ANTH 2: Introduction to Cultural Anthropology
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Office hours: 10-11:30 on Tuesdays and Thursdays and by appointment

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All registration and enrollment requests should be directed to the head TA.

Course Overview

Among the social sciences, cultural anthropology stands out for its longstanding focus on the effects of globalization, the local changes brought about through the global contact between societies and individuals, and the robust description of the life experiences of people across society, from the very poor to the very rich. In this course, we look at how anthropologists – as social scientists – develop and test ideas about local and global societies, particularly as ideas disseminate as a function of colonialism, global capitalism, and modernization. Central here to our discussions of cultural anthropology will be the role of empiricism as a method in the social sciences, and how anthropologists produce data in order to test social-scientific theories. How, in other words, do the lives of individuals, the everyday functioning of institutions, and the organization of society shape and get shaped by social-scientific theories? And how, in turn, do empirical studies of social-scientific theories change dominant understandings of those theories? To address these question, our focus will largely be on the effects of global capitalism in the late 20th and early 21st centuries and how it is leading to both increasing homogeneity across the globe, but also, paradoxically, increasing heterogeneity, as global forces interact with local histories and get reshaped through these contact zones. We will look primarily at anthropological studies of the United States and compare these studies to cross-cultural evidence around changing ideas about social categories like gender, sexuality, ethnicity, race, class, and kinship, as well as macro-level processes like modernity, globalization, capitalism, and social change and revolution.

Learning Outcomes

This course is organized around social scientific keywords. Students will complete the course with a finer understanding of key ideas in the social sciences, and how anthropologists define and challenge these ideas. Students will also come to understand the methodologies that are a hallmark of knowledge production in cultural anthropology and foundational anthropological concerns. Moreover, students will learn how to read social scientific writing, including being able to identify theses, the relationship between evidence and theory, and the structure of argumentation.
Section Times & Instructors:

*All sections are held in Social Sciences 1, room 317. Your section instructor will provide you with a section syllabus by week 4.*

**Tuesday**

10:30-11:40 AM  Stephanie McCallum  smccalll@ucsc.edu
12:00-1:10 PM  Stephanie McCallum  SS1 313; Th 3-5
  Required ethnography: Shever’s *Resources for Reform*

1:30-2:40 PM  Holly Johnson  hejohnso@ucsc.edu
3:00-4:10 PM  Holly Johnson  SS1 231; T/Th 12-1:30
  Required ethnography: Aikau’s *Chosen People, a Promised Land*

4:30-5:40 PM  Jon Nyquist  jnyquist@ucsc.edu
6:00-7:10 PM  Jon Nyquist  SS1 233; Th 12-2
  Required ethnography: Myers’ *Painting Culture*

**Wednesday**

8:00-9:10 AM  Zahirah Suhaimi  zsuhaimi@ucsc.edu
9:30-10:40 AM  Zahirah Suhaimi  SS1 233; Th 10-12
  Required ethnography: Sze’s *Fantasy Islands*

11:00-12:10 PM  Samantha Turner  salturne@ucsc.edu
  Required ethnography: Bourgois and Schoenberg’s *Righteous Dopefiend*

**Thursday**

10:30-11:40 AM  Eden Washburn  ewashbur@ucsc.edu
12:00-1:10 PM  Eden Washburn  SS1 423; W 8-9
  Required ethnography: Londono-Sulkin’s *People of Substance*

1:30-2:40 PM  Jessica Madison  jrmadiso@ucsc.edu
3:00-4:10 PM  Jessica Madison  SS1 313; T/Th 11-12
  Required ethnography: Vitebsky’s *The Reindeer People*

4:30-5:40 PM  Chester Liwosz  cliwosz@ucsc.edu
6:00-7:10 PM  Chester Liwosz  SS1 423; T/W 10:30-11:30
  Required ethnography: Anderson’s *Black and Indigenous*
Reading List:
Required texts and the course pack are available at the Bay Tree Bookstore. Copies of each of the books will be on reserve at McHenry Library – but it is strongly advised that you purchase a copy of the book required for your section. You will be reading one of the following ethnographies based on the section you are enrolled in.

Aikau, Hokulani K.
2012 Chosen People, a Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.
Anderson, Mark
Bourgois, Phillippe, and Jeffrey Schonberg
Londono-Sulkin, Carlos
2012 People of Substance: An Ethnography of Morality in the Colombian Amazon. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Myers, Fred
Shever, Elana
Sze, Julie
Vitebsky, Piers

Required Documentaries:
The following documentaries are required viewing for the beginning of each week. They will not be shown in class, but will be discussed in lecture and in section. It is strongly suggested you subscribe to Hulu and Netflix for the quarter in order to watch them; they will also be on reserve in the Media Center unless otherwise noted.

Seven Up/Seven Plus Seven (Almond, 1964 and Apted, 1970) (Netflix)
General Idi Amin Dada (Schroeder, 1974) (Hulu)
God’s Country (Malle, 1985) (Hulu)
Grey Gardens (Maysles, 1976) (Hulu)
Harlan County, USA (Kopple, 1976) (Hulu)
Into the Abyss (Herzog, 2011) (Netflix, not available at the Media Center)
Jesus Camp (Ewing and Grady, 2007) (Netflix, not available at the Media Center)
My Crazy Life (Gorin, 1992) (Hulu)
The Queen of Versailles (Greenfield, 2012) (Netflix, not available at the Media Center)
The Times of Harvey Milk (Epstein, 1984) (Hulu)
Grading & Assignments:

Attendance & Participation (10%) – Students are expected to attend all classes with the required material having been read. Attendance will only be taken in section. Two absences from section are allowed; each absence beyond the second will reduce the student’s final grade by 5%. Students are required to bring their Reading Guides (see Appendix A) to section. Failure to bring Reading Guides to section will result in not receiving credit for participation that week.

Reading Questions (30%) -- Each week students will receive 3 reading questions through eCommons. Each question is worth 1% of your final grade. Answers are due the day of the assigned reading, and must be 4-6 sentences long and include examples from the reading. Questions will appear at least one week before the assignment is due.

Section Papers (5% each; 10% total) – at two points in the quarter, your section instructor will provide you with a short writing assignment based upon the ethnography you are reading in section. Each of these will be 2-3 pages long and respond to a specific prompt provided by your section instructor.

Midterm(s) (10% each; 20% total) – Each exam will be administered through eCommons and be composed of 20 questions based on the lecture material, readings, and required films and podcasts. Exams will include multiple choice, short answer, and mini-essay questions. The midterms will not be comprehensive (i.e. they will only cover the preceding three weeks of course content).

Final Exam (30%) – The final exam will be given through eCommons during the final exam period (Monday, June 8th from 12-3:00 PM) and be comprised of 60 questions based on the lecture material, readings, and required films and podcasts. The exam will include multiple choice, short answer, and mini-essay questions. The final exam will be comprehensive.
Policies:
There is no extra credit available.

A curve will be applied to the final grades in the course based upon the highest attained grade.

No late work will be accepted for credit.

Students taking the course Pass/Fail must earn a C to receive a Pass.

Workload: The expectation within the University of California system is that for each credit hour of a course, students spend 3 hours in preparation during the week. For a 5-credit course, this means that students should be spending about 15 hours per week preparing for class (see http://registrar.ucsc.edu/catalog/undergrad-acad/). I assume that undergraduate students can read 1 page of academic writing in 3 minutes; 100 pages of reading should require about 300 minutes, or 5 hours. You may need to read some of the texts more than once to fully understand them. In most cases, you should expect to be reading about 75 pages per week in addition to other course requirements, which include listening to a required podcast (about an hour) and watching a documentary (about two hours).

Students with Disabilities: You must be registered with the Disability Resource Center <http://drc.ucsc.edu/> to claim any special accommodations. You must submit DRC paperwork to your TA by the end of the first week of class for plans to be made in a timely fashion.

Attendance: Students who miss section during the first week of class will be administratively dropped from the course and under no circumstances given a permission code to add the course. If you will miss a section, you must arrange with your section instructor to visit a different section that week; you may only do this once.

Academic Integrity – Academic misconduct of any sort will not be tolerated. Evidence of academic misconduct – which is not limited to plagiarism and cheating – will result in an immediate failing grade in the course and actions as dictated by university policy regarding academic integrity for undergraduate students. Please see <http://www.ue.ucsc.edu/ai_student-guide> if you have any questions about what qualifies as academic misconduct. For a description of the review process, see <http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/undergraduate_students/>. 
Contacting Me: I only check my email between 8-11 AM on weekday mornings and during my office hours. I will always respond to emails within 24 hours, except for emails received on Fridays, which will responded to on the following Monday. If you plan to stop by my office hours, please contact me ahead of time, either by email (mwolfmey@ucsc.edu) or at my office telephone number (459-2365). However, if you have a grading question, before you email me, email your section instructor. If the section instructor is unable to resolve your concern, email the head teaching assistant, Samantha Turner <salturne@ucsc.edu>. If the head teaching assistant is unable to resolve your concern, email me and include your previous emails to the section instructor and head teaching assistant.

Correspondence with instructors: Only correspondence that follows professional conventions of correspondence will be replied to by me and the teaching assistants. For example, your email should begin ‘Dear Professor Wolf-Meyer,…’ or ‘Dear Ms. Turner,’ and end with your signature. Beginning an email without a salutation, a ‘Hey’ or other informal forms of address will ensure your email will not be responded to. If the answer to your question is clearly stated in the syllabus or assignment guidelines, instructors may not respond to your email.

Style Matters: All submitted work should follow the guidelines set forth in the American Anthropological Association’s style guide (available at aaanet.org). All papers should be double-spaced, 12 point font, in Times New Roman, with 1 inch margins on all sides, and page numbers. Citation should look like this: (Author Year: Page), e.g. (Wolf-Meyer 2009: 408). Failure to meet these standards will result in a reduced grade.
Week 1: Subjects and Objects of Cultural Anthropology

What is cultural anthropology, and what are the ways that it operates in the world?

Cultural anthropology has a history that stretches back to the late 19th century, when ethnologists studied lifeways in remote parts of the world often through second-hand reporting. Over the course of 20th century, cultural anthropologists have refined a method for studying diverse societies, referred to as participant-observation or ethnography. Central to this method is the study of everyday experience of people across the social spectrum as a means for generating knowledge and testing existing social science theories. In this week, we discuss how ethnography has changed over the latter half of the 20th century, particularly in relation to the study of the political economy of globalization in the United States and the world.

Keywords: Empiricism, Ethnography, Emic, Etic, Subjective, Objective, Culture, Society, Political Economy, Rationality, Agency vs. Structure, Language, the Body

Required film: Seven Up and Seven Plus Seven (Almond, 1964 and Apted, 1970)

Required podcast: Jean Briggs interviews on CBC Ideas -- http://www.cbc.ca/player/Radio/Ideas/ID/2263113692/

March 31st – Introduction to the Course; Syllabus overview

April 2nd – What is Social Science?; What does Ethnographic Data Look Like?
Bourgois, Philippe
Ho, Karen
**Week 2: Colonialism, Postcolonialism, Neocolonialism**

*How does cultural anthropology study global processes?*

From its beginnings, cultural anthropology has focused on changes brought about by the increasing interconnection of people around the world, first as a result of imperialism and latterly as a byproduct of economic globalization. What characterizes much of cultural anthropology in the 20th and early 21st centuries is its engagement with the globe and societies outside of the North Atlantic; anthropologists are interested in these other places in order to show how what seem to be universal concepts – like ‘modernity’ – are highly specific to local contexts, and influenced by local histories. In this week, we look at how North Atlantic colonialism has shaped and been shaped by anthropology, and how anthropology has arisen in the late 20th and early 21st centuries as a discipline particularly attuned to global interconnectivity.

*Keywords:* Primitive, Indigenous, Nature vs. Culture, Civilization, Modernity, Tradition, Universal, Imperialism, Globalization, Nation and Nationalism, Ritual, Identity, Alterity, Postcolonialism, Colonialism

Required film: *General Idi Amin Dada* (Schroeder, 1974)


April 7th – Is There a Single Modernity? How does Globalization Produce History?

Wolf, Eric R.  

Handler, Richard, and Jocelyn Linnekin  

Lutz, Catherine  
2006 Empire is in the Details. American Ethnologist 33(4):593-611.

April 9th – In Class Film
Week 3: Social Organization

*How have social forms changed over time?*

Central to anthropological understandings of society have been ideas about social complexity and evolution, where over time small bands of individuals eventually become modern states – a transition that takes thousands of years. These ideas are not solely anthropological, but also circulate popularly to shape everyday politics and action. But, recently, these models of social transformation have been challenged to unsettle assumptions about a move from less to more complex societies, from less to more permissive social forms, from repression to freedom. In this week, we address the relationship between the individual and society, and how particular ideas about social forms shape understandings of the individual and communities. Moreover, we focus on how particular social forms – like the State – are taken as representative of modernity and how this shapes local and global politics.

*Keywords:* Ideology, Power, the Individual, Hierarchy, Egalitarianism, Class, Unilinear Evolution (e.g. band, tribe, chiefdom, state), Development, the State, Public and Private Spheres, Diaspora

Required film: *Grey Gardens* (Maysles, 1976)

Required podcast: “The Middling Sort” on Backstory -- [http://backstoryradio.org/shows/middle-class/](http://backstoryradio.org/shows/middle-class/)

April 14th – How are Individuals Organized through Society?
Greenhouse, Carol

April 16th – What is the State? How does the State Shape Everyday Life?
Dunn, Elizabeth
Sivaramakrishnan, K.
Week 4: Political Organization

*How do political forms shape action? How has political power changed over time?*

Along with changing ideas of social form, anthropologists have long been interested in how forms of political organization and power have changed over time, particularly in relation to ideas about modernity. From small-scale societies led by chiefs and big men, to classical monarchies led by royalty, to modern representative forms of politics, anthropologists have focused on how political organization shapes the everyday lives of individuals. Central to anthropological approaches to politics has been an interest in kinship, or the legal and blood-based ties between individuals in a society, and how these ties form the foundation upon which social organization is built. In this week, we look at how kinship is employed by anthropologists to study society, and how that base is used to conceptualize classical and modern forms of sovereignty.

**Keywords:** Kinship, Matrilineal, Patrilineal, Matrilocal, Patrilocal, Moeity, Sovereignty, Classical and Modern Forms of Power, Governance, Citizenship, Cosmopolitanism

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**Required film:** *God’s Country* (Malle, 1985)

**Required podcast:** “A Not-So-Simple Majority” on This American Life -- [http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/534/a-not-so-simple-majority](http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/534/a-not-so-simple-majority)

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**April 21st – Is Kinship the Basis of Society?**
Exam #1 delivered through eCommons; due by 4/22 at noon
Yanagisako, Sylvia

**April 23rd – How has Sovereignty Changed over Time?**
Cattelino, Jessica
Cook, Susan, and Rebecca Hardin
**Week 5: Power in Action**

*How do practices of power shape the lives of those who are its subjects?*

Cultural anthropologists, like many social scientists, have recently become interested in forms of power that move away from politics in the strict sense and towards power and its operations in everyday life. In order to explore these ideas, cultural anthropologists have focused on spaces where power is integral to conceptions of the individual and society, spaces like prisons and workplaces. Alongside this interest in power has been steady attention to how power is resisted – that is, how individuals and communities attempt to escape from the scrutiny and coercion demanded by those in power. In this week, we look at how anthropologists conduct research on modern forms of power and what these studies show about life and death and their relation to everyday life.

Keywords: Carceral and Disciplinary Power, Coercion, Domination, Hegemony, Biopower and Biopolitics, Panopticism, Surveillance, Resistance, Subjectivity

Required film: *Into the Abyss* (Herzog, 2011)


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April 28th – How does Power Shape Life and Death?
Rhodes, Lorna A.

April 30th – Can there be Resistance to Power?
Abu-Lughod, Lila
Rofel, Lisa
Week 6: Knowledge Production

How does knowledge shape society and individual action?

One of the central tenants of theories of modernity has been the gradual shift of societies from a state of superstition and irrationality to that of a rational, scientifically-founded society. Often, this is portrayed as a movement from magic, through religion, to science. But contemporary anthropologists are interested in how these forms of knowledge production are similar to one another and how they often coexist in modern societies. In this week, we look at how magic, religion and science shape understandings of the individual, rationality, and what counts as knowledge worth having. In addition, we will be talking about semiotics and the anthropological approach to language and sign systems as a way to think about how power operates in the context of communication and knowledge production.

Keywords: Semiotics (e.g. Signs and Signifiers), Rhetoric, Discourse, Magic, Science, Religion, Superstition, Rational, Irrational, Secularism

Required film: Jesus Camp (Ewing and Grady, 2007)


Suggest podcast: “Semiotics and Structuralism” on Partially Examined Life -- http://www.partiallyexaminedlife.com/2012/02/24/episode-51-semiotics-and-structuralism-saussure-et-al/ (you can start at the 15 minute mark)

May 5th – What does it Mean to be “Irrational”?
Harding, Susan
Jones, Graham M.

May 7th – Are Scientific Societies Rational Ones?
Exam #2 delivered through eCommons; due by 5/8 at noon
Taussig, Karen-Sue
**Week 7: The Economy**

*Is the economy an autonomous system? How does human action shape the economy?*

At times, one might be led to think that the economy operates separate from human action. But anthropologists have long held just the opposite, namely that the economy is shaped by humans and their intentions. In this week, we examine how the economy comes to take the shape that it does, how it affects the lives of individuals both at its center and margins, and what alternatives there might be to contemporary capitalism. This takes us to consider non-monetary forms of exchange, like gifting, which has long been central to anthropological analyses of the origins of society and the maintenance of relationships between individuals and groups. Key to much of our discussion this week will be the works of Karl Marx, particularly his ideas about exchange as a mechanism for capitalist economic forms.

Keywords: Value (e.g. Use- vs. Exchange- vs. Symbolic-), Money, Currency, Alienation, the Market, Liberalism, Neoliberalism, Regulation, Gifting, Reciprocity, Consumption, Commodity, Fetish, Debt

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**Required film:** *The Queen of Versailles* (Greenfield, 2012)


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**May 12th – Who Makes the Market?**

Maurer, Bill

West, Paige

**May 14th – Are there Exceptions to Capital?**

Carrier, James G.
Week 8: Gender, Sex and Social Reproduction

*How does gender shape society? How do ideas about sex and reproduction reinforce social roles?*

Anthropologists have long been drawn to gender, sex and sexuality as sites to think about how human biology is shaped by cultural expectations and social obligations. Are heterosexuality and homosexuality based in nature or are they socially constructed? Or is it both? These kinds of questions raise concerns about how gender is enacted or performed in social contexts, and how these performances vary across societies and their particular histories. Moreover, gender, sex and sexuality are sites where cultural expectations about individuals and their behaviors are reproduced in the service of reproducing society more generally; in focusing on how cultural norms are reproduced by society and individuals, anthropologists show how ideas about normalcy are made and maintained through power relations.

Keywords: Gender, Sex, Sexuality (e.g. Heterosexual vs. Homosexual), Reproduction (e.g. Social and Biological), Categorization, Performance, Performativity, Feminism (e.g. First, Second and Third Wave), Normalcy and Normative

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Required film: *The Times of Harvey Milk* (Epstein, 1984)

Required podcast: “81 Words” on This American Life -- [http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/204/81-words](http://www.thisamericanlife.org/radio-archives/episode/204/81-words)


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May 19th – How are Sex and Gender Shaped by Society?
Curtis, Debra
Kulick, Don

May 21st – How is Society Reproduced through Gender?
Paper #1 due through eCommons
Rapp, Rayna
Week 9: Race, Ethnicity and Racism

How real are ethnicity and race? How do they interact with class, gender, sexuality, and other bases of identity and belonging?

Like gender, sex and sexuality, race and ethnicity have long been a focus for anthropologists to think about biology and its relationships to identity, society and cultural norms. But as much as ethnicity and race are seen as having social effects, anthropologists have long held that there is actually no biological basis for them, bolstered by recent findings in the biological sciences. Nonetheless, race and ethnicity both have become ways to differentiate groups from one another, often framed by relations between those in power and those subject to it. Moreover, because ethnicity and race are shaped by local and global historical understandings of them as meaningful categories, they have become means for legitimating and justifying particular forms of power and the domination of specific groups within society. In this week, we look at the local and global histories of ethnic and racial categories and the effects they have in the lives of individuals and their communities.

Keywords: Categorization (e.g. Internal vs. External), Ethnicity, Race, Whiteness, Authenticity, Cultural Capital, Stratification, Class (e.g. underclass), Social Network

Required film: *My Crazy Life* (Gorin, 1992)

Required podcast: “Is Black English a Dialect or a Language?” on Lexicon Valley -- [http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/lexicon_valley/2012/02/lexicon_valley_is_black_english_a_dialect_or_a_language_.html](http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/lexicon_valley/2012/02/lexicon_valley_is_black_english_a_dialect_or_a_language_.html)

May 26th – How are Ethnic Differences Produced?
Jenkins, Richard

May 28th – How does Race Shape Social Life?
Hartigan, John
Jackson, John L.
Week 10: Change, Revolution and Social Movements

*Do the social sciences have the power to change the world for the better?*

Since its inception, cultural anthropology has been drawn to political debates. Ethnography as a mode of social scientific research has provided anthropologists with both a means to engage with activists as subjects of research, but have also put anthropologists in political contexts where they have attempted to understand local concerns and find ways to alleviate them. In this week, we look at three very different contexts in which anthropologists have advocated for change – all based in ethnographic understandings of what is at stake in things staying the same or things being altered for the better. In so doing, we also look at how ethnography is changing to take into account new modes of social action, namely social media, and how this is changing what ethnography is and does in addressing political change.

Keywords: Social Movements, Activism, Media (e.g. Social Media), Digital Ethnography

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**Required film:** *Harlan County, USA* (Kopple, 1976)


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June 2nd – Can Anthropology Make a Difference? Part 1
Ahmadu, Fuambai
Bonilla, Yarimar, and Jonathan Rosa

June 4th – Can Anthropology Make a Difference? Part 2
Paper #2 due through eCommons
Graeber, David

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**Final Exam Week**
eCommons final exam on Monday, June 8th from 12-3:00 PM
Appendix A: Reading Guide
For each reading, you will need to fill out this form. Bring copies of each reading guide to section to receive credit and ensure that you understand each reading.

1. What is the author’s thesis? Are there subtheses that you can identify as well?

2. What other authors is the author drawing on to make his or her argument or situate her or his research?

3. How does the author position him- or herself theoretically? What keywords does the author use?

4. What kinds of objects does the author focus on? (e.g. what kinds of people, places, things?)
5. What kinds of evidence does the author use?

6. What level of scale is the author’s analysis at? (e.g. is it about individual lives, a particular community, society, the globe – or at multiple levels?)

7. How does the evidence relate to the author’s argument and scale of analysis?

8. If you had to describe the author’s general argument to a friend, how would you do so?

9. Do you believe the author’s argument?
Appendix B: Study Guide

Activism →

Agency vs. Structure →

Alienation →

Alterity →

Authenticity →

Biopower and Biopolitics →
the Body →

Categorization (e.g. Internal vs. External) →

Citizenship →

Civilization →

Class (e.g. underclass) →

Coercion →
Colonialism →

Commodity →

Consumption →

Cosmopolitanism →

Cultural Capital →

Culture →
Domination

Egalitarianism

Emic vs. Etic

Empiricism

Endogamous vs. Exogamous

Ethnicity
Ethnography  

Feminism (e.g. First, Second and Third Wave)  

Fetish  

Gender  

Gifting  

Globalization  
Governance →

Hegemony →

Hierarchy →

Identity →

Ideology →

Imperialism →
the Market →

Matrilineal →

Matrilocal →

Media (e.g. Social Media) →

Modernity →

Moeity →
Money

Nation and Nationalism

Nature vs. Culture

Neoliberalism

Normalcy and Normative

Objective
Panopticism →

Patrilocal →

Political Economy →

Power (e.g. Classical and Modern Forms, Carceral and Disciplinary) →

Performance →
Performativity

Postcolonialism

Primitive

Public and Private Spheres

Race

Rational vs. Irrational
Rationality ➔

Reciprocity ➔

Regulation ➔

Religion ➔

Reproduction (e.g. Social and Biological) ➔

Resistance ➔
Sexuality (e.g. Heterosexual vs. Homosexual) →

Social Movements →

Social Network →

Society →

Sovereignty →

the State →
Stratification →

Subjective →

Subjectivity →

Superstition →

Surveillance →

Tradition →
Unilinear Evolution (e.g. band, tribe, chiefdom, state) ➔

Universal ➔

Value (e.g. Use- vs. Exchange- vs. Symbolic-) ➔

Whiteness ➔