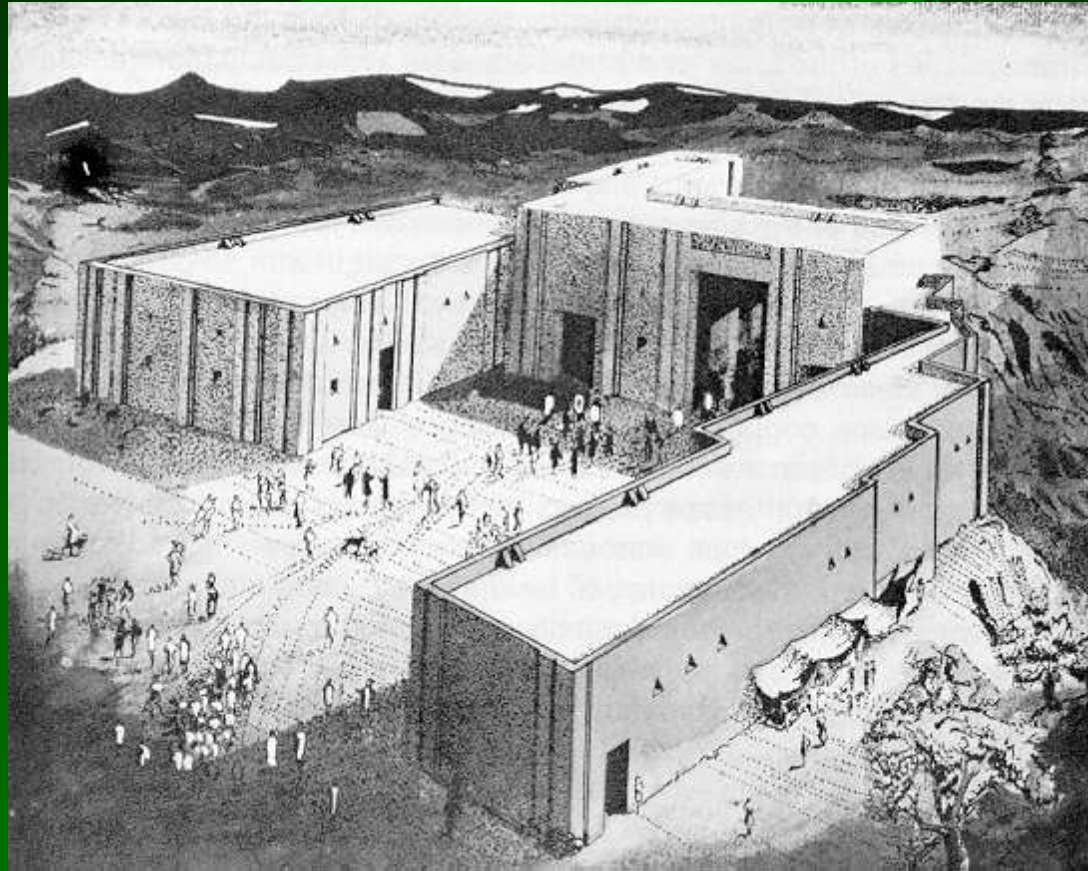


# Advanced Horticultural Societies



By Dr. Frank Elwell

# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

MANY OF THE SIMPLE  
HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES IN DUE  
TIME EVOLVED INTO INTENSIVE  
HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES.

# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

NO DOUBT HUNDREDS OF INTENSIVE  
HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES HAVE  
EXISTED DURING THE PAST  
SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS OF  
HUMAN HISTORY.

# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

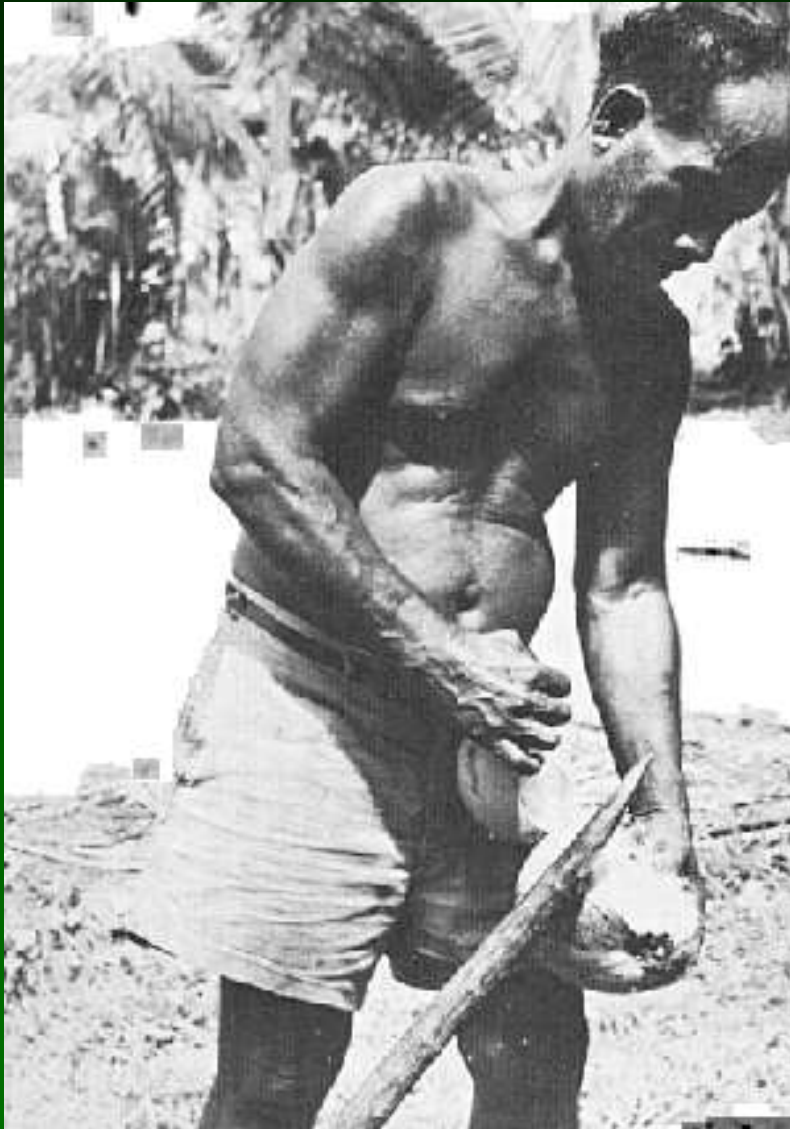
- ➡ PRIOR TO THE END OF THE 19th CENTURY, THEY FLOURISHED THROUGHOUT LARGE PARTS OF SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA, SOUTH AMERICA, AND SOUTHEAST ASIA.
- ➡ TODAY ONLY A FEW REMAIN.



Sacsahuaman, the principal fortress of the Inca Empire near Cuzco, Peru.

# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

LIKE THE SIMPLE  
HORTICULTURALISTS, ADVANCED  
HORTICULTURALISTS ARE  
DEPENDENT UPON CULTIVATED  
GARDEN PRODUCTS FOR THE BULK  
OF THEIR FOOD SUPPLY.



Micronesian male, Marshall Islands in the Pacific, husking a coconut with a sharpened stake set in the ground.



# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

THEY OFTEN CULTIVATE BY THE  
SLASH AND BURN METHOD. SOME  
KEEP DOMESTICATED ANIMALS,  
AND THOSE THAT DO NOT DO SO  
ENGAGE IN HUNTING OR FISHING  
FOR THEIR SUPPLY OF MEAT.



# ADVANCED HORTICULTURAL

YET INTENSIVE HORTICULTURE  
DIFFERS IN SIGNIFICANT WAYS  
FROM SIMPLE HORTICULTURE.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

ONE PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCE INVOLVES THE LENGTH OF TIME THAT LAND IS ALLOWED TO REMAIN FALLOW. INTENSIVE'S SHORTEN THE FALLOW PERIOD TO AS LITTLE AS FIVE YEARS.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

SIMPLE HORTICULTURE, YOU WILL  
RECALL, PERMITS THE LAND TO LIE  
FALLOW FOR 20 OR 30 YEARS  
BEFORE USING IT AGAIN.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

TO COMPENSATE FOR THE DECREASE IN SOIL FERTILITY THAT ACCOMPANIES MORE FREQUENT CROPPING, INTENSIVES COMMONLY FERTILIZE THE SOIL FURTHER BY ADDING SUCH THINGS AS HUMUS OR ANIMAL MANURE.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

INTENSIVE HORTICULTURE OFTEN EMPLOYS TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS, SUCH AS HOES, TERRACING, AND IRRIGATION OF THE LAND.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

PREPARING THE LAND BY HOEING  
AND TERRACING AND IRRIGATION  
ARE ALL DEMANDING AND TIME-  
CONSUMING ACTIVITIES.

# MODE OF PRODUCTION

SINCE PEOPLE WORK HARDER AND LONGER, AND SINCE ANY GIVEN AREA OF LAND IS CULTIVATED MORE FREQUENTLY, IT IS OBVIOUS WHY THIS MODE OF PRODUCTION IS REFERRED TO AS INTENSIVE.



# MODE OF PRODUCTION

COMPARED TO SIMPLE  
HORTICULTURE, INTENSIVE  
HORTICULTURE IS CONSIDERABLY  
MORE PRODUCTIVE PER UNIT OF  
LAND--IN FACT IT PRODUCES  
SIZABLE SURPLUSES.

# EMERGING CLASSES

THESE SURPLUSES ARE USED TO  
SUPPORT A CLASS OF PERSONS  
WHO ARE FREED FROM DIRECT  
INVOLVEMENT IN AGRICULTURAL  
PRODUCTION.

# EMERGING CLASSES

THE MEMBERS OF THIS CLASS ARE REGARDED, THEORETICALLY AT LEAST, AS THE OWNERS OF ALL THE LAND, AND IN ALL SUCH SOCIETIES THEY DIRECT MANY ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES.

# EMERGING CLASSES

IN MANY INTENSIVE HORTICULTURAL  
SOCIETIES THIS CLASSES'  
STANDARD OF LIVING IS HIGHER  
THAN THAT OF EVERYONE ELSE.

# EMERGING CLASSES

THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF MOST OF THE MEMBERS OF INTENSIVE HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES DIFFERS LITTLE FROM THAT TYPICALLY FOUND AMONG SIMPLE HORTICULTURALISTS.

# EMERGING CLASSES

YET IT SHOULD NOT BE FORGOTTEN  
THAT INTENSIVE  
HORTICULTURALISTS WORK  
SIGNIFICANTLY HARDER JUST TO  
ACHIEVE APPROXIMATELY THE  
SAME MATERIAL RESULTS.

# REDISTRIBUTION

IMPORTANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN  
PURE AND PARTIAL  
REDISTRIBUTION CAN BE SEEN BY  
COMPARING THE DISTRIBUTIONAL  
SYSTEMS OF MELANESIAN AND  
POLYNESIAN SOCIETIES.



# REDISTRIBUTION

MARSHALL SAHLINS (1963) NOTES THAT MOST MELANESIAN SOCIETIES HAVE HAD SMALL SCALE HORTICULTURE AND BIG MAN SYSTEMS, WHEREAS MOST POLYNESIAN SOCIETIES HAVE BEEN CHARACTERIZED BY MORE INTENSIVE HORTICULTURE AND PARTIAL REDISTRIBUTION.

# REDISTRIBUTION

MELANESIAN BIG MEN ARE PERSONS WHO SEEK PRESTIGE AND RENOWN THROUGH THE HOLDING OF ELABORATE FEASTS.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THEY HAVE LITTLE REAL POWER  
OVER THEIR CONSTITUENTS,  
HOWEVER, AND THEIR PRESTIGE  
AND RENOWN QUICKLY DISAPPEAR  
WHEN THEIR ELABORATE FEAST  
GIVING DELCINES.

# REDISTRIBUTION

POLYNESIAN CHIEFS ARE INSTALLED  
IN OFFICE THROUGH A SYSTEM OF  
HEREDITARY SUCCESSION. THESE  
CHIEFS EXERCISE CONSIDERABLE  
POWER OVER THEIR FOLLOWERS.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THEY HOLD SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC LEVERAGE OVER THE LARGE MASS OF ORDINARY FOLK. ONE OF THEIR PRIMARY AIMS IS THE PRODUCTION AND MAINTENANCE OF A CONSTANT ECONOMIC SURPLUS.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THEY ACCOMPLISH THIS BY  
COMPELLING THE PEOPLE TO GIVE  
UP A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF  
THEIR HARVESTS.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THIS SURPLUS LEADS TO THE  
FORMATION OF A "PUBLIC  
TREASURY," A GREAT  
STOREHOUSE OVER WHICH THE  
CHIEF EXERCISES CONTROL.



# REDISTRIBUTION

THE USES TO WHICH THIS  
STOREHOUSE IS PUT ARE MANY.  
CHIEFS SUPPORT THEMSELVES  
AND THEIR FAMILIES FROM IT.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THEY ALSO USE IT FOR SUCH THINGS AS ENTERTAINMENTS FOR VISITING DIGNITARIES, INITIATING MAJOR PUBLIC PROJECTS, MILITARY CAMPAIGNS, AND SUPPORTING A VAST RANGE OF POLITICAL FUNCTIONARIES.

# REDISTRIBUTION

IN ADDITION, PORTIONS OF THE STOREHOUSE ARE REDISTRIBUTED TO THE PEOPLE AS THE NEED ARISES, AND CHIEFS ARE EXPECTED TO BE GENEROUS WITH IT.

# REDISTRIBUTION

THOSE WHO ARE NOT SUFFICIENTLY  
GENEROUS OR WHO MAKE  
EXCESSIVE DEMANDS ON THE  
PEOPLE'S HARVESTS ARE  
SOMETIMES PUT TO DEATH.

# REDISTRIBUTION

PARTIAL REDISTRIBUTION SYSTEMS  
ARE REDISTRIBUTIVE IN THE  
SENSE THAT THEY INVOLVE A  
CONTINUAL FLOW OF GOODS  
BETWEEN THE CHIEF AND THE  
PEOPLE.

# REDISTRIBUTION

BUT THEY ARE PARTIAL IN THAT THE FLOW IS UNEQUAL; THE PEOPLE CLEARLY GIVE MORE THAN THEY RECEIVE IN RETURN. THESE SYSTEM SERVE TO ROMOTE A SYSTEM OF ECONOMIC INEQUILITY.

# REDISTRIBUTION

AS SUCH THEY CONSTITUTE A  
NOTABLE EVOLUTIONARY  
DEVELOPMENT BEYOND THE PURE  
REDISTRIBUTIVE LEVEL.



# LAND SCARCITY

ACCORDING TO MICHAEL HARNER  
(1975) THE KEY FACTOR BEHIND  
THIS SIGNIFICANT EVOLUTIONARY  
OUTCOME IS LAND SCARCITY.

# LAND SCARCITY

WHEN POPULATION PRESSURE  
FORCES SMALL-SCALE  
HORTICULTURAL GROUPS TO  
ADOPT MORE INTENSIVE METHODS  
OF CULTIVATION, IT IS CLEAR THAT  
LAND IS BECOMING A SCARCE  
RESOURCE.

# LAND SCARCITY

INDEED, THAT IS PRECISELY WHY  
EACH PARTICULAR UNIT OF LAND  
MUST BE CULTIVATED MORE  
INTENSIVELY.

# LAND SCARCITY

LAND SCARCITY RESULTS IN INCREASED COMPETITION OVER VALUABLE LAND, AND SOME PERSONS END UP WITH GREATER ACCESS TO LAND THAN OTHERS.

# LAND SCARCITY

FORMER BIG MEN, WITH A  
RELATIVELY WEAK POWER BASE  
RESTING ON THEIR OWN EFFORTS  
AND THE VOLUNTARY ASSISTANCE  
OF THEIR FOLLOWERS, TURN INTO  
CHIEFS, PERSONS WHOSE POWER  
BASE IS MADE MUCH STRONGER  
BY THEIR CONTROL OVER LAND.

# STRATIFICATION



SOCIAL STRATIFICATION GENERALLY  
EMERGES WITH THE TRANSITION  
TO INTENSIVE HORTICULTURAL  
SOCIETIES.

# STRATIFICATION

THESE SOCIETIES FREQUENTLY  
EXHIBIT HEREDITARY SOCIAL  
STRATA OR CLASSES, THE TRUE  
MARK OF STRATIFIED SOCIETY.

# STRATIFICATION

## ☞ THREE MAIN SOCIAL STRATA:

- CHIEFS
- SUBCHIEFS
- COMMONERS

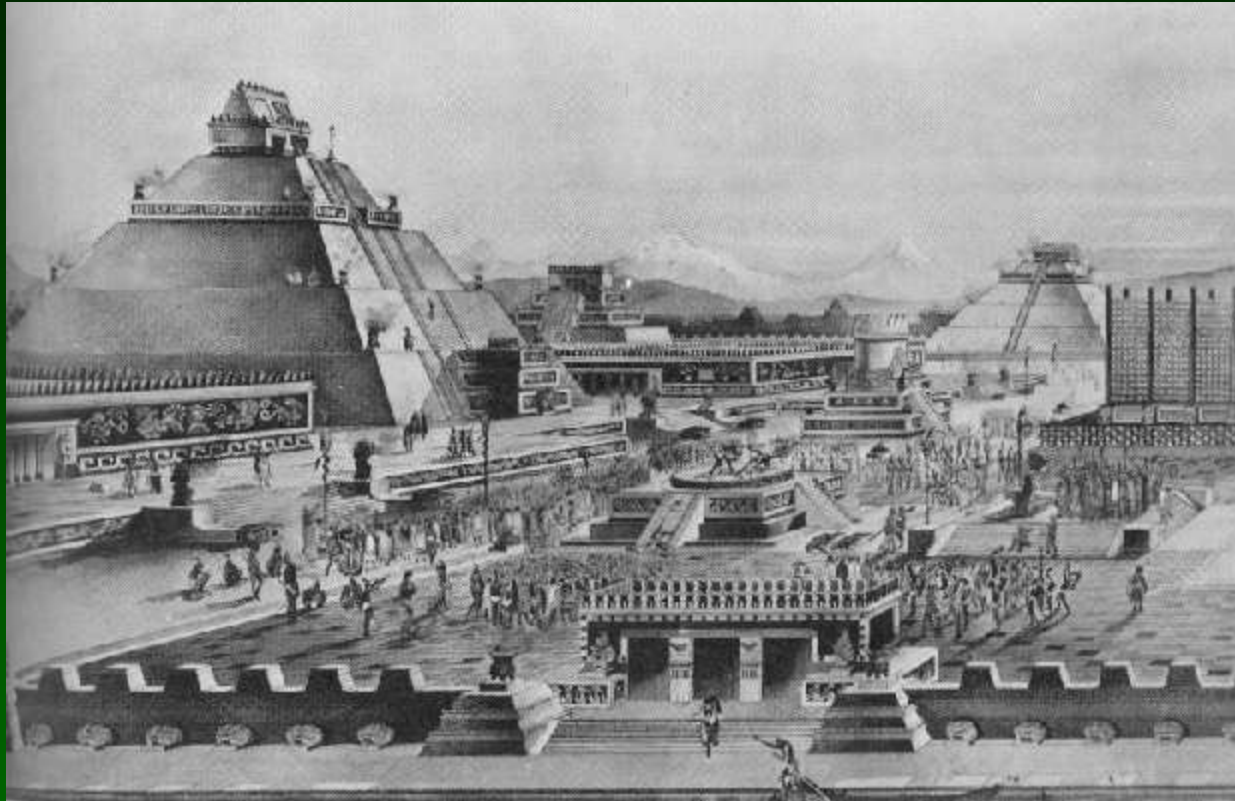


# STRATIFICATION

THUS WHAT APPEAR ONLY AS  
DIFFERENCES OF RANK OR STATUS  
AMONG SIMPLE  
HORTICULTURALISTS ARE  
TRANSFORMED INTO GENUINE  
INEQUALITIES INVOLVING  
DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS TO THE  
BASIC RESOURCES OF NATURE.

# STRATIFICATION

APPEARING ON THE SCENE ARE  
SEPARATE GROUPS OF PERSONS  
DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR  
DIFFERENCES IN SOCIAL RANK,  
POWER, DRESS AND  
ORNAMENTATION, PATTERNS OF  
CONSUMPTION. . .



A reconstructed view of the Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, with its numerous temple-topped pyramids. The Aztecs were a very intensive horticultural society with an elaborate system of stratification.

# STRATIFICATION

ACCESS TO LUXURY GOODS,  
INVOLVEMENT IN ECONOMIC  
PRODUCTION, AVAILABILITY OF  
LEISURE TIME, AND GENERAL  
STYLES OF LIFE.

# STRATIFICATION

MEMBERSHIP IN SUCH GROUPS IS HEREDITARY, AND THE PLACEMENT OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE STRATIFIED ORDER IS LARGELY UNRELATED TO INDIVIDUAL TALENTS OR EFFORTS. SOCIAL STATUS IS DETERMINED BY A PERSON'S GENEALOGICAL RELATIONSHIP TO THE CHIEF OR KING.

# STRATIFICATION

YET BECAUSE CHIEFS AND  
COMMONERS ARE RELATED  
THROUGH KINSHIP TIES, THE  
STRATIFICATION SYSTEM HAS  
DEFINITE RESTRAINTS PLACED  
UPON IT.



Tribal chiefs in Dahomey, Africa.



# STRATIFICATION

KINSHIP TIES FUNCTION TO SOFTEN THE NATURE AND COSEQUENCES OF INEQUALTIY, AND CHIEFS ARE STILL EXPECTED TO BE GENEROUS WITH THEIR WEALTH AND TO HAVE A CONCERN FOR THE COMMON GOOD.



# STRATIFICATION

ALTHOUGH MEMBERS OF THE  
CHIEFLY CLASS ENJOY  
SUBSTANTIAL PRIVILEGE, CHIEFS  
ARE STILL REGARDED AS "GREAT  
PROVIDERS."

# STRATIFICATION

THE REDISTRIBUTIVE ETHIC STILL PREVAILS IN SUCH SOCIETIES, PREVENTING TOO GREAT A USE OF THE SURPLUS FOR THE CHIEF'S OWN ENDS. THEY STILL MUST CONSTANTLY CONSIDER THE NEEDS AND WISHES OF THEIR DISTANT KINSMEN IN THE COMMONER CLASS.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THE NEXT MAJOR EVOLUTIONARY STAGE BEYOND THE TRIBAL LEVEL OF POLITICAL SOCIETY IS THE CHIEFDOM, A FORM OF POLITICAL ORGANIZATION FOUND AMONG INTENSIVE HORTICULTURAL AND PASTORAL SOCIETIES.

# THE CHIEFDOM

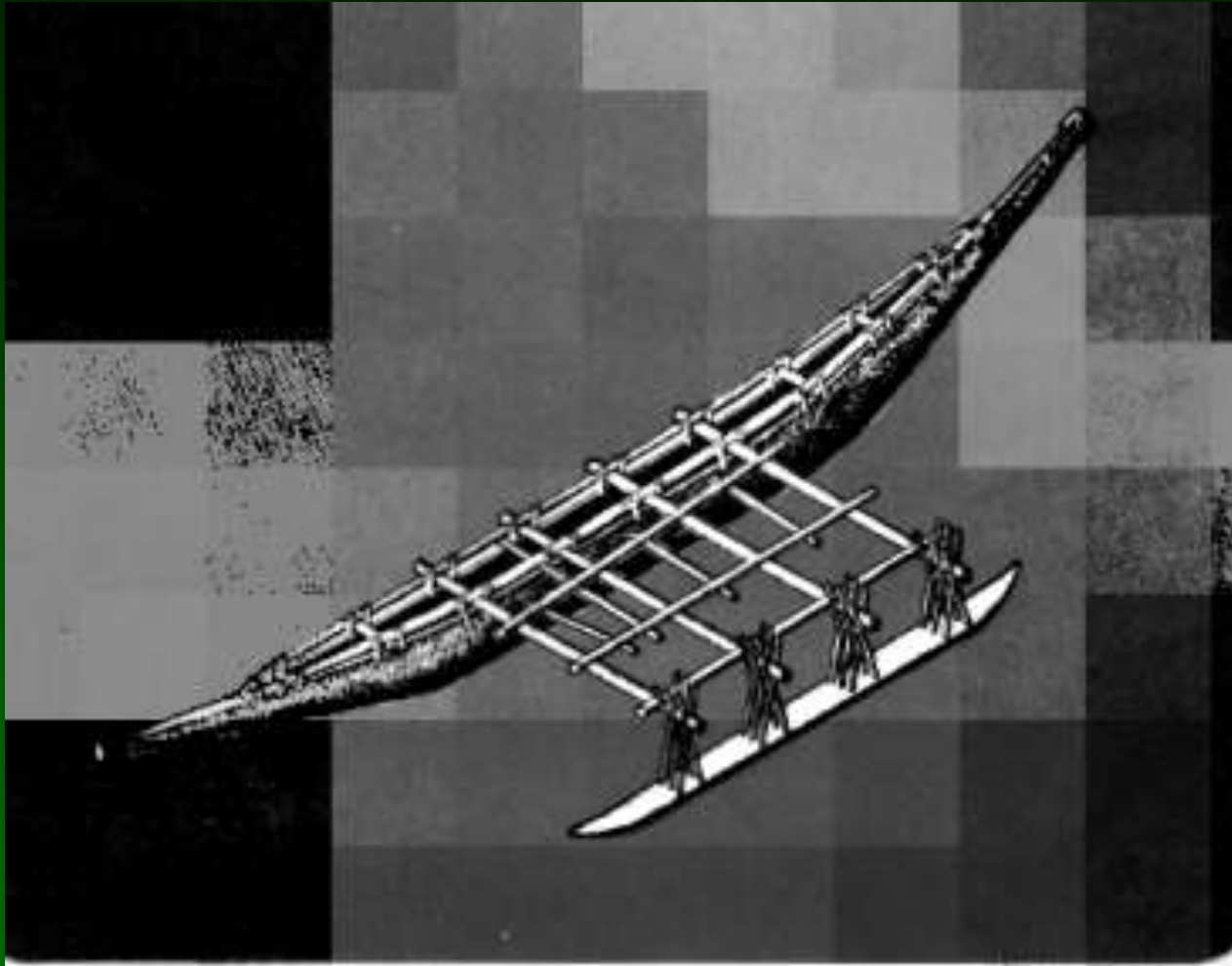
THE CHIEFDOM ACHIEVES A  
POLITICAL UNIFICATION AND  
CENTRALIZATION ABSENT IN  
TRIBES.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THE CHIEFDOM IS MARKED BY THE  
INTEGRATION OF MANY SEPARATE  
VILLAGES INTO A CENTRALLY  
COORDINATED COMPLEX WHOLE  
GOVERNED FROM THE TOP DOWN.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THE CLASSICAL POLYNESIAN CHIEFDOM WAS A PYRAMIDAL ARRANGEMENT OF HIGHER AND LOWER CHIEFS. THESE CHIEFS WERE REGULAR AND OFFICIAL HOLDERS OF TITLE.



A Polynesian outrigger canoe.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THEY CLAIMED AUTHORITY OVER PERMANENTLY ESTABLISHED GROUPS OF FOLLOWERS. AUTHORITY RESIDED IN THE OFFICE ITSELF, AND NOT MERELY IN THE PERSON HOLDING THE POSITION. CHIEFS GAINED ACCESS TO THEIR POSITIONS THROUGH A LINE OF HEREDITARY SUCCESSION.



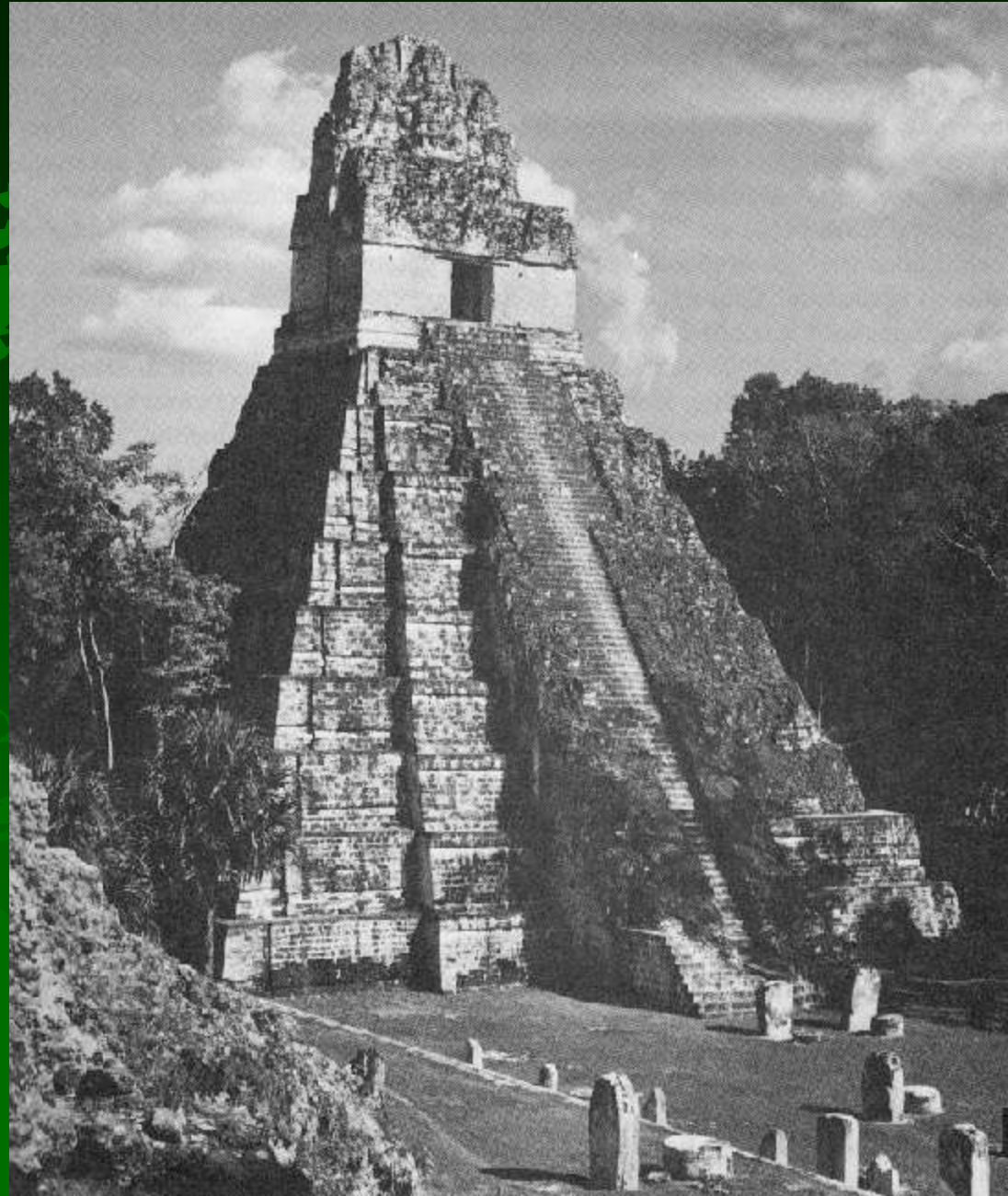
# THE CHIEFDOM

POLYNESIAN CHIEFS HAD RIGHT OF CALL ON THE LABOR AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE WITHIN THEIR DOMAIN, WHICH GAVE THEM CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC LEVERAGE OVER A LARGE NUMBER OF PEOPLE.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THROUGH EXTRACTION OF ECONOMIC SURPLUS, THEY ESTABLISHED AND CONTROLLED LARGE STOREHOUSES THAT WERE USED FOR SUCH THINGS AS LAVISH ENTERTAINMENT OF VISITING CHIEFS, SUSIDINZING CRAFT PRODUCTION, AND MILITARY CAMPAIGNS.

Mayan temple at Tikal, Guatemala. Several horticultural societies in the New World achieved a level of technology and population approaching that of early agrarian societies.



# THE CHIEFDOM

WHILE A PORTION OF THE  
STOREHOUSES WAS  
REDISTRIBUTED TO THE PEOPLE, A  
SUBSTANTIAL PART OF IT WAS  
USED TO SUPPORT A PERMANENT  
ADMINISTRATIVE APPARATUS  
CREATED TO CARRY OUT A  
VARIETY OF POLITICAL FUNCTIONS.

# THE CHIEFDOM

SUCH ADMINISTRATIVE OFFICIALS AS SUPERVISORS OF THE STORES, TALKING CHIEFS, CEREMONIAL ATTENDANTS, HIGH PRIESTS, AS WELL AS SOME WARRIORS WERE SUPPORTED FROM THE SURPLUS.





Tikal, one of the largest of the Maya temple centers, serving a population estimated at over twenty thousand people.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THE CHIEFDOM MARKS THE  
BEGINNING OF THE  
INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF  
POLITICAL POWER AND AUTHORITY  
IN SOCIAL LIFE.

# THE CHIEFDOM

CHIEFS DEVELOPED THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT TO THE POINT WHERE THEY NO LONGER HAD TO DEPEND UPON THE VOLUNTARY COMPLIANCE OF THEIR FOLLOWERS IN ORDER TO MAKE AND IMPLEMENT DECISIONS.





In almost every politically advanced society of horticultural Africa there was a sharp cleavage between nobles and commoners: early bronze casting of Dahomean chief and his entourage of relatives and retainers.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THEIR FOLLOWERS WERE NOW  
DEPENDENT ON THEM, A  
COMPLETE REVERSAL OF THE  
POLITICAL ARRANGEMENTS IN  
TRIBAL SOCIETY.

# THE CHIEFDOM

CHIEFS COULD NOT ONLY ISSUE COMMANDS, BUT COULD BACK THEM UP AS WELL. WHEN THAT IS POSSIBLE, GENUINE POWER HAS BECOME A SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL FORCE.



The Great Wall of China: this 1,500-mile-long fortification, begun late in China's horticultural era, illustrates the growing power of political elites and their ability to mobilize labor on a massive scale.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THE REAL BEGINNINGS OF POWER AND AUTHORITY EMERGE WITH THE CHIEFDOM BECAUSE IT IS THERE THAT THE NECESSARY ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY NEEDED TO COMPEL COMPLIANCE IS CREATED.



The Pyramid of the Sun, Teotihuacan.

# THE CHIEFDOM

YET THERE ARE DEFINITE LIMITATIONS PLACED UPON THE POWER OF CHIEFS. CHIEFS ARE STILL RELATED TO THE COMMON PEOPLE THROUGH KINSHIP TIES, AND THEY ARE EXPECTED TO BE GENEROUS AND BENEVOLENT AND SERVE THE COMMON GOOD.



# THE CHIEFDOM

THE BASSERI CLEARLY ANTICIPATE THAT A CHIEF WILL SHOW HIS FOLLOWERS THE UTMOST CONSIDERATION. THERE IS MUCH CONCERN THAT HE BE HOSPITABLE BY PROVIDING SUCH GIFTS AS WEAPONS AND HORSES TO HIS MOST PROMINENT FOLLOWERS.





Olmec head, San Lorenzo, Mexico.

# THE CHIEFDOM

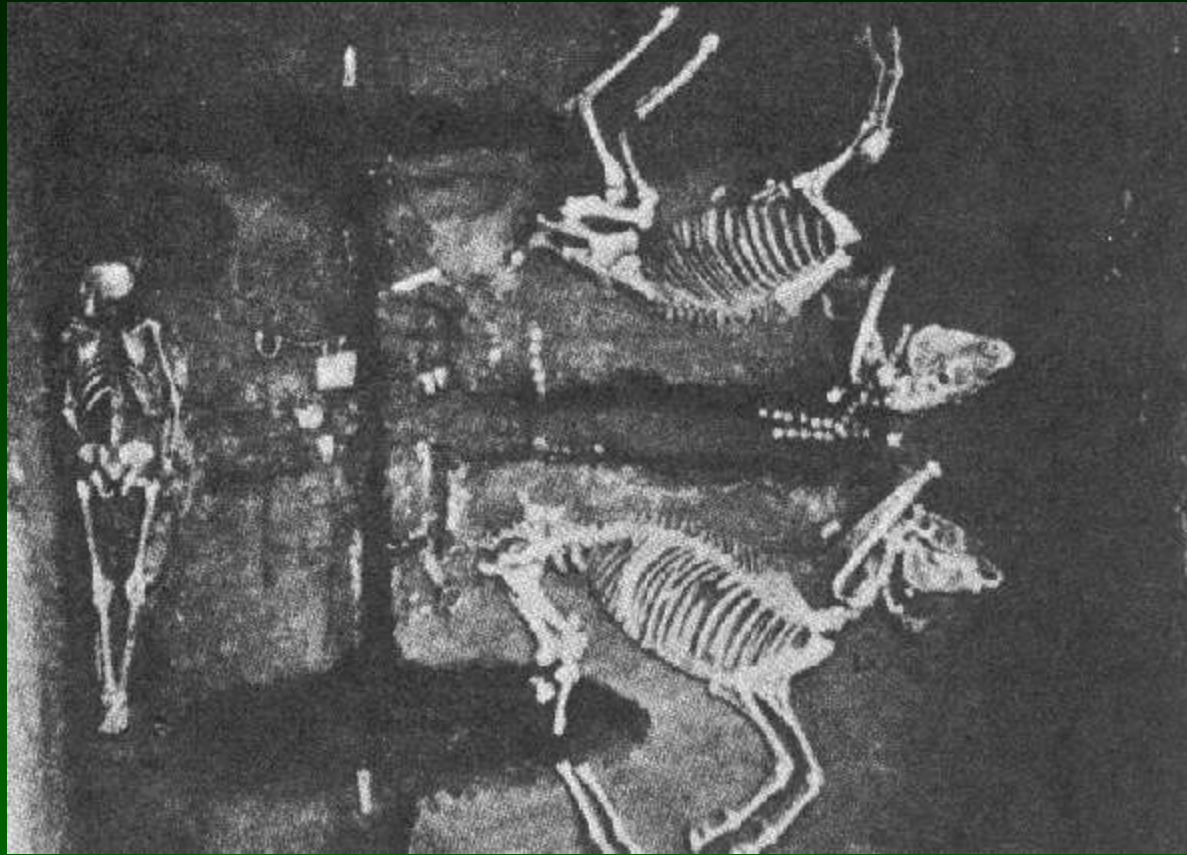
- ☞ CHIEFS WHO FAIL TO MEET THESE EXPECTATIONS FREQUENTLY FIND THEMSELVES IN THE MIDST OF A POPULAR REVOLT.
- ☞ IN POLYNESIA MANY A CHIEF WHO "ATE THE POWERS OF GOVERNMENT TOO MUCH" WAS DETHRONED AND PUT TO DEATH.

# THE CHIEFDOM

THUS, WHILE CHIEFDOMS HAVE BEEN ABLE TO INSTITUTIONALIZE GENUINE POWER AND AUTHORITY, THERE ARE CLEAR RESTRAINTS ON THEIR COERCIVE CAPACITIES.

# THE CHIEFDOM

LACKING A GENUINE MONOPOLY OF FORCE, AND TIED TO THE PEOPLE THROUGH KINSHIP AND EXPECTATIONS OF GENEROSITY, CHIEFS HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO BECOME TRUE TYRANTS.



Chariots, together with bronze weapons gave the advanced horticulturists of China a great advantage over their simple horticultural neighbors. Burial remains of a warrior with his horses and chariot, eleventh century B.C.

# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

WOMEN GENERALLY CONTINUE  
THEIR IMPORTANT ROLE IN  
ECONOMIC PRODUCTION AMONG  
HORTICULTURALISTS.





Girl's puberty ceremony. The pubescent girl is anointed with coconut oil by her paternal grandmother. Melanesia. Relatives usually play an important part in rituals inducting the young into new status positions.

# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

IN ANALYZING A SAMPLE OF 515  
HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES, MARTIN  
AND VOORHIES (1975) NOTE THAT  
WOMEN DOMINATE CULTIVATION IN 41%,  
MEN DOMINATE CULTIVATION IN 22%,  
AND IN 37% MEN AND WOMEN SHARE IN  
THE PERFORMANCE OF CULTIVATION  
TASKS.



# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

THE GREATER THE IMPORTANCE OF  
CROPS IN THE TOTAL DIET, THE  
MORE LIKELY MALES ARE TO BE  
INVOLVED IN CULTIVATION.

In many cultures women are expected to carry infants plus heavy loads. This woman is returning to her home near Agwarro, Northern Nigeria.



# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

IN GENERAL, THE STATUS OF  
WOMEN IS HIGHER AMONG THOSE  
HORTICULTURALISTS PRACTICING  
MATRILINEAL DESCENT.



A wedding showing the bride standing on carved wooden bed on the platform of a large canoe. Admiralty Islands, Melanesia.

# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

USING A SAMPLE OF 104  
HORTICULTURAL SOCIETIES,  
MARTIN AND VOORHIES FOUND  
THAT 56% HAD PATRILINEAL  
DESCENT AND ANOTHER 24% HAD  
MATRILINEAL.

# MATRILINEAL SOCIETY

KINSHIP LINKS ARE TRACED  
THROUGH WOMEN, AND MEN  
TRACE THEIR GENEALOGICAL  
CONNECTIONS THROUGH THEIR  
MOTHERS AND SISTERS RATHER  
THAN THROUGH THEIR FATHERS.

# MATRILINEAL SOCIETY

FEMALES ARE CENTRAL TO THE  
CONDUCT OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY.  
LAND IS OWNED MATRILINEALLY  
AND WOMEN CULTIVATE IT ON  
BEHALF OF THEIR OWN  
MATRILINEAGES.

# MATRILINEAL SOCIETY

- ☞ THIS MEANS THAT WOMEN OFTEN WIELD CONSIDERABLE INFLUENCE OVER POLITICAL AFFAIRS.
- ☞ HOWEVER, POLITICS IS STILL IN THE HANDS OF MEN. MEN EXERCISE AUTHORITY IN THEIR ROLES AS BROTHERS OF WOMEN RATHER THAN AS HUSBANDS.

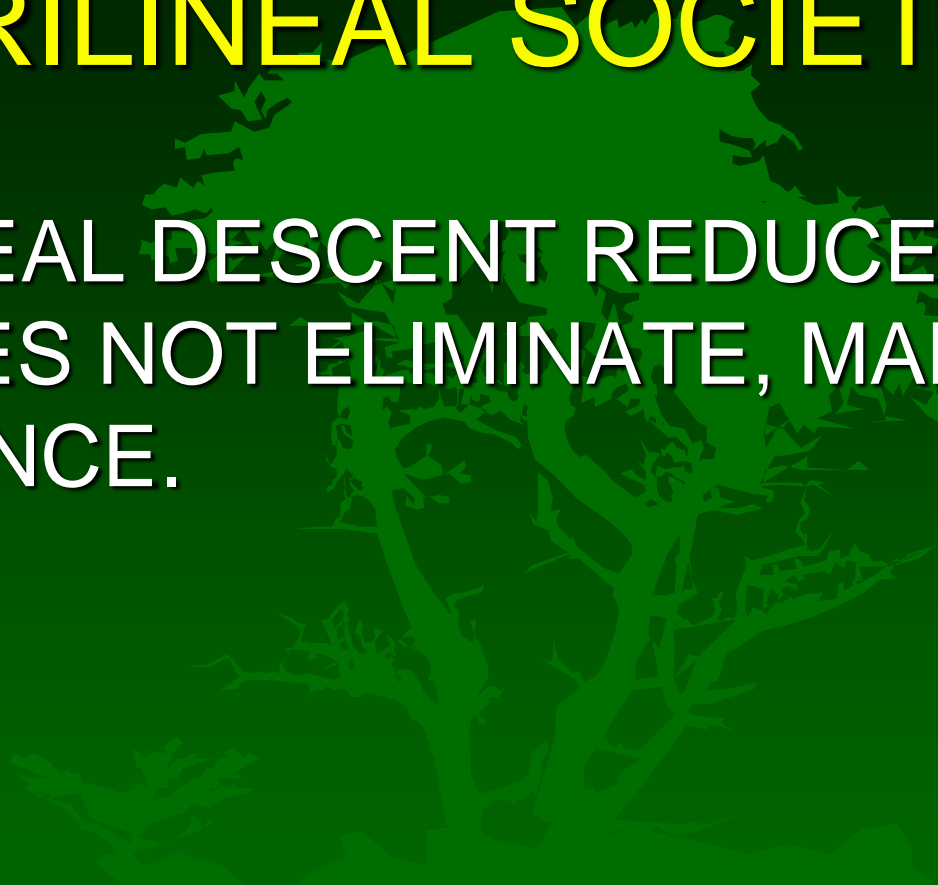


# MATRILINEAL SOCIETY

THUS, ALTHOUGH MATRILINEAL SOCIETIES GENERALLY HOLD WOMEN IN FAIRLY HIGH REGARD, WOMEN ARE STILL POLITICALLY SUBORDINATED TO MEN, AND THEIR GENERAL STATUS RANKS BELOW THAT OF MEN.

# MATRILINEAL SOCIETY

MATRILINEAL DESCENT REDUCES,  
BUT DOES NOT ELIMINATE, MALE  
DOMINANCE.



# PATRILINEAL SOCIETY

LAND IS OWNED AND INHERITED  
THROUGH MALES. FEMALES HOLD  
A MORE PERIPHERAL  
RELATIONSHIP TO ECONOMIC  
RESOURCES.

# PATRILINEAL SOCIETY

WOMEN ARE ECONOMIC PRODUCERS FOR KIN GROUPS ORGANIZED THROUGH AND DOMINATED BY THEIR HUSBANDS. THE STATUS OF WOMEN IN THESE SOCIETIES IS GENERALLY QUITE LOW.

# PATRILINEAL SOCIETY

WOMEN FREQUENTLY TRANSFER  
THEIR KIN GROUP MEMBERSHIP AT  
MARRIAGE FROM THEIR FATHER'S  
TO THEIR HUSBAND'S  
PATRILINEAGE, MEANING THEY  
ENTER A WORLD OF STRANGERS.

# PATRILINEAL SOCIETY

WOMEN ORDINARILY HOLD VERY LOW STATUS IN THIS NEW WORLD. THEY TYPICALLY DO NOT ACHIEVE RESPECT AND INFLUENCE UNTIL THEY REACH OLD AGE, IF THEN.

# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

A GREAT RANGE OF VARIATION IN THE STATUS OF WOMEN IS FOUND AMONG HORTICULTURALISTS. IN GENERAL, THEY HOLD LOWER STATUS THAN AMONG H&Gs.

# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

AT ONE EXTREME ARE GROUPS LIKE THE IROQUOIS IN WHICH WOMEN HAD UNUSUALLY HIGH STATUS AND INFLUENCE. AT THE OTHER EXTREME, WE FIND SOCIETIES LIKE THE YANOMAMO, WHERE FEMALE SUBORDINATION IS INTENSE AND WHERE SOCIAL LIFE IS OVERWHELMINGLY MALE-CENTERED.



# SEXUAL DIVISION OF LABOR

- ➡ ON BALANCE, WOMEN TEND TO HAVE A VERY LOW STATUS.
- ➡ BUT IT IS IN AGRARIAN SOCIETIES THAT FEMALE STATUS REACHES ITS DEPTHS.



Trade and commerce are much more important in horticultural societies than in hunting and gathering societies: the marketplace in Ougadougou, Burkina Faso.



Ubaid settlement (Mesopotamia) about 4000 B.C. Note the large temple in the center of the community.



Kano, a city in northern Nigeria, has been an important commercial and political center for more than 500 years. The style of architecture remains much as it was centuries ago.