigations. But neither have they felt so particularly opposed to the economic models of push-pull as to take issue with them. Despite their contribution to understanding complex cases of international migration, and despite the notable novelty of the paradigm of transnationalism, contemporary anthropologists appear to engage exclusively those dimensions of international migration that are secondary to the allegedly fundamental economics of push-pull. The focus on specific dimensions of the experience of international migration that ethnographic work typically adopts has often resulted in adding particulars to, and in effect reinforcing, the view that income differentials and economic advantage drive international migration. Ong ; Espiritu Although Margolis has the merit of putting the name of decline to the transformation of status that Brazilian immigrants undergo in New York City, she funnels her ethnographic findings into conclusions that reproduce the usual view of international migration as a move of economic advantage. Yet she concurs with her informants as to the reason they state for their emigrationâ€" that being in the United States allows them to earn money in a solid currency which translates to a great deal in Brazil. Margolis argues that despite their talk about their presence in America as just temporary and a means for earning US dollars, most Brazilians are in America to stay. Critiquing the

push-pull model as an essentially post facto explanation for international migration cf. Portes and Bach , and focusing instead on the imposition of structures of the capitalist economy all over the world, this framework conceptualizes international migration as an outcome of the economic and social disruption caused by the global spread of Western capitalism. Colonization forcefully drew people of different economic systems into one system and made wage laborers out of former natives. But rather than converting the colonies into full capitalist systems, colonization only created economic enclaves that functioned in dependency to and were exploited by the core capitalist economies of Europe. Although the postcolonial era did see economic shifts in the global capitalist economy, one of the consequences of the global liberalization of finance was the intensification of the dependency of the former colonial economic enclaves on forces beyond their control. And this is how large numbers of people in formerly non-capitalist economic systems, who during the colonial era had been proletarianized and whose livelihoods had come to depend on cash wages, by the s were increasingly left without work, thus forming a global pool of unengaged labor, available and ready to migrate to other countries. Focusing on how a range of formerly colonized countries entered a stage of economic compatibility with European capitalism, disruption frameworks show how, at present, people all over the world have in effect been brought into the same leveled field in which one or another of the economic pull-push models does finally explain international migration. Albeit through the initial use of force, money eventually became meaningful even to those people to whom it did not mean much before. And as soon as that was the case, international migration could and can be accounted for by the economics of push and pull: Can the prospects of possessing more money account for the dire determination with which international migrants pursue their decline abroad? On this level, income differentials between countries, for example, appear blurred at best: Socioglobal Mobility 9 not emigrate, remittances typically reverse the differentials of income on both ends of international migration. A broad and historical consensus exists in social and economic thought that, once the basic necessities of life have been provided for, the essential function of money is as a means to achieve one or another form of social distinction. In assigning the drive of capitalist accumulation to the Protestant ethic of hard work that aimed at divine recognition, Max Weber argued in effect that, in its entirety, worldly economic striving sought the establishment of individual distinction Weber The consensus on the social function of economic power is in fact so sweeping as to include not only the related sociological thinking of Georg Simmel e. Years before becoming the chairman of the United States Federal Reserve, Greenspan elaborated on the premise that gold stabilizes a national currency because it symbolizes luxury Greenspan , while Marx, in theorizing the logic of capital as accumulation for the sake of accumulation, implied the value of money to be a relative rather than an absolute measure Marx ; cf. This evokes again the paradox of willed pursuit of social demotion through voluntary international migration. How are we to understand the one-time Russian doctor who willingly demotes himself into a janitor in the United States? How to explain that the numbers of those who willingly pursue similar paths of demotion are at present growing all over the world? How does the prospect of drastic decline in status, even when paired with relative economic advantage, account for those who audaciously face death itself while attempting to make it physically to the West? To learn why people cross the borders of nation-states in spite of the social demotion that awaits them, and why they willingly remain in their demoted positions, the following pages focus on a byword for the global condition of heightened emigration pressures as well as for the dramatic decline many international migrants undergoâ€"the outcome in Greece of the Albanian emigration that started in the early s. Furthermore, Italy is better than Greece, Germany is better than Italy, and America is the best country of all. Paradoxically, seeing like the Albanians of Greeceâ€"as well as like the rest of the Greeks and perhaps the rest of usâ€"people irredeemably belong to countries. To the extent that the experience of the Albanians of Greece is part of a contemporary social and cultural reality that reaches beyond the physical boundaries of their world, and to the extent that my ethnographic conclusions can be generalized, this book holds that the essence of contemporary international migration lies with the articulation of the social in terms of the international. Social status is at the same time a matter of territorial belonging, and that typically makes international

advancement impossible. In short, rather than as a move of economic advantage, contemporary international migration might be best understood as socioglobal mobility. Chapter 2 A Preliminary Portrait of the Albanian Emigration What makes the contemporary Albanian emigration an ideal case for investigating the paradox of willed pursuit of social decline through international migration can be seen, in a way, as a matter of numbers. Over one-third of all teachers and more than one-half of all Albanians with graduate degrees have left Albania since the early s to become mostly unskilled or low-skilled laborers in Greece, Italy, and other countries in the West. What is more, it is generally thought that throughout the s, as hundreds of Albanians perished while trying to penetrate the mountainous border to Greece or drowned in the sea while trying to make it to the Italian shores,3 1 Jamaica appears to be the only comparable case: In fact even the family of the deceased may often not know what has happened for a long time. Such notices usually included a photograph above a brief description of the route the missing emigrant was known to have used, the cities in Greece he was known to have worked in, and the Greek name by which he was known there. A notable exception to the customary tacitness surrounding the attempts to emigrate resulting in death was the publicity of the drowning of 83 Albanians as their ship was allegedly capsized by an Italian naval patrol in April , which became a politicized event Pajo Out of fear of the Italian border patrol, smugglers are nowadays 11 12 Global rank 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 7 9 10 11 2 A Preliminary Portrait of the Albanian Emigration Table 2. Despite these distinctions, the Albanian emigration remains little known outside southeastern Europe and the small circles of scholars interested in the region. This, too, can be seen as a matter of numbers: The weight of Albanian migrants in the global migration scene is relativized in light of the far smaller percentages of people emigrating from significantly more populous countries see Table 2. Obscurity, then, makes it necessary to provide here, as context for the following ethnography, a preliminary portrait of the Albanian emigration. Like the deaths on the land borders, these too happen one or two at a time and go without much notice. Another recent exception to this was the death of 20 to 27 would-be immigrants when one boat capsized in bad seas in January , which became a politicized event not dissimilar to that of the year In many contexts, this must have been an unimaginable occurrence. Its most reliable written record is a scattered array of media reports from sources almost always outside Albania. The Albanians of Greece appeared to have their own firm ideas on the developments in Albania over the last decade and a half, and they were usually reluctant to state those in more than a few pithy sentences. Even so, I have often had to judge what appeared more plausible. There had been rumors that a truck full of people had driven through the wall of the German embassy, and the embassies of Italy and of France were apparently also key targets. A villager comes to Tirana to enter the embassies. But the villager has not been in Tirana before. He has only been in his village. He does not know his way. He does not know where the embassies are. He asks some pedestrians: He sees a cop in front of a fence and a lot of people waiting in line. He gets all excited. This is Germany now! All right, he jumps on the fence and he climbs up. The villager is going to Germany! They were treated as political refugees:

Chapter 5 : Networks in the Knowledge Economy - PDF Free Download

He is author and editor of numerous books including Building Europe: The Cultural Politics of European Integration (), Elite Cultures (ASA Monographs 38, , edited with Stephen Nugent), Corruption: Anthropological Perspectives (, edited with Dieter Haller) and Policy Worlds: Anthropology and the Analysis of Power (, edited with Susan Wright and Davide Pero). His current project is a study of university reform, neoliberalism and globalization.

Cenveo Publisher Services Printed by: He has carried out long-term field research in Sudan and Uganda and has also researched in Ghana, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Kenya and Tanzania. His books include Trial Justice: Much of her research has featured an ongoing preoccupation with the workings of and intersections between different forms of transnational mobility. Recent publications include Going First Class? She specializes in the anthropology of verbal arts and popular culture, focusing on the Yoruba-speaking area of western Nigeria. Among her more recent books are The Generation of Plays: His research interests include urban anthropology and the social anthropology of new media. His earlier research focused on policing and vigilantism in the city of Bandung, Indonesia. More recently he has published several articles focusing on new media and the making of Indonesian urban imaginaries. Glenn Bowman has researched in Jerusalem, between and , and since then in the mixed Christian-Muslim town of Beit Sahour, near Bethlehem. Bowman is past editor of the Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute and serves on the editorial boards of Critique of Anthropology, Anthropological Theory and Focaal. He has written widely on intersections of media and knowledge, including Understanding Media His next book, The Life Informatic, concerns the transformation of news journalism in the era of digital information. He is currently researching the politics of energy transition in Latin America and Europe. She is the author of The Heat of the Hearth: Essays on Remembrance and Relatedness Her research interests include religious conversion, ethnic citizenship, materiality, and human-environment relations in Malaysian Borneo. She is the author of The Christianity of Culture: Jean Comaroff is the Bernard E. Comaroff is the Harold H. Their current research in postapartheid South Africa is on crime, policing, and the workings of the state, on democracy and difference, and on the nature of postcolonial politics. Their recent co-authored books include Ethnicity, Inc. Andrea Cornwall is Professor of Anthropology and Development in the School of Global Studies at the University of Sussex where she works mainly on the anthropology of democracy, sexualities, rights and gender. Recent publications include Development With a Body: She is the author of Macedonia: Her research interests include gender, embodiment and performance, culture and rights, and histories of transnational engagements around minority and human rights, from activism to international monitoring, with a current focus on petitions to the League of Nations. Rupert Cox is a Lecturer in Visual Anthropology at Manchester University whose interests revolve around the relationships between technology, the senses, and media practices, both as [Page xiii]subjects of study in themselves and as the means to link artwork with anthropological enquiry. In Japan, he researches into such areas as the representation and practice of the Zen arts, the cultural history of the idea of copying, and the political ecology of aircraft noise. His latest publication is Beyond Text: She has published articles based on her doctoral research in Belfast, Northern Ireland, which traced relationships among grassroots activism and transnational norms regarding human rights and conflict resolution. She is author of On the Game: His research has focused on martial arts and rugby in Brazil, the United States, Australia and Oceania, focusing especially on biological, behavioural, perceptual and neurological adaptations to diverse training regimens. He is author of Learning Capoeira: An Introduction to Neuroanthropology with Daniel D. His broader research interests lie in the evolution of sociality in mammals with particular reference to ungulates, primates and humans. He has carried out fieldwork in Western Samoa and in the United States, where he studied political discourse, verbal performance, and human universals such as greetings. He has written on intentionality, agency, linguistic relativity, and, more recently, the role of improvisation in jazz and everyday interaction. He is a past President of the Society for Linguistic Anthropology. Brian Durrans was until senior

curator of Asian ethnography in the British Museum. He has curated many exhibitions, most recently Posing Questions: His writings have ranged over museology, collecting, representations and Asian material culture. He is [Page xiv]currently pursuing further research on portraiture, and leads a long-term collaborative project on the anthropology of time capsules. His current research interests include migration, urbanization, tourism and the environment in the Asia Pacific region. A Fulbright postdoctoral fellowship enabled his field research on African ethnomathematics, published as African Fractals: Modern Computing and Indigenous Design He has written extensively in the fields of environmental anthropology, cultural cognition and ethnobiology, as well as having conducted fieldwork in various parts of island Southeast Asia. He was President of the Royal Anthropological Institute from to His research has considered agricultural and environmental knowledge and practices in West and Central Africa and their encounters with the world of science, international development and conservation. More recently he has expanded in taking an ethnographic approach to the conduct of medical science, published as Vaccine Anxieties , with Melissa Leach. Berns and Sidney Littlefield Kasfir. Sarah Franklin is the Professor of Sociology at the University of Cambridge and the author of numerous publications concerning kinship and new reproductive technologies. Her most recent book is Dolly Mixtures: The Remaking of Genealogy Towards an Anthropology of Biomedicine Her current work concerns the history of in vitro fertilization and embryo transfer and is forthcoming with Duke University Press under the title Biological Relatives: Susan Gal is Mae and Sidney G. As co-editor of Languages and Publics: The Making of Authority , and in numerous articles, she has written about the political economy of language. Her continuing ethnographic work in Europe explores the relationship between linguistic practices, semiotic processes and the construction of social life.

Chapter 6 : Full text of "Introduction to Anthropology"

Anthropology, Medical Anthropology, the Anthropology of Consciousness, and, related to the latter, "Paranthropology." The first of these contributions is, of course, the detailed.

From Myth to Method: Hanks and Katheryn M. He has worked, lived, and studied in China at various times since the early s and has conducted archaeological research in south China and Vietnam. Most recently he has directed a project in central Mongolia, focusing on the emergence and development of nomadic pastoralism in that region. Amartuvshin is also co-director of the Joint Mongolian-American Baga Gazaryn Chuluu Expedition, and his research interests include the emergence of social complexity among nomadic groups, the study of mortuary process, and the preservation of steppe nomadic heritage. Anthony is professor of anthropology and anthropology curator at the Yager Museum of Art and Culture at Hartwick College. Barfield has ix x Contributors conducted extensive fieldwork among nomads in northern Afghanistan and is the author of The Central Asian Arabs of Afghanistan and co-author of Afghanistan: An Atlas of Indigenous Domestic Architecture. He has written more broadly on the history and culture of nomadic pastoral societies in The Perilous Frontier: Bunker is a well-known authority on personal adornment in China, the art of the horse-riding groups of the Eurasian steppe, and Khmer art of Southeast Asia. Her numerous publications have presented groundbreaking research on these subjects. He has carried out research for decades on ancient metallurgy and has published five volumes on the excavations at Kargaly, the best-known and only recently studied mining complex in Siberia. Epimakhov is a Ph. Fitzhugh, an anthropologist specializing in circumpolar archaeology, ethnology, and environmental studies, is director of the Arctic Studies Center and curator in the Department of Anthropology, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution. He has spent more than 30 years studying and publishing on Arctic peoples and cultures in northern Canada, Alaska, Siberia, and Scandinavia. He has produced international exhibitions, NOVA specials, and several films. Frachetti is assistant professor of anthropology at Washington University in St. He has also conducted ethnographic studies of Kazakh pastoralists and carried out research on Contributors xi prehistoric rock art in the Italian Alps, Roman and Islamic landscapes in North Africa, and Neolithic hunter-gatherers in Finland. Han has published widely on the production of alloyed metals and on the history of metallurgy in early China. She has taken special interest recently in the intersection between the imperial Chinese and their northern neighbors. Hanks is associate professor in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pittsburgh and research associate at the Carnegie Museum of Natural History in Pittsburgh. He has been involved in collaborative archaeological research in the Russian Federation since and has received funding from the National Science Foundation and the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research. William Honeychurch is assistant professor of anthropology at Yale University. He has conducted field research in Mongolia for more than a decade and has written many articles on pastoralism in Mongolia in the Bronze and Iron Ages. His work in Egiin Gol was the first pedestrian survey conducted in Mongolia. He has also conducted a field survey in the southern, arid regions of Mongolia. Jean-Luc Houle is a Ph. His fieldwork over the past five years has taken place in Mongolia, where he is conducting a pedestrian surface survey aimed at the reconstruction of pastoral lifeways during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Kohl is professor of anthropology and Kathryn W. She has published more than 80 articles in American, European, and Russian journals. Xiaocen Li completed his Ph. His research focuses on the metallurgical technology used by the bronze-using cultures of southwest China in the late first millennium bce. He has recently joined the faculty at the University of Science and Technology Beijing. She is the co-editor with Karen S. Rubinson of Are All Warriors Male? She has conducted field research in Inner Mongolia for many years. His research focuses on the transmission of metallurgy and the intersection of cultures in the Neolithic period and Bronze Age in northwestern China and eastern Kazakhstan. Peterson is assistant professor of anthropology and a scientist at the Center for Archaeology, Materials and Applied Spectroscopy at Idaho State University. He is co-editor

with Laura M. Popova and Adam T. Smith of Beyond the Steppe and the Sown and the author of several articles on Bronze Age metallurgy in the Eurasian steppes and Caucasus. He is currently involved in geo-archaeological survey and source analysis of copper ores and copper and bronze artifacts in Armenia and laboratory investigations of the biological effects of copper production on Bronze Age populations in the southeastern Urals. Her current research and publications focus on the politics of pastoral land use, past and present, highlighting the ways in which the socio-political, ecological, and cultural orders of pastoral societies shape and restructure global and local environments. He has worked in the field of European prehistory and is the author of Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins and other works. He has engaged in fieldwork in northeastern China since Joshua Wright received his Ph. He continues to pursue his interests in the archaeological prehistory and history of Inner Asia as well as general anthropological, spatial, and natural-science-based studies of megaliths, monumentality, nomadism, and mobility through the rubric of landscape archaeology and human ecology. Up to a couple of decades ago, it seemed that little progress was being made, despite important archaeological discoveries in a number of relevant countries. The same rather simple models, based on an undifferentiated view of mobile steppe pastoralism and the notion of a short yet significant episode in which the domestication of the horse was achieved, had held sway since the early twentieth century. The valid contrasts emphasized in The Steppe and the Sown by Peake and Fleure led in the early work of Gordon Childe to a simplistic view of mounted nomad pastoralists, a view that has survived into recent times, although it was later reassessed by Childe himself Today the picture is completely transformed, as the present volume emphasizes. In particular, recent discoveries have now allowed a clear differentiation to be established between the developments of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the steppes, in social and economic terms as much as in metallurgy. The development toward a pastoralist economy in the earlier Bronze Age, as well exemplified by the Sintashta culture of western Siberia with its chariot burials Koryakova and Epimakhov It was not until the Iron Age, in the first millennium bce, that Eurasian nomad pastoralism developed as a militarily significant enterprise with a complex, hierarchical , and ramified social I xv xvi C o l i n R e n f r e w structure utilizing effective military power based upon the deployment of mounted warriors Koryakova and Epimakhov This was the period of the first great kurgans, such as at Arzhan in the Tuva area Parzinger Steppe archaeology is now one of the most dynamic fields in the whole ambit of prehistoric studies, as is reflected in the publications of some earlier conferences e. The reasons for this upsurge in interest and in productive research are several, and they are well exemplified here. In the first place, the vast terrain of central Eurasia has opened up to scholarship. International meetings are being held within the area, at sites such as Arkaim or Gonur Tepe , as much as in Beijing or Pittsburgh. This new openness has facilitated publication in the West by major scholars who did not earlier enjoy a wide readership there e. Second, it is at last possible to compare and contrast the various cultures, across a terrain that reaches almost to the Pacific Ocean in the east to lands bordering the Mediterranean Sea in the west, with the benefit of a secure chronological framework. Radiocarbon dates, increasingly accompanied by tree-ring dates in some cases, are beginning, for the first time, to produce a coherent chronology see Hanks et al. Already there have been some shocks. The relatively early date of the Sintashta culture , associated with the first use of the chariot , is now well documented. And at the conference whose papers are presented here, the early dates for the Maikop burial, presented by Chernykh, and discussed also by Kohl, offer not so much a refinement as a disruption of most earlier assumptions. Through these new projects, new areas of research are opening up. Prominent among these is the development of trade. New research on the sources and early use of tin has offered this commodity as one salient vector for the rapid development of bronze metallurgy in the later Bronze Age. There, as in other areas of steppe archaeology, the work of colleagues from the German Archaeological Institute, often in collaboration with scholars from the steppe lands or neighboring countries, has been particularly important. Moreover, the ecology of the exploitation Foreword xvii of the steppe lands is now the subject for sustained research. The basis for the early use of the area, before the development of the full system of mobile pastoralism seen during the Iron Age, is under investigation. And the much-debated question of the

domestication of the horse is seen in a new light, especially when careful distinction is made between horses for food, to facilitate herding, for pulling chariots , and to support armed warriors. Molecular genetic research, applied to plant and animal species, is proving as relevant here as when applied to living human populations. These approaches and the application of new models for change and of new explanatory frameworks have led to an exciting quickening in the pace of research, as the chapters in this volume document. A number of broad questions can now be posed rather more clearly. It is evident that the mounted warriors of the great chiefdoms of the Iron Age, some of them designated by classical writers as Cimmerians and Scythians , relied upon a social order and an economic system that were remarkably successful. They seem to have emerged in the fi rst millennium bce but were based on earlier antecedents. How can we better defi ne the social and economic systems that sustained these prosperous mobile communities? The communities of the Bronze Age of the second millennium bce that preceded these clearly were themselves innovators, and it was during this time that the fi rst great trading networks seem to have been established. We see the settlement archaeology of some of these communities in sites like Sintashta and Arkaim , in the so-called country of towns. But can we defi ne more precisely the economies and societies at this time, including those of the Andronovo culture? The horse is documented as used for pulling chariots already at the beginning of the second millennium. But can we establish more clearly when horse riding became significant for military purposes? Yet the initial domestication of the steppes must have begun before this time. The evidence for plant and animal domesticates is not yet very abundant before bce, yet by then some of the important transitions must have been occurring. Issues need to be defined more clearly before we can hope to understand by what means, for instance, the horse-drawn chariot reached China. Early steppe metallurgy too needs further study, if we are to establish definitively whether the surprisingly late use in China of copper and of bronze was a technology learned from the West. Perhaps we are close to seeing answers to some of these questions. From a broad perspective, the degree and nature of the influence and which way the arrows of transmission point still have to be established conclusively on the basis of secure data. That goal is now within reach. There are also vast issues in linguistic prehistory. What was the role of the steppe communities in the dissemination of the languages of the Indo-European family? That vexed question has not yet been satisfactorily answered see Anthony , and some recent initiatives offer results that are disconcertingly inconclusive Lamberg-Karlovsky In particular, the problem of how the Indo-Iranian languages or their precursor reached South Asia remains to be resolved. In a similar vein, we need to understand better the archaeological record to document the Mongol invasions and to explain the present-day distribution of languages in the area. Such linguistic issues, however, simply serve to emphasize the critical role of the Eurasian steppe lands in world prehistory. At times, these vast tracts of land have served to separate two very active and sometimes independent heartlands of cultural activity: At other times, particularly with the more effective use of the horse and of the camel, they have formed an important zone connecting these two great centers or congeries of centers of domestication and later of civilization.

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Paranthropology: Journal of Anthropological Approaches to the Paranormal. Vol. 5 No. 1 1.

Chicago, Illinois U. Clifford Geertz , anthropologist. The papers include fieldnotes, records of his career as a professor at the University of Chicago from to , and papers connected to his long tenure at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. Subseries 1 contains student evaluative material that is restricted until Subseries 2 includes grant applications that are restricted until Subseries 3 includes personnel files that are restricted until The remainder of the collection is open for research. Citation When quoting material from this collection, the preferred citation is: His connection to humanist studies, including philosophy and literary criticism, remained important throughout his career as a social scientist. Breaking away from the positivist and scientific approach to anthropology that had reigned throughout the s, Geertz promoted a literary style within the discipline. He conducted extensive ethnographic research in Indonesia during the s and in Morocco during the s. He became Associate Professor in and Professor in Geertz remained at the University of Chicago until , when he accepted an inaugural position as a Professor of Social Science at the newly-formed Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. During this period he also held joint appointments with Oxford University and at Princeton University. Clifford Geertz published numerous essays, books, and articles. Among the most significant are Islam Observed: Geertz was married first to fellow anthropologist Hildred Storey, with whom he had two children. He married Karen Blu, also an anthropologist, Geertz died in Philadelphia on October 30, Scope Note This collection has been divided into eight series: Institute for Advanced Study; V: Research and Writing; VI: The researchers kept detailed and meticulous notes and compiled a great deal of primary historic information, including hand-drawn maps, kinship charts, and land ownership tables. Much of this information is represented both in written and pictorial form. Series I is divided into three subseries: Indonesia, Morocco, and Other Locations. Series II contains fieldnotes and writings attributed to Hildred Geertz. Also invaluable to researchers is the prolific correspondence Geertz maintained throughout his academic career. Correspondence series has been divided into five subseries: Institute for Advanced Study includes calendars, syllabi, seminar papers, agendas, member lists, and clippings. Series V, Research and Writing includes notes, drafts and offprints of lectures, articles, reviews and other scholarly writings by Geertz, as well as manuscripts and offprints sent to him by colleagues. Series VI contains files to which access is restricted. The Restricted series is divided into three subseries: Series VII includes photographs, maps, kinship charts, posters, certificates and other awards given to Geertz, academic regalia, t-shirts collected by Geertz, and objects and artifacts he acquired as gifts or while traveling.

Social interaction involves performances across varied 'stages' of space and time, where subject-authors use narrative conventions to communicate their beliefs, identities, and desires in.

Mafeje on Anthropology Against Disciplinarity and Epistemology? Decolonising the Gaze Journey 3: Witness to the Clash of Civilisations Journey 4: How do I See Tomorrow s Anthropologist? The New Generation Survival Strategies: Pessimism and Immunisation Duels and Brains: Streetwise Philosophy Christian Moderns: From Ghana to Botswana Richard Mannathoko: Inclusion and Alliance Civic Culture: Biography and Documentary Practice Civic Culture: Opening up the Research Design in and on Africa: Makhuwa woven funnel eheleo Figure 2: Examples of decorative bands on sipatsi bags Figure 3: Combination of two different bands on the same sipatsi bag Figure 4: Examples of nembo strip decorations on pots Figure 5: Drying fish in a circle on Mozambique s island Nampula province Plate: Professor Mafeje passed away in March Valentin Y. Sociocultural endogeneity and its shadow side namely the largely fantasised alterity projected onto the alien socioculture as well as the cross-pollination between so-called universal science in fact most often Western-derived science and local knowledge systems, are core themes in the book. More specifically, how do local knowledge practices take up, along their own genius, existential issues and epistemological perspectives that indeed may interrogate or enrich more global transcultural debates and scholarly reflexivity? Within the afore-mentioned feat, the present book revisits a number of promising endeavours towards Africa s re-appropriation of endogenous intellectual and sociocultural ideals. Its strong concern is about today s anthropology and its relevance in the selfcritical postcolonial production of knowledge in and of Africa that moreover breaks open Africanist scholarship onto questions of broad scholarly relevance, if not of cosmopolitan concern. Professor Mafeje s discourses and publications do transcend disciplinary boundaries and are characterised by a staunch contribution towards endogenously reasserting in and for Africa and the larger academe Africa s intellectual capabilities and ideals. As an academic sojourner conscious of the history of Africa over the last six centuries, professor Mafeje fondly known as Archie rallied his colleagues to resist the intellectual servitude on which all forms of foreign domination thrive. He was intransigeant in his call for the liberation of our collective imaginations as the foundation stone for continental liberation. In all of this, he also distinguished himself by his insistence on scientific rigour and originality. It was his trade mark to be uncompromisingly severe with fellow scientists who were mediocre in their analyses. The power of his pen and the passion of his interventions always went hand-inhand with a uniquely polemical style hardly meant for those who were not sure-footed in their scholarship. Archie Mafeje, South-African by birth, completed his undergraduate studies and began his career as a scholar at the University of Cape Town, but like many other South-Africans, he was soon forced by the apartheid regime to go into exile where he spent the better part of his life. That appointment bestowed on him the honour of being a Queen Juliana Professor and one of her Lords. His name appears in the prestigious blue pages of the Dutch National Directorate. An Introduction Archie Mafeje s professional career spanned four decades and covered three continents. Thereafter, he took up the post of Professor of Sociology and Anthropology and Director of the Multidisciplinary Research Centre at the University of Namibia from to Mafeje was also a senior fellow and visiting or guest professor at several other universities and research institutions in Africa, Europe and North America. He is the author of many books, monographs and journal articles. His critique of the concept of tribalism and his works on anthropology are widely cited as key reference materials. He also did path-breaking work on the land and agrarian question in Africa. Wednesday 28 March , professor Archie Mafeje passed away, in Pretoria. Through his sustained critique of African anthropology as a handmaiden of colonialism and call for social history to replace it as a discipline, Mafeje witnesses to his total discomfort with the epistemology of alterity and exogenously generated and contextually irrelevant knowledge produced with ambitions of dominance. This is all the more problematic, as Jimi Adesina sociologist at Rhodes University, South-Africa in chapter three argues, when

such knowledge is passively internalised and reproduced by the very 3 20 The Postcolonial Turn people whose ontology and experiences have been carefully scripted out by misrepresentations informed by hierarchies of humanity structured, inter alia, on race, place, class, gender and age. As John Sharp social anthropology, University of Pretoria argues in chapter four, what Archie Mafeje objected to about anthropology which he once described as his calling, was not its methods of research or the evidence that could be produced by careful participant observation. Even at his most critical he took care to endorse the value of this form of inquiry relative to others. He remained faithful to the fact that any attempt to understand the circumstances of people in Africa required firsthand inquiry into what they made of these circumstances themselves. What he objected to therefore, was an anthropology in which particular epistemological assumptions were allowed to overwhelm whatever it was that people on the ground had to say about the conditions in which they found themselves. If Mafeje objected to this kind of anthropology, it was as John Sharp states because anthropology was the discipline he knew best the one he had said was his calling at the outset of his professional career. Mafeje spent the best part of his life and scholarship contesting the racialised epistemological underpinnings of a system of social knowledge production into which Africans have been co-opted and schooled as passive consumers without voice even on matters pertaining to their very own realities and existence. Yet, his call for the valorisation of Africanity, its creativity and innovations has not meant easy endorsement for all that claims to be Afro-centric. He has been especially critical of well-meaning but poorly conceived and even more poorly articulated attempts at affirming Africanity such as African renaissance Maloka The extent to which African scholars buy these aspirations in principle and in practice would determine the degree to which Mafeje and CODESRIA have succeeded in making these battles and lofty heights truly collective and pan-african beyond rhetoric. Fred Hendricks and others have in their turn challenged Mafeje for freezing his intellectual gaze narrowly on Africa South of the Sahara, and for inadvertently reproducing ideas about 4 21 Chapter 1: An Introduction a disaggregated and dismembered Africa in a pan-africanism that had little real room for North Africa beyond the fact of his considerably long period of stay in Cairo and being married to Shahida El Baz, an Egyptian and mother of his daughter Dana. But such criticism could be countered by the fact that he did not necessarily have to study Egypt or North Africa in order to consider the region as part of his pan-african project. In the absence of personal scholarship, Mafeje used other indicators to affirm his belonging to North Africa and esteem the region in his pan- Africanism. As Jimi Adesina depicts in chapter three, he probably felt more at home in Egypt than he ever did in South-Africa, especially following his return under the post-apartheid dispensation, where he increasingly felt isolated and lonely, and indeed, where he died unattended. To measure the fullness of Mafeje s Africanity and pan- Africanism, it is appropriate to go beyond scholarly declarations and appreciate the social relationships he forged and entertained in his life in and away from a place called home, motherland or fatherland. According to Kwesi Prah , Archie Mafeje exuded an effortless worldliness that gave him a rare vibrant and sublime cosmopolitanism ; and as a veritable cosmopolitan African, he was used to describing himself as South-African by birth, Dutch by citizenship and Egyptian by domicile. Kwesi Prah writes of Mafeje s impressive familiarity with Western literature, Dutch art, sophisticated and totally uncommon knowledge of European wines, and culinary skills and accomplishments. Just as his often placid exterior belied a stridently combative spirit and expression in debates, Archie Mafeje s committed pronouncement and writings on pan-africanism and the importance of decolonising the social sciences, often took attention away from the cosmopolitan that he was leading to misrepresentations even by fellow African intellectuals. Far from being essentialist, Mafeje was a person to whom belonging was always work in progress to be constantly enriched with new encounters and new relationships, and never to be confined by geography or boundaries, political or disciplinary. As Jimi Adesina reminds us, the meaning of Archie Mafeje for three generations of African scholars and social scientists is about encounters and the relationships that resulted from those encounters. To John Sharp, Archie Mafeje will be remembered as a scholar who spoke truth, unfailingly, to power; and who over the years carefully worked out how best to support his political convictions by means of the research he did. In speaking truth to power, he had come to

master the art of hard and uncompromising intellectual argument, without having to resort to personal animosity or the denial of respect for those with whom he came to argue. Archie Mafeje has fought the battle and run the race successfully. We will surely miss his thoughtful insights, his strident rebukes, his loyal friendship, his companionship, and yes, his wit, humour and expert culinary skills that included an incomparable knowledge of foods and wines from all corners of the world. For those he has left behind, especially those of us whom he inspired, the challenge before us is clear: Keep the Mafeje spirit alive by investing ourselves with dedication to the quest for the knowledge we need in order to transform our societies and the human condition for the better. The Borderlinking Anthropological Endeavour Next to the above scrutiny, done by scholars from within Africa s academe, of the racialised versus endogenous epistemological underpinnings of social science, part two discusses another attempt at understanding African knowledge practices from within, along their transcultural significance. During annual research sojourns since in Kinshasa s shantytowns, he has worked first and foremost with healers and independent Christian healing communes. In his academic lecture, given at the award of an honorary doctorate granted him by the University of Kinshasa in April , on the very topic What is an anthropologist? By applying his or her comprehension of an African society and culture towards 6 23 Chapter 1: An Introduction clarifying much unthought in his or her home culture in the North, the postcolonial anthropologist seeks a form of mirroring, or more precisely borderlinking or reciprocal inspiration between the socalled scholarly anthropological habitus and insights in local sociocultures in both Africa and Europe. One can gauge some of the significance of the recognition by the University of Kinshasa only the tenth such award in the fifty years history of that university from the remarks of the Dutch anthrolopogist Wim van Binsbergen: When, nearly half a century after the end of colonial rule, an African university grants an honorary degree to a prominent researcher from the former colonising country, this is a significant step in the global liberation of African difference to paraphrase Mudimbe s expression. As a European anthropologist engaged in a quest to neutralise as much as possible his ethnocentric bias, it has been his lasting attempt to understand subaltern groups and the rich potential of their knowledge and lifeworld endogenously, that is, in their own terms. He situates his anthropological endeavour in the shared borderspace that may develop in-between a transcontinental plurality of lifeworlds, traditions of thought and scientific disciplines. Very much aware of the trauma of the colonial intrusion also in its present disguises, and left with a gnawing sense of moral debt contracted by his generation of social scientists who came to Africa in the early days of independence, he nevertheless feels somewhat revalidated in his anthropological endeavour by the interpersonal loyalty that his many African co-students, colleagues and hosts have extended to him over the years. He invites us to reflect on contemporary anthropology s intercultural commitment to a multisited dialogue. He thereby came to develop an anthropological approach from the double perspective of looking at local practices, wherever, from the perspectives of here and over there, the local and the glocal a neologism for the joint bifocal, global and local, perspective. He thereby came to selectively integrate into his perspective and theorising both the Western scientific rationality and the innovating heuristical force of African knowledge systems and practices. A profound respect for diverse ways of life, for plural genderspecific procedures of signification, as well as a capacity for empathy, unprejudiced dialogue and self-critical co-implication, together constitute, we believe, the golden thread in extended fieldwork along which the anthropologist can investigate groups or networks and their lifeworld from within. Such genuine com-passionate intersubjectivity involves seeing local realities primarily from the perspective and in terms of the communities or networks concerned. And yet there remains a paradox, since researchers subsequently represent their insights largely in the academic traditions of persuasion derived from Eurocentric modernity. As the late Archie Mafeje observed, a core question for the anthropologist is how much his or her report does remain a form of Western-centric scrutiny of 8 25 Chapter 1: An Introduction cultural codes unwillingly obnubilating local society s proper genius. There is the constant risk of exoticising, if not othering, the locals: As Mafeje, Adesina, van Binsbergen and Devisch argue below, one mainstream discourse in the classical Western social science tradition continues blithely to privilege phallo- and logocentric Enlightenment

rationality, the in principle autonomous self and human rights this last understood in the individualistic terms of contemporary Western patriarchal culture promoting itself as the global project and bearer of personalist progress to all nations. In the transatlantic mass media radiating from the North, this personalist perspective operates in a kind of dialectical tension with the more materialist techno-scientific discourse, deploying in ethnocentric fashion its projected phantasms in particular with regard to the populations south of the Sahara, like to non-literates and impoverished rural or displaced people. This is the case even when the processes of Westernisation of education and state building are engineered in full or in part by the very Enlightenment rationality that is prejudicially and lastingly subjugating local knowledge practices to the hegemonic post-enlightenment modernity. However, as Koen Stroeken in chapter twelve most innovatively argues, transnational and transgressive youth cultures and their heterogenous efforts at self-invention, side-to-side to the manytongued electronic networking as well as the open-ended digital narrativity in today s media world, compel us more than ever to seek and lay bare new local modes of creative border transcendence. Some modes entail a subversive critique of the self-serving ruling institutions. Ever sensitive to what is obfuscated in the encounters of civilisations, many an anthropologist has wondered if the North in its tendency towards othering the partner in the truncated intercultural contact, is not seeking in some insidious way, to metabolise an un-thought. Is this shadow zone not unconsciously rehearsing some form of collective angst in secular bourgeois socioculture in the face of death, finitude, the unforeseen, the 9 26 The Postcolonial Turn passionate and the hybrid? It is why the transnational mass media from the North relentlessly project the doom of death and the passionate on some alleged religious subaltern periphery associated with the South? Living in the shattered worlds of shantytowns may force anthropologists to expose themselves to a ruthless interrogation of their partly defensive intercultural narratives as well as of key concepts in social sciences which unnoticingly may reissue the Invention of Africa as Mudimbe has unmasked. On the contrary, going hands with Mudimbe s attempt at a sort of archaeology of African gnosis Ibid. It is about epistemologies in as much as these characterise rule-governed commonsensical thinking, or the more intuitive practical thinking, as well as the reflexive and systematic, but culturespecific, understandings of the order of things and the human condition. The anthropologist thereby must open up to lifeworlds that unfold themselves through the interplay of everyday practices and the manifold interventions, motions and messages of humans, ancestors and non-human agents, or visible and invisible forces. All this may unfold in interactive and culture-specific very likely not Enlightenment and Christian sites of emerging meaning production and innovative world-making. Youngsters, initiates, mourners, charismatic communes, rejoicing people, bring this about in -an ambience of miming, parody and mimicry through practices such as sensing out of liminal situations or domesticating the unforeseen and the invisible through playful and polysemic display of ambiguity and catharsis, or also propitiating agency in musical or streetwise culture. Hence, the anthropologist, to Devisch and Stroeken, is witness, in the youth 10 27 Chapter 1: An Introduction cultures and new religions, to so many subaltern urbanites transcultural bricolage of both a forceful identity display and its constant refashioning or reframing in the multiple selves within the communities and networks studied in the shantytowns, like in the charismatic prophetic communes.

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The famous Galilean question was to become the paradigm of the conflict between Nature and Scripture, science and faith, free research of natural reason and authority of the ecclesiastical institution, obscurantism of the medieval period and scientific progress which would illuminate the modern age. It is well known that the stereotype of the pure conflict between scientific thought and religious dogma for long dominated the interpretation of the most profound essence of the Middle Ages, as an obscurantist age in the grip of the universalist political and religious authorities. This image of the Middle Ages was greatly corroborated by the Humanist writers of the Renaissance and enlightenment historiography. This contribution purports to analyse late—medieval science from an olistic methodology based on history of science and philosophy of science, to obtain a big picture in front to Scientific Revolution and to show the cultural roots of the different images of the universe. INTRODUCTION Modern science is not a corpus of common demonstrative knowledge, based on absolutely certain and evident principles, but a specific kind of knowledge that formulates such principles by mediating geometrical and mathematical axioms, using them as tools for measuring physical Nature, taken as the set of quantitatively determinable data rather than as a substance endowed with essences or qualities that justify its purpose. This knowledge allows us to determine, and not just to know, objects in the physical world to which scientific theories refer, and in particular the mechanical relations of material bodies in space and time. It is usual to date the advent of modern science at least as early as Leonardo Da Vinci, the ideal Renaissance man, a great painter, inventor of machines and attentive researcher of physical Nature and the human body. In Leonardo we find most of the requisites for the development of modern science: In Leonardo, however, these requisites remain the private property of an individual, albeit a genius, without being shared by a scientific community with standardized methods and processes1. With Francis Bacon and Galileo Galilei the rise of modern science results in the Scientific Revolution, that is, the revolutionary phase of a long process of change in the image of man and the world, a process which began in the late Middle Ages. Man discovers that he is able to affirm a new order in natural reality, rooted in the relation between things manipulated by himself, as their inventor and master, in disregard of Aristotelian natural philosophy, which is supported by the syllogistic method and by recourse to the single, non—systematic experience. Yet it is precisely the role of experience that distinguishes Bacon from Galileo. For Bacon, experience represents a mere inductive inference, alien to any deductive and hypothetic reasoning, but easy to reproduce and control by everyone, thanks to the experiment, that is, the combination of the three Tables with the correct applications that must eliminate every hypothesis2. This elimination links Francis Bacon to Isaac Newton, for whom everything that is not inferred from observed phenomena must be banned from experimental philosophy, which is based on the induction of a limited number of specific cases generalized into universals. Once the sufficient causes have been identified through the principle of economy, and these causes have been associated with the effects of the same kind through the principle of uniformity, the properties that have been demonstrated to be invariable in the experimentation can be considered universals. The simple, uniform and universal character of Nature is assured by the Creator, whose sensory organs are space and time. Dalla magia alla scienza, Bologna: Newton was deeply religious and convinced both with the creation of the universe in seven days of different duration and the apocalypse; see White, M. This schematization allows for the discovery of deterministic and general physical laws that function as postulates and for which the scientist builds deductively a complex and organic edifice. Therefore Physics is not only experimental due to experimentation, but also due to the mathematical code with which the experiments are conducted, exploiting the mathematical order of the Book of Nature. Since it conserves the imprint of its Creator and the Truth is only one, the Book of Nature is more certain than Sacred Scripture, since the latter was only dictated by God with a conventional linguistic code open to

interpretation. Therefore, science does not formulate hypotheses in order to conserve observed phenomena, but represents the authentic structure of the physical world. It was precisely this epistemological concept that conflicted with that of the theologians who were critical of Galileo, in particular the Jesuit cardinal Roberto Bellarmino. They sought to confine science to the sphere of philosophical hypotheses alone, since every natural effect could be explained in a different way over the course of the history of science4. From the historia of the sunspots to the Copernican letters], Nuncius 9 , pp. Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi galileiani, Florence: Giunti Barbera, , pp. In the Copernican Letters, on the other hand, Galileo assigns to Sacred Scripture a value as guide only in matters of faith and morality. This image of the Middle Ages was greatly corroborated by the Humanist writers of the Renaissance, who found nothing better to do than to demolish the recent past in order to exalt the distant past of the classical civilizations of Greece and Rome. The book was reprinted fifty times and translated into many languages. White, the first dean of Cornell University, in wrote a history of the conflict between science and Christian theology as distinct from religion. Only religion, as an individual sentiment, could encourage science. Note alle lettere a Cristina di Lorena e al P. This was the case of Arnold N. Merton discriminated between Catholicism and Protestantism: In particular, the Parisian condemnations of 7th March would begin to destabilize the safe paradigm of Aristotelian physics and trace new paths of research that would lead definitively to the birth of modern science. Berkley University Press, , pp. Contributo a un bilancio storiografico, Rome: Storia e Letteratura, , pp. Volumes 2 and 3 of Synthese Review are devoted to Pierre Duhem. This mental habit must be assumed by the contemporary scholar when reading and interpreting the sources in order to follow the patterns of reasoning. Metaphysische Hintergrunde der spaatscholastichen Naturphilosophie, Rome: Storia e Letteratura, Journal of the History of Philosophy, vol. University of Wisconsin press, Religious Thought and Philosophy, Turnhoult: The great medieval machines, like clocks, were the causes, and not the effects, of scientific theories. Even the developments of Ockhamism were irrelevant for the birth of modern science In Edward Grant made a distinction between the early and late Middle Ages. The Parisian condemnations of must be considered as secondary aberrations in the overall history of western Christianity. The prerequisites for the Scientific Revolution must be sought in the role of natural philosophy and of the exact sciences. By virtue of these prerequisites, the reading of books newly acquired by the Faculty of Arts and the Faculty of Theology stimulated the proposition of many questions of a natural character, which opened the way to original methods and solutions at the foundations of modern science. Scarantino eds , Medford: Cambridge University Press, Essays in the History of Science and Philosophy, Leiden: For Cunningham, despite the presence of many questions of natural philosophy, any work containing them would be based on an object that went beyond that of a specific enquiry, referring to a universe of theological meaning that was an integral part of scientific production. Seen in this way, the birth of modern science can be dated to between and The former sustain a progressive clarification of scientific truth, from the perspective of the contemporary scientist to the detriment of those hypotheses that turn out to be unfounded ex post;31 while the latter refuse to consider science as a transcendental product of thought, introducing external factors, such as the economy, politics and religion. He states that it would be counter—intuitive to ignore this role in order to approve the autonomous and secular character of science; the ideological factor accompanying this role was physiological and reflected a requisite that was socially and politically integral to intellectual production. Ultimately, Christianity was an omnipresent reality in the Middle Ages, which nevertheless interfered in scientific endeavour in a less intrusive way than is generally believed. Such a perspective will allow us to obtain a detailed overall picture, which will then be compared University Press, , pp. The British Journal for the History of Science, vol. Early Science and Medicine, vol. The Historical Journal, vol. Withington eds , Cambridge: Henry of Langenstein d. Princeton University Press, History of science The technical and scientific discoveries that characterize the history of science in the late Middle Ages are indeed many. For example, at the University of Paris, Jean Buridan, Nicole Oresme, Albert of Saxony and Marsilius of Inghen proposed exciting hypotheses on the falling of weights, the motion of bodies in space, the liveableness of the earth, the relative motion and rotation

of the earth, the plurality of worlds, the extra—cosmos and the infinite. Buridan, Oresme and Albert of Saxony described many experiments on falling stones, the relative motion of ships and the spheres of the sublunar world. For example, the improvement of distillation instruments for volatile substances, like alcohol and acid concentrates, which led to the spread of alchemy35, as well as Hindu—Arabic positional algebra, Arabic mensural notation, which gave rise to polyphony, and pictorial perspective. He presaged the construction of many machines, such as one for navigation without oarsmen, carts that could move without the use of muscular force and with incredible speed, a flying machine in which one could sit and operate artificial wings, a small machine that could lift, or drop, enormous weights, another with which a man could violently pull people toward himself, a device for walking on the surface or the bottom of rivers and seas, suspension bridges over water, and other astonishing devices. For example, the field of mechanics was evolving with the piston rod and crank handle, the water mill, the wind mill in a small format with vertical wings , the hydraulic saw, the pedal hammer, and the handle drill. La Nuova Italia, , pp. Cambridge University Press, , pp. University of Pennsylvania Press, , pp. Philosophy of science Various late—medieval authors formalized the inductive method. For example, as I have shown elsewhere40, according to the Franciscan philosopher and theologian, John Duns Scotus, who taught at Oxford and Paris in the early 14th century, contingent propositions, which signify recurrent factors, cannot escape from the vis terminorum, that is, from the immediate comprehension of terminology. Such comprehension is gained through experience, mediated by a sophisticated demonstrative procedure: Both these rules serve to generalize, in the majority of cases, the relation between cause and effect; however, the first rule associates effect with cause in an inductive mode, while the second associates cause with effect in a deductive mode. Therefore, the connection between cause and effect is demonstrated in a circular mode. Both these rules can 37 Crombie, Augustine to Galileo, â€" Nascita di un nuovo modello di pensiero in Occidente, Bari: Die philosophischen Perspektiven seines Werkes. Aschendorff Verlag, , pp. The result is a transformation of the role of induction, which goes from being the necessary instrument for extrapolating the universal from the particular, in Aristotelian terms, to the means for verifying and testing the atomic assertions, as premises and conclusions. In other words, God choses and determines freely and voluntarily just one side of each co—possible pair of contraries, bringing it to be in the created world. This theory renders natural laws absolutely contingent, and contingent facts absolutely necessary, as correlated in the supreme and absolutely necessary Being. The main speculative focus shifts from facts as parts of genera and from their necessary nature, to the laws that make such facts co—possible. Clarendon Press, , p. Islamic, Jewish and Christian Perspectives, Dordrecht: The Modern Schoolman, vol. Antonianum, ; Idem, Francesco di Meyronnes. Concluding his article, Marrone states that this conception places Scotus well within the history of the modern theory of science. On the other hand, the divine will, being capable of impeding the action of every natural cause, does not upset the natural order, which would hinder scientific enquiry. The constancy of Nature does not depend on an objective factor, that is, on Nature itself, which God could always overturn, but on the concrete experience of the invariability of natural laws. That is, on the empirical constatation of the fact that, though capable of doing so, God has not desired to overturn the natural order, so that its laws remain constant; hence the scientist can discover them and they allow him to harmonize contingent events in a single proof. This constatation allows us to limit the role of the exception, which does not invalidate the natural law, since it does not represent proof of the possibility of overturning the natural order, but instead, represents the documentation that this order has not yet been overturned, though it could be in the future. The perennial subsistence of the possibility of a counter—factual course does not limit the role of contingency, which was transformed after the condemnations.