

Reading Against Culture in Edward Said's *Culture and Imperialism*¹

Daniel Martin Varisco

Abstract *Edward Said is the literary critic most cited by American anthropologists, but there has been relatively little anthropological examination of his concept of culture. Apart from an isolated attempt by Lila Abu-Lughod to 'write against culture', most anthropologists have ignored Said's approach. In Culture and Imperialism, Said draws on Matthew Arnold's 'best of the best' definition, while American anthropologists owe their holistic culture to fellow Victorian Edward Tylor. Claude Levi-Strauss is praised by Said, but other major anthropological approaches to culture are ignored. Said assumes anthropology is on the wrong side of the colonial divide, although he holds out hope for those who are now reading the work of literary and cultural critics. In this essay I compare Said's reading of anthropology, exemplified by Kipling's Colonel Creighton, to the influence of Bronislaw Malinowski and Franz Boas on ethnographic method.*

Colonel Creighton's 'Great Game'

I cannot say whether it is now possible for anthropology as anthropology to be different, that is, to forget itself and to become something else as a way of responding to the gauntlet thrown down by imperialism and its antagonists. Perhaps anthropology as we have known it can only continue on one side of the imperial divide, there to remain as a partner in domination and hegemony.² (Said 1989: 225)

¹ A version of this paper was first delivered at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association in December, 2001, and later in a seminar at the Department of Anthropology, SOAS, London University in October, 2002. I am grateful for comments and criticism from Najwa Adra, Jacques Berlinerblau, Magnus Bernhardsen, Steve Caton, Matthew Cook, Sayed El Aswad, Andrew Foster, Chris Leonard, Herbert Lewis, Chris Matthews, Larry Michalak, Richard Tapper and Shelagh Weir.

² I recognize that Said raises this point with rhetorical intent and then proceeds to suggest that a different story appears to be emerging. My purpose, as the analysis will show, is also rhetorical – questioning how Said approaches anthropology rather than what he, as an outsider, eventually concludes about a discipline not his own. My critique of Said's views on culture in no way detracts from my admiration for his courageous voice as an advocate for a peaceful solution of the Palestinian crisis and his inspiration to those who challenge entrenched dogmas and pervasive political biases. His passing in late 2003 was a loss for all who engage critically with the ineffable notion of culture.

Reading Against Culture

**Edward Cornelius Toune, Graeme
Mercer Adam**



Reading Against Culture:

Reading Against Culture David Pollack, 1992 **Cultural Influences on Research Methods and Statistics** David Ricky Matsumoto, 1994 On "culture" and "a Liberal Education" with Lists of Books which Can Aid in Acquiring Them Jesse Lee Bennett, 1922 *Cultural Studies and the Study of Popular Culture* John Storey, 2010 **Cultural Studies** **The Chautauquan**, 1891 **The Artist and Journal of Home Culture**, 1881 **Cultural Reflections and the Role of Advertising in the Socio-economic and National Development of Nigeria** Emmanuel C. Alozie, 2005

This study focuses on the role of advertising in the process of social mobilization and modernization in Nigeria by examining the cultural reflections the nature and characteristics of the messages and the values and symbols conveyed in Nigerian mass media advertisements. In this remarkable study Emmanuel C Alozie has attempted to explore the role of advertising in the national and economic development of Nigeria. Examining this role through a combination of quantitative content analysis and critical cultural methods he has pursued a number of basic research questions. For example one question asks what proportion of the advertisements in Nigerian mass media is directed to business entities as opposed to ordinary consumers. The answer he provides presents an interesting perspective on advertising's role. His research also found that most ads were product related and less than a third of the ads were related to service. One indication of the relative underdevelopment of the economy. Ads also promoted largely nonessential products and services to the tune of 65 per cent. Developing country like Nigeria the multitiered government agencies would provide a major share of the media advertising. In reality only a tiny proportion about 5 per cent actually came from government sources the rest of the advertising was provided by the national and multinational corporations. Alozie also found that Nigerian sponsors tend to promote goods of foreign origin over those of Nigerian derivative. Overall he found that less than half the products and services advertised 42 per cent were of Nigerian origin with much of the products nonessential in nature. Advertising messages with embedded appeals have the potential of manipulating consumers and promoting unproductive consumption habits among consumers in a situation of scarcity. Therefore the appeals that are used in the advertising content become an important issue in a developing nation like Nigeria. Alozie did not find extensive use of the image youth and sex appeals in the ads so prevalent in the West even though some of these appeals were found to have crept into the content. Primary selling point. In addition emphasis was on savings family and safety for products regardless of whether the ads featured high involvement or low involvement products and services. For decades policy makers in the developing world have debated the need for using mass media for human resource moralization by emphasizing developmental themes. To what extent Nigerian ads contain developmental themes is a question Alozie explores. He finds that some ads do contain developmental themes such as savings self development modernization investment hard work competition etc. These themes however appear rather infrequently. Financial institutions emphasize developmental themes while manufacturing enterprises do not. The author underscores the need for the government to encourage private

and public corporations to include developmental themes in their advertising messages to promote individual as well as communal or collective interests messages the author draws some broad conclusions that provide significant insight into Nigeria s prevailing advertising scene For example he concludes that the degree of information on products and services available in the country is inadequate because of low level advertising Even though developmental themes are employed in advertising messages the sparsity of their use is not likely to promote national development Broadcast advertisements are more democratic than those in the print media primarily because they promote products and services more affordable to the average consumer In general consumer products advertised in Nigeria are frequently of foreign origin and therefore they are targeted to the elite who can afford the expensive nonessential products The author recognizes the value and need for advertising that can disseminate not only beneficial information about products and services but can also serve as an effective tool in government s hands to promote information on significant social and developmental issues and policies that will affect the public scholars and researchers have contributed to the sizeable existing literature on development few have examined advertising as a meaningful means of communication for developmental messages and values Through his study Alozie has attempted to fill this void Students and scholars with an interest in the media of developing nations will find the articulation of the various theories concerning socio economic development quite stimulating But more importantly by answering a range of significant questions about the nature and types of advertising messages published or aired in the Nigerian mass media discussing what themes and values they contain and how relevant they are or influence the developmental goals of the nation the author offers a study that is useful insightful and rewarding **Athenaeum** ,1872

Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the Honorable Society of Gray's Inn: with an Index of Subjects Inns of Court (London). - Gray's Inn, John A. Russell, 1872 *Self Culture; a Monthly Devoted to the Interests of the Home University League* Edward Cornelius Toune, Graeme Mercer Adam, 1896 Journal of the Society of Arts ,1877 Reading Culture Diana George, John Trimbur, 2007 A traditional source of sexual titillation for adult readers fairy tales historically boasted licentious themes before being cleaned up for the consumption of children in modern times Seasoned erotica author Mitzi Szereto restores the explicit sex in these 15 tales and adds some provocative surprises of her own **Academy and Literature** ,1875 **Werner's Voice Magazine** ,1895 The City Record ,1898 Catalogue of the books in the library of the Honourable society of Gray's inn, compiled by W. Douthwaite. [With] 1st [2nd] London Gray's inn, libr, 1872

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