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Chapter 2
Culture

Detailed Outline

Introduction

Canada is among the most *multicultural* of all the world's nations, the result of a long history of immigration from all over the world. This chapter explores some of the issues facing the diversity of human culture.

I. What Is Culture?

Culture is the way of thinking (beliefs and values), the ways of acting (behavior) and the material objects that together form a people's way of life. Sociologists distinguish between:

- 1. **nonmaterial culture**: the ideas created by members of a society
- 2. **material culture**: physical creations of a society

Together, nonmaterial and material culture reflects a people's way of life. The concept of culture must be distinguished from those of nation or society. **Society** refers to people who interact in a defined territory and share a culture. Culture shapes what we do, what we think, and how we feel. **Culture shock** refers to personal disorientation when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life.

THINKING GLOBALLY: – Confronting the Yanomamö: The Experience of Culture Shock. Anthropologist Napoleon Chagnon describes his personal experience of culture shock. Ferguson questions Chagnon's interpretations of the Yanomamo because Chagnon's interpretations were based on Eurocentrism (seeing European way of life as the superior form).

II. The Elements of Culture

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All cultures have four common components: symbols, language, values, and norms.

A. Symbols

Symbols are defined as anything that carries a particular meaning recognized by people who share a culture. The meaning of the same symbols varies from society to society, within a single society, and over time. Societies create new symbols all the time. A new language of symbols is emerging as people use key-strokes to create *emoticons*, symbols that convey thoughts and emotions.

B. Language

Language is a system of symbols that allows people to communicate with one another. Language is the key to **cultural transmission**, the process by which one

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generation passes culture to the next. Through most of human history, cultural transmission has been accomplished through oral tradition. Only humans can create complex systems of symbols, setting human beings apart as the only creatures who are self-conscious.

The **Sapir-Whorf thesis** holds that people perceive the world through the cultural lens of language. Current thinking is that while we do fashion reality out of our symbols, evidence does not support the notion that language *determines* reality they way Sapir and Whorf claimed.

C. Values and Beliefs

Values are culturally defined abstract standards that people use to decide what is desirable, good, and beautiful, and that serve as broad guidelines for social living. Values are broad principles that underlie **beliefs**, which are specific thoughts or ideas that people hold to be true.

D. Canadian values

Some important Canadian cultural values:

- 1. Democracy and human rights.
- 2. Health care and the social safety net.
- 3. Support for the environment.
- 4. Importance of gender and racial equality.
- 5. Value of immigration.
- 6. Support for diversity.
- 7. Free market and property rights.

Values may change over time and within one society are frequently inconsistent and may even oppose one another.

E. Norms

Norms are rules and expectations by which a society guides the behaviour of its members.

- 1. Types of norms:
 - a) **Folkways** are norms for routine, casual interaction that have less moral significance.
 - b) **Mores** are norms that are widely observed and have great moral significance.
 - c) **Laws** are systems of rules recognized and enforced by governing institutions.

Cultural norms guide individual behaviour. As we learn norms, we evaluate our own behaviour so that "doing wrong" can cause shame and/or guilt.

F. "Ideal" and "Real" Culture

Sociologists distinguish between **ideal culture**, social patterns mandated by cultural values and norms, and **real culture**, actual social patterns that only approximate cultural expectations.

III. Technology and Culture

In addition to symbolic elements such as values and norms, every culture includes

a wide range of physical human creations called *artifacts*, which partly reflect underlying cultural values. In addition to reflecting values, material culture also reflects a society's level of **technology**, knowledge that people use to make a way of life in their surroundings. Gerhard Lenski focuses on *sociocultural evolution*, the historical change in culture caused by new technology, passing through four levels of development:

A. Hunting and Gathering

Hunting and gathering societies use simple tools to hunt animals and gather vegetation. Until about 1800, most humans were hunter-gatherers; very few are today. At this level of sociocultural evolution, food production is relatively inefficient; groups are small, scattered and usually nomadic. Society is organized around the family, and specialization is minimal, centered primarily on age and sex. These societies are quite egalitarian.

B. Horticulture and Pastoralism

Horticulture involves the use of hand tools to raise crops. In especially dry regions, societies turned to **pastoralism**, the domestication of animals. These strategies encourage the development of larger societies. Material surpluses develop, allowing some people to become full-time specialists in crafts, trade or religion. Social inequality increases; men are likely to gain power over women.

C. Agriculture

Five thousand years ago, further technological advances led to **agriculture**, large-scale cultivation using plows harnessed to animals or more powerful energy sources. These societies initiated civilization as they invented irrigation, the wheel, writing, numbers, and new metals. Agrarian societies can build up enormous food surpluses and grow to an unprecedented size. Occupational specialization increases, money emerges, and social life becomes more individualistic and impersonal. Inequality becomes much more extreme.

D. Industry

Industrialization occurred as societies replaced the muscles of animals and humans with new forms of power. Formally, **industry** is the production of goods using advanced sources of energy to drive large machinery. At this stage, societies begin to change quickly. The growth of factories erodes many traditional values, beliefs, and customs. Prosperity and health improve dramatically. Most of the population moves to the cities. Occupational specialization and cultural diversity increase. The family loses much of its importance and appears in many different forms. While poverty continues to be a problem, industrial societies somewhat reduce economic inequality and most people's standard of living rises.

E. Postindustrial Information Technology
Going beyond the four categories discussed by Lenski, we see that many
industrial societies, including Canada, have now entered a **post-industrial** stage
of economic development based on new information technology (i.e., computers
and other electronic devices that create process, store and apply information).

IV. Cultural Diversity: Many Ways of Life in One World

Our nation is becoming more aware of the extent of cultural diversity within its

borders. Heavy immigration has made Canada one of the most *multicultural* of all industrial countries.

A. High Culture and Popular Culture

High culture refers to cultural patterns that distinguish a society's elite; in contrast, **popular culture** designates cultural patterns that are widespread among a society's population. High culture is not inherently superior to popular culture.

B. Subculture

Subcultures are cultural patterns that set apart some segment of a society's population. They involve not only differences but also hierarchy.

C. Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is a perspective recognizing the cultural diversity of Canada and promoting equal standing for all cultural traditions. Multiculturalism stands in opposition to **Eurocentrism**, the dominance of European (especially English) cultural patterns.

D. Counterculture

Counterculture refers to cultural patterns that strongly oppose those widely accepted within a society. Countercultures are still flourishing today as is illustrated by members of al-Qaeda.

E. Cultural Change

As cultures change, they strive to maintain **cultural integration**, the close relationships among various elements of a cultural system. William Ogburn's concept of **cultural lag** refers to the fact that some cultural elements change more quickly than others, which may disrupt a cultural system. Cultural changes are set in motion by three factors:

- 1. Invention, the process of creating new cultural elements.
- 2. Discovery, recognizing and better understanding something already in existence.
- 3. Diffusion, the spread of objects or ideas from one society to another.
- F. Ethnocentrism and Cultural Relativism

Ethnocentrism is the practice of judging another culture by the standards of one's own culture. Sociologists tend to discourage this practice and advocate **cultural relativism**, the practice of evaluating a culture by its own standards.

G. A Global Culture?

Some evidence suggests that a global culture may be emerging. Three key factors are promoting this trend:

- 1. Global economy: the flow of goods
- 2. Global communication: the flow of information
- 3. Global migration: the flow of people

There are three limitations to the global culture thesis:

- 1. The flow of information, goods, and people is uneven around the world.
- 2. Many people cannot afford to participate in the material aspects of a

global culture.

3. Different people attribute different meanings to various aspects of the global culture.

SEEING OURSELVES – National Map 2-1: Nonofficial Home Languages Across Canada. According to Statistics Canada, the percentages of households that use non-official languages at home varies greatly across Canada but are concentrated in large urban centers and in northern Canada.

V. Theoretical Analysis of Culture

A. The Functions of Culture: Structural-Functional Theory

The structural-functional analysis depicts culture as a complex and relatively stable strategy for meeting human needs. **Cultural universals** are traits that are found in every known culture.

Evaluate:

The strength of the structural-functional analysis is showing how culture operates as an integrated system to meet human needs. The weakness of the structural-functional paradigm is that it ignores cultural diversity and downplays the importance of change.

- B. Inequality and Culture: Social-Conflict Theory

 The social-conflict analysis suggests that any cultural trait benefits some members of society at the expense of others, due either to economic or social power
- C. Gender and Culture: Feminist Theory

Feminists claim that our culture is "gendered," that is our way of life reflects the ways in which our society defines what is male as more important than what is female, as shown in language use and other ways.

Evaluate:

The social-conflict analysis recognizes that many elements of a culture maintain inequality and promote the dominance of one group over others. It understates the ways that cultural patterns integrate members of society.

All three of these approaches to understanding culture are macro-level in scope.

VI. Culture and Human Freedom

Culture can be a constraint in that humans cannot live without culture, but the capacity for culture has some drawbacks. It may result in alienation and limitation of choices. Culture can be a source of freedom in that culture forces us to choose as we make and remake a world for ourselves.

THINKING GLOBALLY: Canada and the United States: Two National Cultures or One? Comparisons between Canada and the United States show similarities as well as differences between the two cultures.

Chapter Objectives

After reading Chapter 2, students should be able to:

- 1. Provide the sociological definitions of culture, society, and culture shock.
- 2. Distinguish between material and nonmaterial culture.
- 3. Explain how culture replaces instinct in human beings.
- 4. Identify and define the major components of all cultures. Provide examples for each.
- 5. Explain the role of language in the transmission of culture.
- 6. Describe the implications of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis regarding cross-cultural communication.
- 7. List and describe important Canadian cultural values.
- 8. Distinguish between mores and folkways.
- 9. Distinguish between real and ideal culture.
- 10. Define technology and sociocultural evolution.
- 11. Discuss the role of material culture and technology in our society.
- 12. Describe Lenski's perspective regarding technology and how it relates to classifying societies at different levels of evolutionary development.
- 13. Describe the primary characteristics of hunting and gathering, horticultural, pastoral, agrarian, industrial, and postindustrial societies.
- 14. Distinguish between high culture and popular culture.
- 15. Define subculture and counterculture. Provide examples of each.
- 16. Summarize the contemporary debate over multiculturalism.
- 17. Explain the concepts of cultural integration and cultural lag.
- 18. Identify and describe three causes of cultural change.
- 19. Compare and contrast ethnocentrism and cultural relativism.
- 20. Discuss three factors influencing the emergence of a global culture and the limitations to the global culture thesis.
- 21. Summarize the three theoretical analyses of culture: structural-functional, social-conflict, and sociobiological. Identify strengths and weaknesses of each.
- 22. Identify how culture both constrains and enhances human freedom.

Essay Topics

- 1. Why is culture a more effective strategy for survival than reliance on instinct?
- 2. What are some examples of symbols that different groups of people interpret differently?
- 3. What are the key values of Canadian culture? Which of these do you embrace? Reject?
- 4. Identify some Canadian norms that seem to have become either more or less important in recent years. How would you account for these changes?

- 5. Provide several examples of mores and folkways that you learned when you were growing up.
- 6. How are core Canadian values other than achievement and success reflected in childhood games?
- 7. Identify the four types of societies discussed by the Lenskis and the fifth type that the text adds to their paradigm. Which of these would you most like to live in and why?
- 8. What is virtual culture? How do you think this phenomenon has affected you?
- 9. What are the primary means by which society attempts to exert social control over its members?
- 10. Is a technologically more advanced society necessarily a superior one?
- 11. Do you agree with the text's claim that high culture is not necessarily superior to popular culture? Why do many people assume that this is the case?
- 12. What is a subculture? Do you think that teenagers constitute a distinct Canadian subculture? Why or why not?
- 13. Is cultural relativism always positive? Under what circumstances do you feel that it is appropriate to condemn the practices of a culture other than your own?

Supplemental Lecture Material

I. "Only In Canada, You Say."

Actually, not only in Canada. Virtually no culture is purely indigenous. With the passage of time and travel, each culture takes on elements of other cultures regardless of intent. While people in some countries are ethnocentric and zenophobic, the cultural components of many countries, including Canada, are largely composed of borrowed elements. A widely reprinted, tongue-in-cheek essay by anthropologist Ralph Linton from the 1930's showed just how much of our culture originated elsewhere.

"Only in Canada, you say."

Upon awakening, our citizen is clad in pajamas, a garment of East Indian origin; and lying in a bed built on a pattern which originated somewhere in Asia, but modified in Europe. The cotton covers, first domesticated in India, are thrown back. Slippers, invented by the Indians, waiting underfoot to be worn to the bathroom where the fixtures are more modern American than European inventions - where toilets are renowned for being finicky. However, the splendor of the glazed porcelain tiles in the bathroom stem from China, and the art of enameling on metal by Mediterranean artisans of the Bronze Age. The bathtub and toilet are but slightly modified copies of Roman originals.

Breakfast over; a quick glance out the window, made of glass invented in Egypt, reveals rain clouds and the need for outer shoes of rubber, discovered by Central American Indians. While dashing down the street the umbrella, invented on the Asian continent, is opened as the rain starts to fall. At the train, an English invention, newspapers are bought with coins invented in ancient Lydia. The train station houses multiple shops and eating establishments where a range of borrowed elements and objects confront passengers and purchasers. Pottery plates which originate from China, are laden with breads and strategically placed beside the eating utensils: forks -an Italian invention, steel knives which were first made in India, and spoons - a derivative of the Roman implement. Meanwhile, the headlines beckon on the daily newspaper, imprinted in characters invented by the ancient Semites by a process invented in Germany and on a material invented in China. One headline reads, "Our Culture is Threatened" - so some things never change. But one thing is for certain, material and nonmaterial cultural elements are continually being borrowed and altered; and NOT only in Canada, you say.

Based on:

Linton, Ralph, 1936. The Study of Man. New York: Appleton-Century, pp.326-327. One Hundred Percent American. The American Mercury, Vol. XL, No. 1.

Discussion Questions

- 1) Do you believe that Canadians may be somewhat more ethnocentric than people in the other Western industrial nations? If you do, why do you think this is the case?
- 2) In what ways does a degree of ethnocentrism contribute to the positive functioning of Canadian culture? How much is too much? What problems can result from excessive ethnocentrism?

Supplemental Lecture Material

II. Cultural Change in Hockey

Some Canadians consider hockey to be a symbol of Canadian culture and that hockey can be interpreted as a "religion" with Wayne Gretzky as one of the main icons. Hockey though, like culture is in a constant state of flux. It can be said that both the sport of hockey and its players challenge the cultural values of Canadians. The *Citizens' Forum on Canada's Future* (1991), highlights important Canadian cultural values such as equality, fairness and non-violence. Yet violence is an intrinsic part of hockey. Using hockey as an example, it is possible to demonstrate value inconsistency and the process of cultural change by which new trends replace older traditions.

Non-violence, for the most part, has been a mainstay in Canadian culture. For example, many Canadians are proud of the fact that we do not have a constitutional right to own a handgun, as our American counterparts do. Why then, is violence tolerated, even encouraged in the sport of hockey? This norm is inconsistent with mainstream Canadian culture, so

where does it come from?

From the little "pee wee" hockey players to the professionals, violence is part of the game. With the little ones, the violence can be heard from the parents in the stands yelling, "go for the body; fight, fight; kill em." It is no wonder that young players take on parental attitudes while "progressing" in their hockey career—given that parent and professionals are their role models. In terms of professional hockey players, Don Cherry, Canada's ex- professional hockey player-cum-hockey announcer thinks violence is an integral part of the game. One the other hand, helmets became mandatory in an effort to combat head injuries. That's a mixed message for young hockey enthusiasts watching their hockey heroes on television. Knowing that violence is wrong, but seeing and experiencing it on the ice is dissonant behaviour. So what is happening?

In contrast to the hockey culture and attitudes of Don Cherry, are those of Wayne Gretzky–Canada's most famous hockey player and a role model for all hockey players. Gretzky's style of play is centred on skill, technique and teamwork–violence is not part of his game. In line with the emergence of Gretzky we also notice that the game of hockey has changed–violence on the ice is not viewed nearly as positively as it was previously.

Violence in sport has hit major headlines in the last ten years due to serious injuries incurred by players. Paul Kariya, for example, was checked hard enough to get a concussion and was unable to represent Canada in the 1998 Nagano Olympics. Others yet have received more serious injuries from a bad check or high stick. Is it the seriousness of the injuries that have led to the recent changes in the rules regarding checking in hockey? Is it due to the large salaries that professional players command—an injured player cannot play and therefore represents a financial penalty to the team owners also? Or is it due to the fact that hockey culture is so out of synch with the values which meld the Canadian cultural fabric and the Wayne Gretzky style of play is truly taking on a force of its own?

Sources:

Sinclair -Faulkner, T. "A puckish look at hockey in Canada." in P. Slater (ed.), *Religion and Culture in Canada*. (Waterloo: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1977):383-406.

Smith, Gwen. "The Home Team." Maclean's (April, 1997):68.

Discussion Questions

- 1) Highlight the differences between main Canadian culture and hockey culture that encourage violence.
- 2) Do you think the movement of Canadian hockey teams to the United States has had a cultural effect on the professional players and the game of hockey?
- 3) How is the amount of violence determined by the commercialization of sport?

4) This article was written a number of years ago. Discuss whether the same concerns exist today over violence in hockey? What recent hockey players have experienced violence?

Supplemental Lecture Material

III. Speaking of Language: The Development of Human Communication

Linguistics, the academic study of human language, has undergone a series of profound shifts in recent decades. Until the late 1950s, most linguists believed that humans as a species developed language from a blank slate in infancy. The behaviouristic principles of seeking pleasure and avoiding pain provided the theoretical basis to these views of language development. Most linguists rejected the notion that any type of internal, biological mechanism was hardwired into the brains of infants, steering them inevitably in any particular developmental path. And because there was no fundamental basis to human language in the brain, linguists rarely tried to compare widely divergent languages — such as English and any of the indigenous languages of the Amazonian basin — as they viewed these languages as essentially lacking in any meaningful connections to a particularly "human" structure.

Noam Chomsky, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology linguist, fundamentally changed many of these basic tenets of linguistics. According to Kathryn Hirsch-Pasek, a psychologist at Temple University, "Up until the late 1950s, linguists had always focused their efforts on describing the differences between languages and dialects. What Noam Chomsky did was point out that beneath the differences, languages were amazingly similar." With extensive crosscultural studies of the structures or "universal grammar" underlying all languages, Chomsky had found striking evidence of the importance of instinctive behaviour to language in humans. Children don't so much "learn" language as they developmentally "grow" into language, much like the refinement of spatial skills or the changes leading to sexual maturity.

And because language is so deeply hardwired into humans, we are born with a grammar that is sophisticated enough to handle complex language. In fact, the actual "learning" that children pursue with language is often the set of exceptions to this basic grammar. As linguist Judy Kegl points out, English-speaking children must learn the often-confusing set of rules for plural words, such as "feet" instead of "foots." Children often resist these exceptions, trying to make the language more consistent.

There are numerous important implications from these findings, especially to many who still hold views of language that derive from behaviourism-based linguistics. It is common, for instance, for some to believe that language is the most important "invention" of humans, but language itself is not so much an invention as a highly flexible but genetically programmed and instinctual behaviour.

Furthermore, many consider slang or the languages of technologically primitive cultures to be less expressive, evolved, or powerful than languages such as English or Russian. But because all languages share the same basic structure, no language is more primitive or less expressive of human feeling than another. And slang itself — perhaps to the disdain of numerous English teachers — cannot erode or "corrupt" a language or the quality of thinking of its speakers. English is certainly not in decline because so many speakers incorporate lower-status "street" words and phrases into their vocabulary.

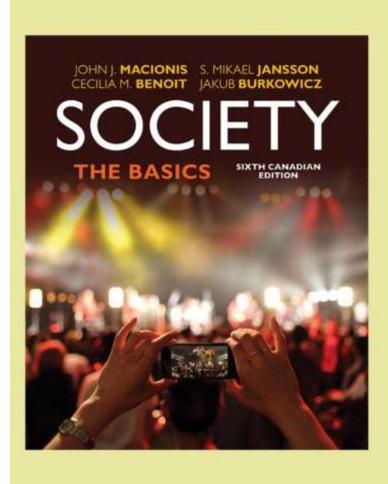
Perhaps the most controversial set of implications drawn from Chomsky's research concern the instinctive nature of language. If language — one of the most important bases for human culture — is an instinctive behaviour that is genetically controlled, then perhaps many other types of human behaviour are also preprogrammed. Behaviourism assumed that consciousness and culture can always override and control instinct, but Chomsky has led linguists to think otherwise. And many researchers and thinkers are suggesting that such characteristics as criminal behaviour and intelligence may also be hardwired. Certainly a great deal more research will have to be explored to see how far the implications of language development can be extended.

Source:

Bowden, Mark. "Speaking of Language, Linguists Have Big News." *Philadelphia Inquirer* (February 13, 1995): D1–D5.

Discussion Questions

- 1) Do you agree with the contention that the slang or street language is as expressive as Shakespeare's English? Why or why not?
- 2) How might our view of intelligence change if research provides convincing evidence that an IQ may be hereditary and genetically determined? What social policy changes might this view lead to?
- 3) Why do you think early linguists and members of society were unwilling to accept slang as a language?



Chapter 2

Culture

What Is Culture?

Culture is the

- ways of thinking,
- ways of acting, and
- material objects

that together form a people's way of life.

Culture Terms

- Nonmaterial culture: The ideas created by members of a society
- Material culture: The physical things created by members of a society
- Culture shock: Personal disorientation when experiencing an unfamiliar way of life
- Society: People who interact in a defined territory and share culture

Elements of Culture

- **Symbols:** Anything that carries a particular meaning recognized by people who share a culture
- Language: A system of symbols that allows people to communicate with one another
 - Cultural transmission: The process by which one generation passes culture to the next
 - Sapir-Whorf thesis: The idea that people see and understand the world through the cultural lens of language

Elements of Culture (Con't)

- Values: Culturally defined standards that people use to decide what is desirable, good, and beautiful and that serve as broad guidelines for social living
- Beliefs: Specific thoughts or ideas that people hold to be true

Canadian Values

- 1. Democracy and human rights
- 2. Health care and the social safety net
- 3. Support for the environment
- 4. Importance of gender and racial equality
- 5. Value of immigration
- 6. Support for diversity
- 7. Free market and property rights Values are sometimes in conflict
 - Fiscal responsibility vs public funding of social programs

Norms, Folkways, and Mores

- Norms: Rules and expectations by which society guides the behaviour of its members
 - Folkways: Norms for routine or casual interaction, e.g., proper dress.
 - Mores: Norms that are widely observed and have great moral significance, e.g., no sexual relations with children.

Ideal and Real Culture

• IDEAL CULTURE

- The way things should be
 - 98% of Canadians say drinking and driving is socially unacceptable

REAL CULTURE

- The way things actually are
 - 27% of people questioned admitted to driving drunk at least once in the previous year

Technology and Culture

- Technology: Knowledge that people use to make a way of life in their surroundings
- Hunting and Gathering: Humans' original state; use of simple tools to hunt animals and gather vegetation
- Horticulture and Pastoralism: Hand tools to raise crops and domestication of animals appeared about 10 000 years ago
- Agriculture: Large scale cultivation using plows harnessed to animals or more powerful energy sources

Technology and Culture (Con't)

- Industry: The production of goods using advanced sources of energy, like steam power, to drive large machinery; began almost 250 years ago
- Post-industrial Information Technology:
 The production of information using computer technology; began approximately 50 years ago

Cultural Diversity

 Multiculturalism: Statistics Canada predicts that between 25 and 28 percent of the Canadian population could be foreign-born by 2031

- **High Culture:** Cultural patterns that distinguish a society's elite
- Popular Culture: Cultural patterns
 widespread among a society's population

Cultural Diversity (Con't)

- Subculture: Cultural patterns that set apart some segment of a society's population
- Multiculturalism: A perspective recognizing the cultural diversity of Canada and promoting equal standing for all cultural traditions
- Eurocentrism: The dominance of European (especially English) cultural patterns

Cultural Diversity (Con't)

- Counterculture: Cultural patterns that strongly oppose those widely accepted
- Cultural integration: The close relationships among various elements of a cultural system
- Cultural lag: Some cultural elements change more quickly than others

Cultural Diversity (Con't)

- Cultural Change: Occurs by invention, discovery, and diffusion
- Ethnocentrism: Practice of judging another culture by the standards of one's own culture
- Cultural Relativism: Practice of evaluating a culture by its own standards

A Global Culture?

Societies have increasing contact with each other through the flow of:

- 1. Goods,
- 2. Information, and
- 3. People.

But these flows are uneven:

- The goods and services are expensive; and
- Different meanings are attached to them

Structural-Functional Analysis

Culture is a complex strategy for meeting human needs

 Cultural Universals: traits that are part of every known culture and include: family, funeral rites, & jokes

Weakness: Ignores cultural diversity and downplays importance of change

Social-Conflict Analysis

Cultural traits benefit some members at the expense of others

Approach rooted in Karl Marx and materialism, society's system of material production has a powerful effect on the rest of a culture

Weakness: Understates the ways cultural patterns integrate members into society

Culture and Human Freedom

To what extent are we free?

- Culture binds us to each other and the past, and is largely habitual
 - We cannot live without culture
- Culture as freedom
 - Culture forces us to choose as we make and remake a world for ourselves