Sociocultural Change

Culture?  

Cultural change: Reorganization in the whole, learned, and shared behavioral system of a group of people

Any change - economic, technological, social roles and structures, knowledge, beliefs, values  
Addition, deletion (extinction), shift in emphasis
In any direction
To any degree
On any scale
Also, what does not change

System?  An entity composed of interrelated parts and sub-parts which interact as an integrated whole
eg, atom, body, species, car, business, society, planet ecology, galaxy, etc.

Culture is an?  Integrated whole
A change in an integrated cultural system
A change in one element is affected by other elements

Cultures are?  relative
All cultures change over time
Relative emphasis in continuity and changes
Different balances as starting points

A BROAD definition
Calls for comprehensive understandings of complex systems
b. **Principles** of Change

*Principle*: A guideline for understanding phenomena

Principle #1: Change is the **rule**

Should be expected
   Not something to be avoided
   *re*: "pressures of modern life", nostalgia (for Depression?!)  

Not just "progress"
   Should not be surprised that desired changes accompanied by other/unforeseen changes

**Note**: Start compiling principles in change
c. Issues in Understanding Change

Any concept of change has to account for wide variations in change.
The more valid and reliable a model, the more it can explain.

Areas for evaluating concepts of change:
- **Model**
  - *Model:* A set of ideas that explain a phenomenon
  - Definition/explanation?
  - Historical/cultural context that helped shape ideas?
  - Note: We will follow the order of historical development of change models
    - Beginning in mid-1800s
- **Factors in Change**
  - Considerations in evaluating models
    1. **Content:** What changes?
       - Initial cultural patterns?
       - Traits at starting point considered? documented?
       - Integrated pattern which includes traits?
       - What changes occur?
       - What traits considered?
       - What not considered?
       - What does NOT change (continuity)?
       - What considered?
       - Not?
       - Configuration?
       - Relative emphasis/balances of elements
       - In a complex, integrated behavioral system
       - Notes:
         - These the basic/obvious conceptual issues in understanding change
         - Surprising how much of the basic questions not considered
    2. **Influences/stimuli/sources?**
       - What factors initiate the change process?
       - What considered? Not?
    3. **Outcomes?**
       - What are the new/resulting traits? cultural pattern?
       - What considered? Not?
    4. **Scale?**
       - Unit/level of change?
       - Specific group, subgroups, macrogroup
       - What considered? Not?
    5. **Directions?**
       - Relative cultural content emphasized?
       - Technology, religion, etc.
       - What considered? Not?
    6. **Degrees?**
       - How much do traits change?
       - Relative (re other traits, groups)
       - Absolute
       - What considered? Not?
(7) **Rates?**
How fast do the traits change?
Relative (re other traits, groups)
Absolute
What considered? Not?

(8) **Time frame?**
Time frame for changes
How long it takes for traits to change
What changes, how much, etc., during specified time period
What considered? Not?

(9) **Processes?**
*Process:* How related forces interact and direct events towards a particular outcome
Also, sequence of events
*Explain* how changes occur
Are predictive
What considered? Not?

(10) **Evidence?**
Empirical facts that illustrate changes
*vs. interpretations* of facts
Variables - dependent, independent, control
*Measures*
Relationships across time - *cause*
What considered? Not?

Also be aware of how have different models influenced *popular* thinking about change?
These issues can be used to *evaluate* different concepts of change

We will seek more **comprehensive** understanding of change
- How much can they *explain* different change events?
- How much can they be used to *predict* changes?

Understanding the **process** is the key to prediction
1. Cultural Evolution I

a. Concept (definition, main points)

Cultural Evolution? The successive development in stages in the complexity of human cultures

Early cultural evolution ideas posed stages of human development
> Tyler 1871, Morgan 1877
> Traits grouped according to evolutionary "progress"

Descriptive classifications
> Static form - vs. function or process
> Emphasis on material culture and technology

Unilineal "progress"
Criteria?
> W. industrial/colonial cultures
> Bias of technology

Ethnocentrism?

Attempts to explain differences:
> Diffusion (coming model)
  > From "superior" to "inferior" groups
  > But many groups with similar traits could not be in contact
> Independent invention
> "Psychic unity" - innate "germ ideas"
> Parallel development
  > Contradictions: coexistence of different stages

Concepts could not account for different processes

Racist arguments - inherently different "moral standards"

NOTE: Reading Reports should summarize main ideas
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural context that helped shape ideas?

- Enlightenment
  Emphasis on "rational" explanation of man, state, universe
  Science - astronomy, biological classification, geological time
  Ideas of biological evolution
    Darwin/Wallace - natural selection, mechanisms of evolution
- Industrial revolution
  Massive technological developments
  Energy, mechanization, standardization
  Expansion of gap between rich and poor
  Mass changes and rate of change
- Colonialism
  Expansion of W. political/economic power
  Intensive contact with other cultural systems
  New ethnographic data - attempts to explain differences
  Rationalization
    Exploitation of non-W. world for benefit of W. nations
    "White man's burden" to 'civilize' others - India !!
    Pattern of technological, social/political structure, world views
  Basically ethnocentric concepts

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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First real attempts to explain cultural differences and changes
- Natural phenomena - to be studies
- Attempts to pose natural laws/principles
  Subsequent research have invalidated most of model
    But credit at least for attempt to scientifically study change

c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change:
- **Baseline** on which subsequent ideas about change are built
  For times, a new perspective that changes occur, a "natural law"
- Impacts on contemporary *popular misunderstandings*
  Static stages based on technology, "primitive"
  Arbitrary, ethnocentric, unempirical

**Principles** of change?
  Keep a running list of relevant principles
  Will **summarize** at end of this section of the course
2. Social Conflict

a. Concept (definition, main points)

**Social Conflict**: Societies change as a result of reorganizing to resolve internal inconsistencies.

*All societies have inherent INTERNAL CONTRADICTIONS. These stimulate changes to restore a functional balance.*

- **Systematic structural changes**
- Conflict theory developed from *applied* commitments

**Dialectics** (Hegel, Marx, Feuerbach):

- *Thesis* fosters *antithesis* resulting in *synthesis*
- Evolutionary process towards new progress

**Marx's dialectical materialism**

- Emphasis on means of production/property and technology
- Includes ideas of *social evolution*
  - Morgan cited in Communist theory
  - Free societies (H/G) - equality of production/consumption
  - Technology created material societies - emphasis on property
  - Fosters inequality of classes - alienation of workers
  - Propertied classes won't willingly give up material advantages
  - Revolutionary changes needed to implement new material order
    - Collective/state ownership = classless/conflictless society
  - Mass level proposed
    - Communist emphasis on "rights" - job, food, health care, etc.
  - Evident in many other levels - "squeaky wheel" effect

Key concepts:

- **Systems** - a *society* with component parts
- **Forces** in change - internal inconsistencies... conflict
  - Materialism - technology/economics determines social structure
  - Property creates unequal classes
  - Common ("communist") ownership fosters equality
  - NOTE: *Other* aspects of culture involved in change process
- **Process** of change - dynamic interaction of system components
  - Evident in many/most cases of change
  - Comprehensive - beyond materialism/classes
  - Change involves a *synthesis*
    - REORGANIZATION of the SYSTEM to restore balance

Inherent internal inconsistencies in a system initiates/directs reorganization to restore functional balance
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural context that helped shape ideas?
- Industrial revolution
  - Mass changes and rate of change
  - Massive technological developments
    - Urbanization
      - Corresponding weakening of religion, kinship, etc.
  - Expansion of gap between rich and poor
- Contemporaneous with evolutionary models
  - And incorporates such ideas
  - Social Darwinism - great robber barons

A model developed from "applied" commitments
  - Dramatic impacts on modern history
  - Russian, Chinese, Cuban, etc. revolutions
  - Has eliminated hunger, extremes of poverty/wealth, etc.
    - Has been a viable alternative to underdeveloped nations
    - W. industrialism and colonialism had heavy negative impacts in world
      - West exports exploitation - cheap wages, child labor
      - Frustration at lack of reforms

Model has provided a clear interpretation of the "problem" and solution
  - Effectiveness of focusing efforts for change
  - Clear means for change - conflict/revolution

Model has even influences changes in the West

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?
- Strengths of evolutionary models over conflict models?
  None
- Strengths over evolutionary models?
  Forces in change - internal inconsistencies
  Process of change - synthesis
  Proven predictive validity
- Limitations of both models?
  Both emphasize stages, technology
  Similar limitations re breadth and content of changes

Ideas do not have to be limited to economics, class, mass/violent revolutions
  Can also work with kinship, religion, small/gradual changes

It could be argued for dialectical process in current history

Impacts on contemporary popular mis/understandings
  Overemphasis on selected components of culture
  Material/technological/economic, class conflict
  Limited in concept of culture as an integrative system

NOTE:
- Confusion of economic and political models
  Communism an economic system - as is capitalism
  Both communist and capitalist nations claim to be "democratic" (China, U.S.)
  Power based on the representative will of the people
  Alinsky (Rules for Radicals):
    Selective usage, no true communist states... as no true capitalistic states
    Why have Western democracies not posed a viable solution?
    More often on the side of corrupt/oppressive regimes
    Economic ties and "anti-X" stances... not "pro-people"
- Conditions in Europe that gave rise to Marxism intensively expanding globally today
  Check of "Communism" gone
  "Free trade" = corporate capitalism
    Industrialization
    Cash economies replacing subsistence economies
    Rapidly increasing polarization of rich-poor
    Migration
    Disintegration of kinship systems
    Invalidation of religious precepts
  Increasing conflict, revolts, warfare
  Have been predicting worldwide revolutions for last 5-10 years
  Terrorism?

Continue compiling principles in change
3. **Diffusion**

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Historicism:* Historical reconstruction of the distribution of cultural traits
- Boas - emphasis on empirical evidence... *needed* at time

*Static focus*
- Aversion to ideas like psychic unity
- Racist - development of intellectual potentials to new levels

*Change not major concern of historicists*
- Reconstruction of past - rather than ongoing investigation
- Theoretical emphases on other issues
  - Induction, empiricism, relativism
  - Theory of *methodology*

*Culture as holistic*
- Limitation of possibilities - only so many solutions to a problem

*Diffusion:* Historical transmission of cultural traits through intergroup contact
- In theory, any trait - ideas, traits, etc.
- In practice, material culture - writing, architecture, etc.

*Emphasis on classical studies - Egyptian origins*
- Retrospective analysis

*Forces in change*
- Origins of new traits: *independent invention*
  - Including parallelism - similar traits thru similar processes
  - No real explanation for how this happens (but will see in later model)

- *External forces in change*
  - Environmental conditions - "necessity is the mother of invention"
  - Change through contact
    - Spread through direct/indirect diffusion
    - Seen as one-way and little consideration of cultural context

*Empirical proofs of diffusion:*
- *re* conjectures
  - Pyramids in O.W. and N.W.
  - Chariots of the Gods (message?)

- Space
- Time
- Complexity
- Form/meaning
- Function

*Logic is essentially unilineal*
- But problems of uniform rate

*Still a major concept in ARCHEOLOGY*

*Culture Area* concept - shared traits in an ecological setting
- Common adaptations to ecological settings
- Invention/diffusion of adaptive traits
- Minimal consideration of integration into cultural systems
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural **context** that helped shape ideas?

- Turn of century
  - Emphasis on "classical" education
    - Egypt, Greece, Rome... Latin, Greek
  - Height of colonialism
    - Diffusion of Western ways to other cultures

Awareness of the paucity of empirical cross-cultural information

re Boas’ emphasis on *collection* of empirical data

Postponement of other issues

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

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c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?

Impacts on contemporary *popular mis/understandings*
  - Fascination with "high" civilizations
Issues *not* considered
  - *Process* of change - how actually occurs
Still a primary concept in archeology
  - Ideas appropriate for cultural reconstruction
4. **Acculturation**

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Acculturation*: Cultural change initiated by contact between groups

Similar perspectives as diffusion
   - But emphasis on contemporary events
Depth of ongoing processes - vs. reconstruction
   - Observation and documentation
   - Analysis of influencing factors
   - More comprehensive view of *culture* as a behavioral *system*
Strong interest in Anthropology in **functionalism**
   - The current *dominant* view culture change in Anthropology

Theoretical scope:
   - Concept mostly developed by Redfield and Herskovitz
   - More *comprehensive* view of change than diffusion
   - Diffusion seen as the *initiation* of change
   - **Integration** into cultural system
     - Not just new traits
     - Impacts on whole cultural system - domination, exploitation, etc.
   - Only *one* type of change
     - Others still allowed - though little considered
     - Examination helps understand change processes

Called for the **systematic study** of change:
   - Culture as a behavioral *system*
     - Structural flexibility
     - Balance between *conflict* and *cohesion*
     - *Equilibrium* before and after - self-correcting mechanisms
   - The nature of the contact *situation*
     - Cultural and demographic limitations
     - Conjunctive relations between the groups
     - Groups in communication
     - Structure and content
Process of change

Functional integration of new (alien) traits into a group's behavioral patterns

Stages:
- Diffusion
- Evaluation of new trait
  - Acceptance/rejection
    - Possible
    - Probable
    - Positive
  - Routes - social leaders, etc. (pro/con)
- Reinterpretation
  - Domination - some traits forced (religion, technology, etc)

- Integration processes:
  - Incorporation
  - Substitution/replacement
  - Syncretism/fusion
  - Compartmentalization

Recipients ultimately decide how trait will be integrated

Boundary maintenance

Conceptual practice (in most studies):
- "Process" as sequential steps vs. dynamic interactions
- Trait-Replacement perspective
  - Focus on single trait, how incorporated, "function"
- Unilineal (one-way) direction
  - Western traits in non-W. groups
  - Process more in terms of reactions to W. traits
  - Breadth of W. impacts not normally considered
  - Contributions of non-W. cultures also not really considered
  - Little analysis of external social "environment" and stimuli re comprehensive context of W. contact
  - Original form, function, etc. in dominant society
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural CONTEXT that helped shape ideas?
1930s-1940s
- Wane of social evolution ideas
  - Limitations of diffusion ideas for current events
  - Dominance of functionalism ideas
- Post-WW I
  - Decline of colonialism
  - Beginnings of conceptual emphasis on functionalism
- Post-WW II
  - Demise of colonialism
  - Independence and emergence of "Third World"
  - New world order

Applied implications
- Applied concerns of new "world culture"
- Focus on one particular trait and related functions
- Simplistic, but also a pivot for changes
- More limited unilineal focus remains a dominant focus
  - Considering changes in today's new "world culture"
  - Concept has diffused to other disciplines and political thought

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?

Impacts on contemporary mis/understandings
   Documentation of many specific cases of changes
   Issues not considered - process
5. **Cultural Evolution II**

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Cultural Evolution*: Progressive development of cultural complexes/systems

White (bioanthropologist): Unilineal development
- Culture a *system* to be examined over time - not just one point
- Emphasis on *technology/material culture*
- Which impacts on social structure and ideology/symbolism
- Basic measure: Utilization of "free" *energy*
- Consumption vs. production

More theoretically grounded than original evolutionary ideas
- Logic and complexity in explanation of long-term changes
- Human cultures *have evolved* over millennia

Issues *not* addressed:
- Driving force?
- Environmental influences
- Cultural variations - w/in a time period
- Process of change
Steward (archeologist), Sahlins/Service (ethnologists.): **Multilineal** evolution
  General and specific
  Emerging concept of *cultural ecology*

Based on comparative archeological analysis of cultural evolution
  Near East, Egypt, China, Mesoamerica, South America
  Empirical, broad comparisons, complexities

**Stages:**
  H/G
  Mesolithic
  Agricultural states
  Degeneration
  Centralist/feudal cycles

**PROCESS:**
  Culture seen as an functional **adaptive system**
    Generalized adaptation (law of evolutionalry potential)
    The more specialized the less likely to adapt to changes
    eg: Current economics based on *continual increase* of production/consumption
  Driving force seen as *ecological adaptations* to new conditions
    Cultural developments in context of environmental conditions
    Environmental forces directly impact on subsistence/technology
    Indirectly impact on social institutions and ideology
  Early "*cultural ecology*" perspective
    Not really considered in earlier models
    Assumed in *culture area* concept - but idea was static
  Dynamic *functionalism* - dis/equilibrium
    External imbalances between a cultural-ecological system
    *re conflict model*

**MEASURES:** Surplus food energy, institutional complexity

**Issues not addressed:**
  Contemporary changes - vs. past
  Modern complex societies, information age, etc.
  Finite process

Still a major and useful perspective in archeology
b. Evaluation

**Historical/cultural CONTEXT** that helped shape ideas?

1950s
As with acculturation, limitations of evolution and diffusion
Abundant empirical evidence being accumulated
Obviousness of "evolution" of sorts
Dramatic world changes

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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**NOTE**: Culture as an *adaptive system* is a major contribution

c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?
6. **Modernization**

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Modernization*: A progressive development towards a society characterized by (trait list):
- Specialized social units - differentiation
- Functional social relations
- Universalistic/achieved, mobility, nuclear families vs. particularistic/ascribed (McClelland)
- *re* Weber - Calvinism and the Protestant work ethic
- Generalized markets
- Materialism, standardized medium of exchange
- Centralization
- Bureaucracy - urban, industrial
Also, a high rate of change
Measure: Inanimate sources of energy (Levy)

An evolutionary model
*Unilineal* stages:
  - Primitive
  - Archaic
  - Historic
  - Early modern
  - Modern

Trait-defined - social/ideological as well as material traits
Standard: U.S.
Argued as universal direction toward a world system

Issues:
- What's *ahead* - after "modernization"?
- Applicability of "universal" measures?
  - Any society can be mixture of stage traits
- All factors not included:
  - Psychosocial alienation with universalistic/achieved relations?
  - Increase in rich-poor gap?
  - Perpetuation of underdevelopment in non-modern societies by modern societies?
- *Process*? What drives/directs changes across stages?

What offers beyond Evolution I models?
- Static stages - inflexible RE variations
- Ethnocentric
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural CONTEXT that helped shape ideas?
1960s, Cold War
Model adopted from sociology (Levy)
Focus on complex industrial societies
Little cross-cultural basis

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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NOTE: Term used a lot
Loose concept in practice - as "civilization" used 100 years ago
Theoretical model itself not pursued in professional literature
No specific studies of "modernization" - re "acculturation"


c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?
7. **Psychological Processes** in Change

a. Psychological INITIATORS of Change

(1) *Innovation*: A new mental construct that is qualitatively different from preexisting ideas

Barnett 1953 - Introd., Ch. 7

- C**OGNITIVE** level - all changes occur first in the mind
- *Novelty* - the concrete product of an innovation
  - Material item, also political, religious, etc.
  - Basis of all cultural change - begins as a new idea

Process of innovation: **Recombination** of *components of preexisting ideas*

eg: Auto-mobile

- Identification of *components*
  - Form, meaning, function, operating principle
  - ANALYSIS
- *Substitution* of set of components
  - "Process" - interactive forces (x sequence)
  - re: Social conflict = synthesis
  - Acculturation = syncretism

SYNTHESIS

Conditions in **acceptance/rejection**

- Preexisting ideas
  - Pool of ideas, availability
- Acceptance of change idea
  - Possible ?
  - Probable ?
  - Positive ?
- Needs and incentives - values, norms
  - Advocates and opponents - social structure, authority

Individual changes aggregate to sociocultural level

Wallace 1956: Mazeway reformulation

Rogers 1971: Innovation, cross-cultural
(2) Creativity - ability to generate new ideas
Hagen 1962
"Creative" personality underlies innovations
   Open, curious, etc.
"Authoritarian" personality inhibits changes
   Relies on predefined rules, etc.
Some critics:
   Validity of "creative" and "authoritarian" personalities?

(3) Need for Achievement: Motivations towards excellence/mastry
McClelland 1961 - n-ach
   Basic motivation in change
   Achievers open to and embrace change
Associated with economic development = KW hours electricity
Also historical studies - content analysis

Some critics:
   Self-defining argument - change = achievement
   Blaming the victim?
   "Solution" to "underdevelopment" is education

Never widely accepted in the social/behavioral sciences

Other motivations also posed
   Power - influence over others
   Affiliation - harmonious personal relations with others
   Measures - perceptions/TAT, children's tales, etc.

(4) Stress - disorganization results in distress
Motivation to change to relieve distress
Wallace 1956 - revitalization movements
Cultural distortion
   Mazeway reformulation - prophet
Cultural revitalization
b. Psychological *Impacts* of Change

**Personality Reformulation**
- Hallowell 1955
  - Comparison of 3 Ojibwa groups *re* acculturation (Rorschach)
  - Ethnohistorical reconstruction - traders, missionaries, etc.
  - Personality/change *not* necessary

**Stress/psychopathology**
- Psychosomatic distress
  - Leightons - Yoruba social disintegration
  - Hypertension
  - Scotch 1963 - Zulu hypertension and labor migration
  - Holmes/Raye - Life Change Scale and illness

**Positive**
- Barger 1977 - psychosocial adjustment of Eskimos
- Chance 1965 - Eskimo change/adjustment
- Mead 1955 - Peri change conducive to adjustments

**CONTEXT**
- Barger 1977 - psychosocial adjustment of Eskimos/Crees
- Scotch 1963 - Zulu hypertension *re* context
c. Evaluation

Historical/cultural CONTEXT that helped shape ideas?
- 1960s - rapid social changes in Western society
  - Civil Rights movement, Women’s Rights Movement
  - Technological changes
  - Interdisciplinary exposure - "innovations" in "diffusion"

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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NOTE: Ideas potentially provide basic insights
But not really pursued

d. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?
8. Social Movements

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Social Movement:* A purposeful and organized effort by a particular group of people to change their sociocultural setting to achieve a more satisfying order

Among the more dramatic forms of sociocultural change
A rapid and massive restructuring of their society

Classifications:
- **Scale**
  - Supersocietal vs. societal vs. subsocietal
    - Central America: Liberation Theology vs. Sandanistas vs. Mosquitos
- **Substructures within a movement**
  - General level - Civil Rights movement
  - Movement organizations - Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- **Individual behavior vs. restructuring social order**
  - Depression - Billy Sunday Crusade vs. labor movement

*Types of Movements:*
- **Reform:** Work within legitimate channels of the existing social order to restructure society
  - Focus on *conditions* that affect the main issues, interests, and goals of the particular social group seeking changes
  - Generally accept the basic norms and organizational premises of the larger society
  - The general *goal* of a reform movement is for the social group concerned to *share* in the opportunities and benefits enjoyed by other segments of society
  - To be *included* in the basic norms and structures of the larger society
- **Revolutionary:** Seek to replace the existing social order with a different one (*re* Marx)
  - Usually *begins* with reform as its primary goal
  - But when this is blocked and frustrated
    - the social group concerned starts to *question* the basic norms and structures that denies its members the advantages enjoyed by others
  - New goal then emerges to *replace* the existing social order with one that promises to provide new opportunities and benefits across the society
Major factors in social movements:

Note: The literature focuses on only specific aspects of social movements. The following is a review of the different factors covered in the literature.

- **The source of mass change**
  *Internal inconsistencies* in a social system
  The system is out of balance
  Is not functioning well for too many members of the society
  Addressed in earlier models:
  - Conflict theory (re Hegel and Marx)
  - Stress - cultural distortion (re Wallace)

  *Relative deprivation*
  An conscious realization of the gap between a conceptual *ideal* and a perceived *real*
  The difference between expected values and what is actually realized
  A conscious realization that the current system is not working for those concerned

- **Ideology** (including Frame Alignment)
  A "vision" of how the system *can be*
  Touches common values and emotions that *motivate* people to involvement
  Explains both the *problem* and the *solution*
  Provides a common *goal* which directs and coordinates efforts

- **Leadership**
  Leaders *inspire* others to follow them in realizing a larger goal
  People choose to follow them (rather than their having authority)
  They also have to have a *capability* to know how to make changes
  Organize and direct mass change efforts
  "Charismatic" leaders tend to be
  - Innovative and creative thinkers
  - Have strong convictions in their vision
  - Inspire others to commit time/energy
  Successful movements include both *visionaries* and effective *implementers* of the vision

- **Social movement organization**
  It takes a team effort to cover the many tasks involved in mass change
  Planning activities and operations that are coordinated towards realizing the larger goal
  Many different tasks have to be covered in mass actions
  A range of skills for these tasks need to be effectively coordinated and managed
  People have to work well together
  Functions in building efforts into a cohesive force for change
  Effective planning and implementation of change activities

- **Resource mobilization**
  Many resources are needed to build a movement and realize the larger goal
  People
  - Teams with different skills coordinated in a common effort
  - Supporters who participate in mass actions
  - Allies who support the efforts (while having their own vested interests)
  Material logistics
  - Funds and equipment needed to cover operations and activities
  Movements must mobilize these resources on a mass level to be successful
Meeting **external challenges**
Note: The literature focuses mostly on internal factors, so I've added consideration of the environmental context in which a movement functions.
All movements to change a social system inherently interact with larger opportunities and constraints in the social, political, economic, and natural environment.

Utilizing **opportunities**
Includes motivations for change in the larger society, resource mobilization, etc.

Meeting **constraints**
Counterbalancing vested interests inherent in the existing system
   eg, overcoming political donations with popular votes
Neutralizing/eliminating opponents

The movement itself changes in response to these challenges
Impacts of **internal** events on external conditions
Impacts of **external** conditions on internal organization

The social movements model is **comprehensive** in addressing complex **systems** in change
Excellent cases for understanding the basic **process** of change
Bring in valid ideas and factors included in other models
   - Though the focus is only where there is a conscious and organized effort for change
   Which does not include a broad range of sociocultural changes throughout history
Study of social movements in the social/behavioral sciences:

- Anthropology
  - Religious movements (Wallace's "revitalization" movements)
    - Nativistic vs. cargo movements
  - Stimulus - stress
  - Ideology and leadership
  - Sequence of events
    - Steady state
    - Distortion
    - Ideology/leader
    - Revitalization - organization, spread
    - Adaptation
    - New steady state
- Borrowing and testing of some ideas from other disciplines
  - e.g.: Arbele and Navajo peyote cult - relative deprivation

- Sociology, social psychology, and political science
  - Sources - relative deprivation
  - Ideology - explanation of both problem and solution
  - Movement organization
  - Resource mobilization

- Political Science
- Social Psychology

Relationships to other models of change:

- Conflict
  - Internal inconsistencies
  - But also external stressors
  - Synthesis - ideology

- Acculturation
  - Integration/syncretism

- Innovation
  - Synthesis - cognitive
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural **CONTEXT** that helped shape ideas?
- 1960-1970s - dramatic and rapid social changes in Western society
  - Civil Rights movement, Anti-War movement (Vietnam)
  - Interdisciplinary exposure - Sociology, Anthropology, Political Science, Social Psychology

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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**NOTE:** Comprehensive ideas based on empirical events

c. Summary

Comparison with other ideas about change?
9. **Cultural Adaptation**

a. Concept (definition, main points)

*Cultural Adaptation*: A behavioral change made by a group in its interactions with its environment which enhances its survival and continuation

A **systems** model of change

- *System*: An entity composed of interrelated parts and sub-parts which interact as an integrated whole

**Note**: My integrated model

Frustrated with existing models - in understanding my own research findings

Eclectic - synthesized from the ideas that have validity in understanding change

- Honigmann, Alland, Parsons, Barnett, Hegel
- As well as the concepts of acculturation and social movements
- And cultural ecology models
- Perspective of culture as an evolutionary and dynamic system
  - But focus is on *change* rather than maintenance of homoestasis

"Adaptation" is sometimes used to refer to *any* change/response

- I disagree - has to *enhance* the group's continuation

Focus on sociocultural change - *behavioral* changes by a group

**Unit of analysis**: *Group*

- Same processes at other levels also - genotypes, ecosystems, etc.
- Similar processes at the individual level
  - "Adjustment" helps distinguish from group level

**A dynamic process**

- A continuous and evolutionary *interaction*
- Between a *population* and its *environment*
(1) BIO-CULTURAL MODEL OF ADAPTATION:

**Levels** of processes:

(a) A group's **internal potentials** for adaptation

Collective needs and resources that the group brings to a particular setting

*Needs:* Things **necessary** for the group's existence
What the group must have in order to function
eg, oxygen, food, emotional support, etc.

*Resources:* Group traits that can **enhance** its existence
if it is utilized
eg, immune system, vaccines, clothing, etc.

One major resource among humans is our capacity for **culture**
**Learned** behavior (language, tool making, social systems, etc.)

Internal characteristics range from **fixed** to highly **plastic**

*Fixed* trait Predetermined alternative for expression
*Plastic* trait Many alternatives for expression

*Criterion* How much it can **changed**?
In interaction with the environment

A group's potentials sets all the possible **options** it has for changes

- **Diversity** in traits provides more options for adaptation to future conditions
- **Internal equilibrium** must be maintained between members/traits
- How **functional** a trait is involves both internal and environmental systems
  if it is to become established and propagated
(b) **Environmental challenges:**

The constraints and opportunities in the group’s environmental setting
Direct the actual course of adaptation from all the group’s options

*Constraint:* Conditions which the group must meet
If it is to survive and continue
eg, climate, deterioration of ecosystems, invasion by an enemy, etc.

*Opportunity:* Something which can enhance a group’s existence
If it is effectively utilized
eg, oxygen in the atmosphere, food resources, foreign technology, etc.

"Environment" can include
- Physical and ecological factors
- Larger demographic, inter-group, and societal settings
(2) The Process of Adaptation

"Process": how forces interact and direct the course of changes
As well as the sequence of events involved

Basic process of change is the reorganization of the system
A group's internal system of potentials:
   An increased or decreased emphasis of existing traits
   The development of new traits
   The elimination of old traits
How the group interacts with its external environment
   To better meet environmental challenges

Reorganization can occur on two levels:
* Internal to the group
* How the group interacts with its external conditions
   - In most cases, changes occur on both levels

Origins of traits:
   Biological potentials = genetic mutations
   Behavioral potentials = innovation (new ideas)
Characteristics do not necessarily have to be indigenous
   Traits may be introduced to a group by diffusion
   But they do have to be integrated into the group's culture
   Internalized as their own

The change process can be either conscious or subconscious
   Most changes are probably subconscious
(3) The Sequence of Adaptation:

**HOMEOSTASIS**
- Group's traits in relative balance with environmental conditions
- The group's *potentials* set the range of options for adaptation
  - **Diversity** maximizes a group's adaptive potentials

**CHALLENGE**
- Homeostasis is upset
  - Changes in the environmental conditions disrupts the group's functioning
  - Changes in the group's internal system disrupt its interaction with the environment
- The functional balance is disrupted
  - And the group's continuation is threatened
- The imbalance challenges the group to reorganize the most optimal configuration

**REORGANIZATION**
- The environment *selects* from among the group's range of potentials
  - What are the best traits to meet the particular conditions?
- Group makes changes to meet the new challenges
  - The preexisting **diversity** is important at *this* point
  - The group draws upon the most functional traits from among its *range* of potentials to meet the new conditions
- **Adaptation** actually occurs at this point
  - Group reorganizes its traits and/or its environmental conditions
  - To restore a balance with the environment
  - This is also where maladaptation can occur
  - and the group fails to make those changes that can produce a functional balance

**NEW HOMEOSTASIS**
- A new optimal balance functions between the group and its environment
  - in the case of maladaptation this can mean the absence of the group (extinction)

Adaptation is a dynamic **evolutionary** and **ongoing** **SYSTEMS** process
- All groups are always involved in multiple stages of adaptation
- Involving different traits and different environmental conditions

The reorganization process is at the heart of several concepts in previous models:
- Innovation
- Mazeway reformulation
- Syncretism
- Dialectical synthesis

**Interactive forces**
- The specific configuration is selected from among *all available* potentials
- Nature or Nurturance is a bad question
  - The valide question is Nature *and* Nurturance - *how much of each?*
- The **RECOMBINATION** leads to a new *pattern* in the system
  - A more optimal balance
(3) **Measures** of Adaptive Success

Change itself may not be adaptive
e.g., historical demise of groups and cultures

The **goal** of change should always be **better adaptation**

- *Culture* provides a rapid and flexible means of behavioral adaptation
- Biological adaptation usually takes many generations
  - Except in cases like surviving new epidemic diseases

The adaptation model calls for empirical **measures** of the adaptive success of changes

**Ultimate** measure: Survival and **continuation** of group as social unit

- A trait/change is adaptive when it maximizes group continuity
- This means *not* changing a particular trait in a changing system may be adaptive
  - IF doing so helps maintains continuity
- And a changing a particular trait can be *maladaptive*
  - IF it reduces a group's chances of continuation and can lead to extinction

There are also **intermediate** measures of adaptation
e.g., a healthy group is more likely to continue adaptively
or, a group that is not polarized against itself is more likely to continue adaptively
or, a group that maintains its environment is more likely to continue adaptively

**Controlling for the issue of reductionism**

We cannot conclude that a trait is adaptive merely because it has survived

- *Chance* can and does play a role in the evolutionary changes
- A particular trait that survived may not have been involved in past adaptations
  - Given particular environmental challenges at those points
- Many traits may be *neutral* in the adaptive process
  - Environmental challenges may not select for or against them
  - However, they *do* contribute to the diversity of a group's potentials
  - And so may have an adaptive advantage under new conditions

In **evaluating** the adaptiveness of a trait, however

- **Concept of adaptation** calls for **empirical measures**
  - Of how a trait contributes to group's survival/continuation
- A clear association must be established
  - Between particular traits
  - And particular environmental challenges
- There should be a convincing demonstration
  - Of the *adaptive functions* of traits given environmental challenges

**Adaptation is a relative process**

- It is *not* a particular trait in itself that is crucial
- But how it fits into the *functioning of the whole system*
- Does the trait contribute more/less towards the group's continuity?

It is the whole **system** that is adaptive (or not)

- **The balance** in a group's interaction with its environment
- **Optimal functioning** of the system enhances the continuation of the group
(4) **Time**

The adaptation model is actually *three-dimensional*

The third factor in the process of adaptation is **time**

A group's adaptive balance can vary or even reverse over time

It is important to specify time frames involved in a case

(5) **Rates** and **Degrees** of Change

*Rates* and *degrees* of change need to be examined

As well as the particular *types* of changes

The more a system is *imbalanced*

The more *rapid* and *extensive* changes are necessary

To restore an optimal adaptive balance which will contribute to the group's continuation

Change should be seen as the **rule**

A dynamic system is always in a *continual process* of reorganizing

To maintain the best balance possible

The evolutionary "**GOAL**" of change is *not* a particular trait or direction

The ultimate consideration is **better adaptation**
b. Evaluation

Historical/cultural CONTEXT that helped shape ideas

Conceptual contributions to understanding cultural change:

- How does this model help/not in your applied cases?

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