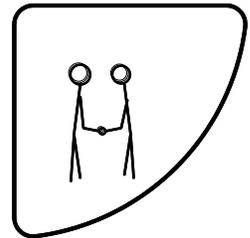


9: Social Control

People driving cars generally follow rules without thinking much about them—stay on the correct side of the road, signal for turns, slow in congested areas, keep a safe distance from other vehicles, and so on. Rules are obeyed out of habit, but also because they usually make sense, contribute to safety, and help prevent accidents and other unpleasant experiences, including paying fines or being jailed.



Much of everyday life is similar. We're surrounded by rules, most of which are obeyed without thinking. They're essential to civilized life and societal functioning, so societies adopt laws that say, "If you do this, or fail to do that, you'll suffer consequences." That's social control—an important subcategory of Action Patterns, closely linked to Shared Ideas.

Controlling actions ("sanctions") range from praise or rewards for good behavior, a frown of disapproval, a scolding from someone in authority, loss of privileges, a fine, physical pain, loss of freedom, prison, even execution. Societies have many sanctions to make sure people behave in ways considered "correct."

Social controls are Action Patterns that help maintain other Action Patterns.



<http://www.yodaslair.com/dumboozle/katzies/katzdex.html>

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Investigation: The Samoan Setting and Social Control

You began your study of Samoan society and culture in the previous unit. American anthropologist Dr. Bradd Shore continues with his data from Samoan society.¹

Identify and describe (in your journal) probable relationships between Samoa's Setting and controls that prevent bad behavior.

Traditional Samoan houses are called *fale* (FAH-lay); they're open sided, with a roof supported by posts around the outside. Slatted screens can be rolled down in bad weather, but are raised most of the time. A typical extended family compound would have a main house where the adults, children and older girls sleep, a separate small sleeping hut for the older boys in the family, a small cook house with a ground oven, and an outhouse. A typical village scene (1970s):



Since these photos were made, severe typhoons have destroyed many of the traditional *fale* in Samoa, and been replaced by houses similar to those in Europe and America. A few newer *fale* are similar to the traditional ones, now with metal roofs, but they still have open sides and roll-up mats. Many family compounds now have running water and electrical power.

¹ Marion Brady and Howard Brady, *Idea and Action in World Cultures*, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1977, Prentice Hall, pp. 207-220, and other selected pages. Our thanks for Dr. Shore's re-review of this and the previous Samoan section.

Every village has a Women's Committee made up of one or two women from each family. This committee inspects village houses from time to time to make sure they're clean. They also deal with certain other village problems.

A Visit from the Women's Committee

An American Peace Corps volunteer named Tom came to live in a large village in Samoa. A public health volunteer, he was supposed to work with the village Women's Committee to improve health and sanitation in the district. Instead of living with a Samoan family in an open *fale* like most Peace Corps volunteers, Tom insisted that he wanted his own house—a closed house, like those in the United States.

After a meeting at which there was much discussion of this young man's request, the Women's Committee let Tom live in an old house which had been built as a meeting house and school. The house wasn't a real *fale* but a small American-style house with four walls and two small rooms.

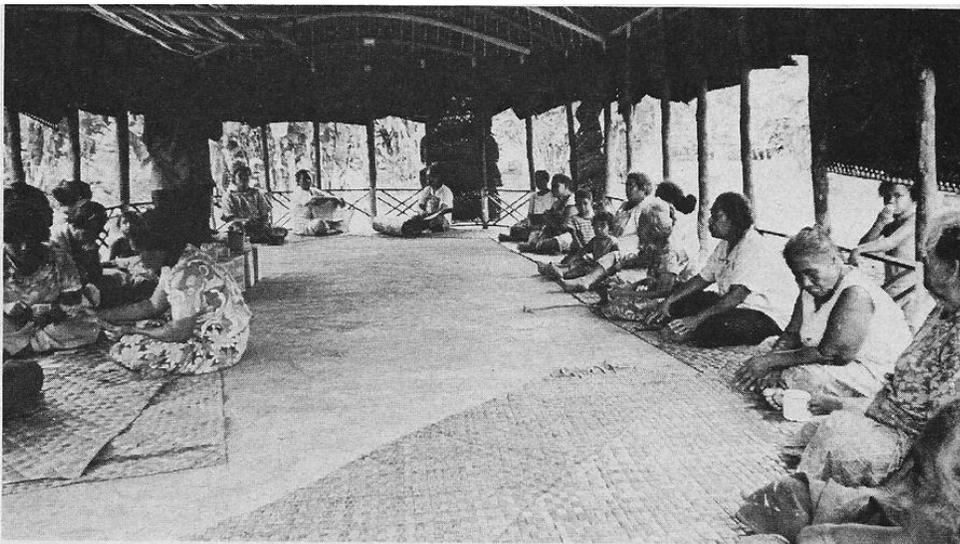
Tom lived in the house for several months. Soon he began to notice that people stopped visiting him and villagers became increasingly hostile and suspicious. Tom couldn't understand why.

One day members of the Women's Committee came to see him. Like all Samoans they were very polite, and the American volunteer was happy to welcome them into his house. It was soon clear, however, that they'd come on a serious mission. The leader of the Women's Commission spoke first.

"Tom," she began, "we are very happy to have you in this village. We wish to thank you for all the good work you have done out of love for our country.

Then she became very serious. "But we think that it would be very good for you to move into a real Samoan family so you could see what life is like in this country."

(Continued)



◀ A meeting of the Women's Committee.

“But I’m very happy living here,” Tom answered. “I have many Samoan friends, and I visit them often. I don’t see why I should move.”

“We think,” continued the Samoan lady, “that you need someone to look after you. It is not good in Samoa to live alone, without a family. Especially, you shouldn’t live alone in a closed house.

“But I don’t understand,” answered Tom, a bit confused.

The Samoan lady was very determined. “In the Samoan way of living, we think that only bad things happen when you live alone. Nobody can be happy when they are alone. We would like you to live in an open house like all the other villagers in Samoa. In an open house everyone is happy. It is cool and you can see the stars at night. And nothing bad can happen when you live in an open house, because we can see everything that happens. When we can’t see inside a house, then bad things might happen. People might come and steal—or some other bad thing.”

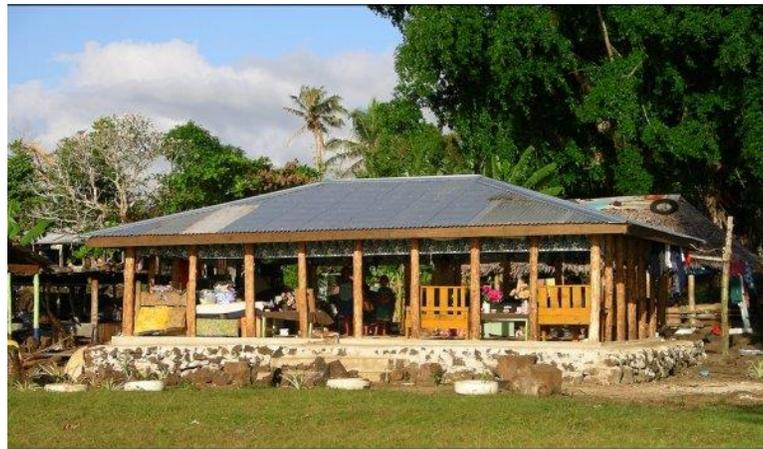
Tom decided that night that if he wanted to stay in Samoa, he’d better move in with a family and live Samoan style—in an open house.

Antropologist Bradd Shore described his first reactions to living in Samoa:

I had been wanting to say “Mind your own business!” to people from the time I had arrived in Samoa several weeks before. Only patience and politeness kept me from blurting it out. The villagers seemed to be everywhere, looking at what I did, commenting on my actions, following my every move. It seemed that I was on continual display, and this made me very self-conscious.

In the months that followed, I discovered that Samoans were not treating me differently than they treated each other.

New style *fale* ►



<https://www.pinterest.com/supati/samoan-fales/>

Investigation: Classifying Social Controls

People obey the rules of their society—don't shoplift, don't cheat on an exam, don't sneak out early from a job, don't exceed speed limits excessively, and so on—for a variety of reasons.

- (a) They've followed the rules so long they aren't tempted.
- (b) They're tempted, but decide that it's just wrong to violate the rules.
- (c) They're tempted, but consider the effects on other people if everyone disobeyed the rule.
- (d) They consider the possibility that they might be caught, and decide it isn't worth the risk.
- (e) They know, or suspect, that authorities or cameras are watching.



<https://roobags.wordpress.com/>

Those who study human behavior sometimes label the reasons for following rules “internal” and “external.” “Internal” means a rule is followed because it’s “the right thing to do.” “External” means the rule is followed because of fear of getting caught.

Record your answers:

- 1: Based on the definitions, which of the five reasons for following rules—(a) through (e)—are internal? External?**
- 2: Describe the usual relationship in your society between a person’s age, level of maturity, and internal and external social controls.**
- 3: Classify the social controls occurring in Samoa described in the previous investigation.**

During the time that Anthropologist Bradd Shore was in Samoa, he talked to many Samoans to learn their opinions about social controls. He asked questions such as, “What’s the most important rule people must follow?” and “How should children learn to do what is right?” Some of the opinions he received are below. There’s some disagreement from person to person, of course.

- 4: Discuss and classify the opinions in the following data; identify those that suggest internal social controls, and those that suggest external controls. Some may be hard to classify.**

1. Brothers should all look after their sisters. No brother would let his sister go around with a guy. If he caught them together, he’d beat or stone the boy and probably his sister too.
2. I’m responsible for my younger brothers and sisters. I tell them what to do, and if they’re bad, I punish them.
3. It’s terrible to walk on the road while eating. In the nighttime, it’s not bad because nobody can see you.

(Continued)

4. I'd obey my chief no matter what he told me to do, for he's the authority. Anyway, how else do you get to become a chief except by faithfully obeying your chief?
5. If my chief told me to do something that I knew was wrong, I wouldn't obey him, because I know that it's bad to do wrong things.
6. Most trouble between people is caused by malicious gossip. If people would stop talking behind others' backs, the world would be full of peace.
7. You can't trust your sister to look after herself, especially where boys are concerned. It's only natural that a brother should be the one to look after her. If he didn't, who else would?
8. Most fights are caused by arguments over land boundaries. One man plants some taro on another's land, and then there's a real fight.
9. Even if I don't agree with the chief's laws, I obey them, because if I didn't, they'd punish me.
10. It's right for the chiefs to put a ban on young men's sleeping houses, for when a gang of young men sleep in the same house, then they have a bad influence on each other and might go out and steal pigs or do some other bad thing.
11. No matter what a person has done, even if he kills someone else, once he pays his fine, then he should be forgiven. Even a killer who is punished by being banished forever from the village will be allowed back in the village after several years. But he must first ask forgiveness by providing a feast for the whole village and giving many fine mats to the village chiefs.
12. If there were no village rules or laws, and every man looked after his own affairs and behavior, you'd soon have a war. It would be every man against the other.
13. The most important village rule is the nighttime curfew. It's at night, out of the sight of other people, that most crimes happen, so it's better to keep people in their own homes, off the streets.
14. You certainly wouldn't feel ashamed if you committed a crime, but nobody knew what you did. What you'd feel is more like fear—fear that you'd be found out.
15. The most important rule of all is the rule which says that you have to obey every rule that the *matai* makes.
16. I don't think it's fair that the chiefs have banned long hair on boys or miniskirts and slacks for girls. They just don't realize that times have changed and boys don't look good any more with short hair. But I cut my hair anyway, because I don't want my family to pay that fine and be ashamed in the village.
17. Of course you have to smack the kid if he acts impudent. How else do you think he'll learn to respect his elders?

(Continued)

18. Children just don't know what's right and what's wrong, unless their parents show them.
19. If a kid's bad, we just think it must be his parents' fault. You know that Samoan saying: The tufted hen takes after the tufted hen.
20. There are all types of people in the world. But there's no one who's all bad or all good. We're all mixed up with bad and good too.
21. I think most kids respect the pastor most of all in the village. They're really afraid of him, since he gets his power straight from God.
22. Even if no one in the world knew that you'd stolen some money, it would still be a very bad thing. It's forbidden in the Bible. Anyway, God would surely know, and he'd make something terrible happen to you—like an accident, or a sickness, so that everyone would know that it was you who stole the money.

5: Choose three of these opinions that seem unusual to you, and describe (in your journal) how your opinion differs from that of a Samoan.

6: Based on the data, which seem to be more important to Samoans—internal or external social controls? Discuss and record possible explanations for this pattern.



Investigation: Samoan Shared Ideas about Authority

In every society, people are generally supposed to obey other people who have authority—parents, teachers, and officials, for example. However, ideas about who has authority differ between societies.

An American teacher working in Samoa was given a class of 12- and 13-year-old students. He recorded his experiences in a diary. **Identify and record the differences between the ideas of the teacher about authority, and those of his Samoan students.**

March 26

Today I made an important decision. I decided that I wouldn't beat students the way other teachers do. I will try to show students what real respect is. If I can't get them to respect me in a real way, then I have failed as a teacher.

March 28

Tilo, the class clown, kept making jokes and throwing papers around in the classroom. I was angry and tried to explain why we should all work together to learn something. The class looked at me for a minute and then began to giggle. I was very angry, but refused to hit them.

April 4

I haven't been having much luck with my class. They don't seem to really listen when I talk to them about why they should show respect. I keep trying to tell them that I want them to learn a lot this year, and that they should behave so that we can get all the work done. But still, they don't seem to understand. My class is the noisiest in the whole school, and the Samoan teachers keep telling me to hit the students. I'm not really sure any more what is right.

May 10

A very strange thing happened today. Tilo was acting as he always does. I was in an especially bad mood, and finally, when the whole class began to laugh and run around the room despite all my shouting, I lost my temper. "O.K.," I screamed, "you win. We'll have it your way." I got out the big strap that principal had given me and called Tilo to the front. Then I strapped him six times—with good, hard whacks. The class was silent for the first time since I entered the school. Tilo sniffed a bit and walked quietly to the back of the room where his seat was. The class was very quiet and worked well for the rest of the day. After class, Tilo came up to me. "Thank you very much, sir," he said. "I was very bad, and deserved the beating. It's just like my father does at home. Thank you. Now we all know that you are really a teacher. We have a lot of respect for you." I couldn't believe my ears.

What method of social control did the teacher want to use?

Are your own ideas about authority more like the Samoan students, or the teacher?

Samoan ideas about authority are also shown in a story written by Eti Sa'aga, a Samoan boy:

Some Play It Cool, But Some Like It Hot

I advanced slowly and sat down quietly in front of the *matai*. From where I was sitting, he seemed to be towering over me, even though I was looking at his feet. My eyes travelled slowly upwards to his big stomach and came to rest for a few moments on his hands, which were holding a copy of the *Samoa Times*. His hands shook a little, and I wondered if it was a result of anger or old age. Part of his upper chest appeared above the edge of the papers, then his chin, covered with a day's growth of beard. With a final effort, I looked into his deeply set eyes. To my relief, they were on the paper, reading.

I looked away quickly before his eyes caught mine. Minutes passed. Still he did not say anything but quietly read on. I then began to think about what I'd done. I had been playing cricket since the early hours of the morning, doing no work for our family, which was very much against our *matai*'s will. I smiled as I recalled some of the jokes we had been telling and slowly grinned when—wham!!! I doubled over with stars in my vision and a stinging ear. I sat up in dazed fashion and saw that the *matai* was holding a raised walking stick. I dodged, and the stick broke off one of the legs of the chair. The *matai* cursed and came again. One thought flashed through my mind—out! I dived behind a post, jumped over a box, and was out in an instant. The *matai* hurled the stick after me with an angry curse. It knocked two pots from the shelf. I ran on for a while before I sat down and laughed. Boy! Some like it hot. Real hot!

- 1:** *Discuss and explain the feelings of the boy (a) toward his chief and the chief's authority, and (b) about his own actions. How do you explain the change in the boy's action and attitude before and after he was hit by the chief?*
- 2:** *Is the boy likely to disobey the chief again very soon? Why or why not?*
- 3:** *Describe similarities and differences between this story and that of the American teacher.*
- 4:** *Are the controls described in this investigation internal or external? Explain.*

Investigation: Crime and Punishment in Samoa

In every society, special social controls deal with more serious problems. Three of the traditional responses to important violations are described below.

For each, identify the crime and the punishment:

A Samoan teenager told this story to Bradd Shore:

O le Fetu'u O le Matai Sili—“The Curse of the High Chief”

My father is a very high chief. In fact, Samoans believe that the first holder of his title was a god. Such powerful titles can be very dangerous for common people.

In our house, there is a rule that no one can eat from my father's food, or sit on his mat, or drink from his teacup. Samoans believe that anyone who touches the things of such a high chief, or angers the chief, will be punished by a very terrible curse.

One day, my father discovered that some of his left-over food was missing. “Who has eaten the food of the chief?” he asked angrily. “Please tell me now, or a terrible curse will fall on the guilty person.” But no one spoke. Everyone was very afraid of the chief's curse. “Speak up!” repeated my father. But still there was only silence.

The next day, one of the girls of the family—a cousin who was living with us—discovered that a small swelling had started to grow under her chin. “You must confess what you have done,” my father told her. “It must be you who has taken the forbidden food of the chief.” But she was too scared of the terrible power of my father and remained silent.

“Please confess,” cried her frightened mother. “Yes, you must confess, or the swelling will grow larger and larger and the pain will be terrible,” added the chief.

The next day, the swelling did grow much larger, but the girl was too afraid to confess her crime. Finally, after three days, the swelling was terrible and hurt the girl very much. We all felt pity for the girl. Finally she came to my father with tears in her eyes and cried, “I'm the one! I took your food, and I'm very sorry. I will never steal the chief's forbidden food again.”

“You are now free of the curse,” said my father. “And you are forgiven for what you did.”

Although you may not believe this story, I swear that it is true. I saw it happen with my own eyes.

O le Taulonga Oti—“Swearing on Your Life”

There is an old custom in Samoa called the “Swearing on Your Life.” It is used very rarely, but sometimes when a very serious crime happens and no guilty person is found, the chiefs hold the swearing ceremony. In this ceremony, a grave is dug in the village, as if for a real funeral. A Bible is placed next to the grave. Then everyone in the village gathers around the grave. One by one each villager lies in the grave. The chiefs then tell the person to swear on his life that he did not commit the crime. If he lies, it is said that he will immediately die in that grave. Everyone will know that he was guilty. Nobody will ever lie in this ceremony, and the guilty person is usually quick to admit his crime.

O le Ifonga—“The Bowing Down”

For very serious crimes in Samoa such as murder, there is only one thing that the family of the guilty person can do to prevent a war between the two families. The highest chiefs of the family of the guilty person march slowly to the house of the chiefs of the victim’s family. Here the chiefs of the victim’s family are assembled, to discuss what they must do to punish the family of the murderer.

The murderer’s chiefs walk slowly up to this house, carrying with them very valuable fine mats and sometimes money, too. Then, instead of going into the chief’s house, they stay outside in the hot sun, lower themselves to their knees, placing the mats over their heads. This means that they are very low, and, like the dirt of the earth, must be covered by mats. It is very shameful for proud Samoans to have to lower themselves like this, especially in front of other chiefs. But unless they want a war, they must do it.

Sometimes, these chiefs will kneel in the hot sun for several hours. Then, if the chiefs inside the house are ready to accept the apology of the chiefs of the murderer’s family, they will invite the kneeling chiefs into the house. There the chiefs who were kneeling will make speeches of apology, and offer their mats and money as payment for the life of the murdered person. If the gift is accepted, then the crime is considered fully forgiven, and the guilty person is free. But sometimes the anger of the family is so great that they refuse the gifts. Then the only choice left is war.

In the Ifonga ceremony, who’s punished for the crime? How does this differ from punishment in your society? Discuss and record your opinion in your journal.

Laws of one Samoan village are listed here, along with the usual sanctions for violating them. The laws aren't listed in order of importance. Note that for all offenses, the fine or penalty is generally not paid by the offender, but by the offender's family. (Money fines are from 1970, and are higher now.)

Working with others, identify the most important crimes. What problems would occur if the crimes were disregarded by villagers?

1. It is forbidden to yell or cry out on the village green, except during dancing or a party.

Fine: 5 pigs

2. Fighting in the village is outlawed.

Fine: 2 pigs if harsh words are heard in the village; 5 pigs plus all the mature crops in your plantation if there is violence

3. During a meeting of chiefs it is forbidden to carry anything on your back, carry an open umbrella, or ride a horse or bicycle past the front of the meeting house. This is disrespectful to the chiefs.

Penalty: To be decided by chiefs

4. It is forbidden to carry anything on your back, such as a load of taro or bananas, through the center of the village, except at night. Things must be carried through the village in the rear of the houses.

Fine: Money (amount depends on the nature of the offense)

5. It is forbidden to trespass land boundaries after they have been set, especially by planting or harvesting crops on someone else's land.

Fine: 5 pigs; all mature crops from your plantation

6. Attacking a girl is forbidden.

Penalty: Chief of the guilty person must offer a formal apology to the family of the girl by humbling himself in an *Ifonga*. The guilty boy or man is banished from the village. A fine of 25 to 30 pigs is distributed among the chiefs and eaten.

7. It is forbidden for anyone to be out on the road after the 6:00 P.M. curfew signaling the start of family prayers.

Fine: 20 cents

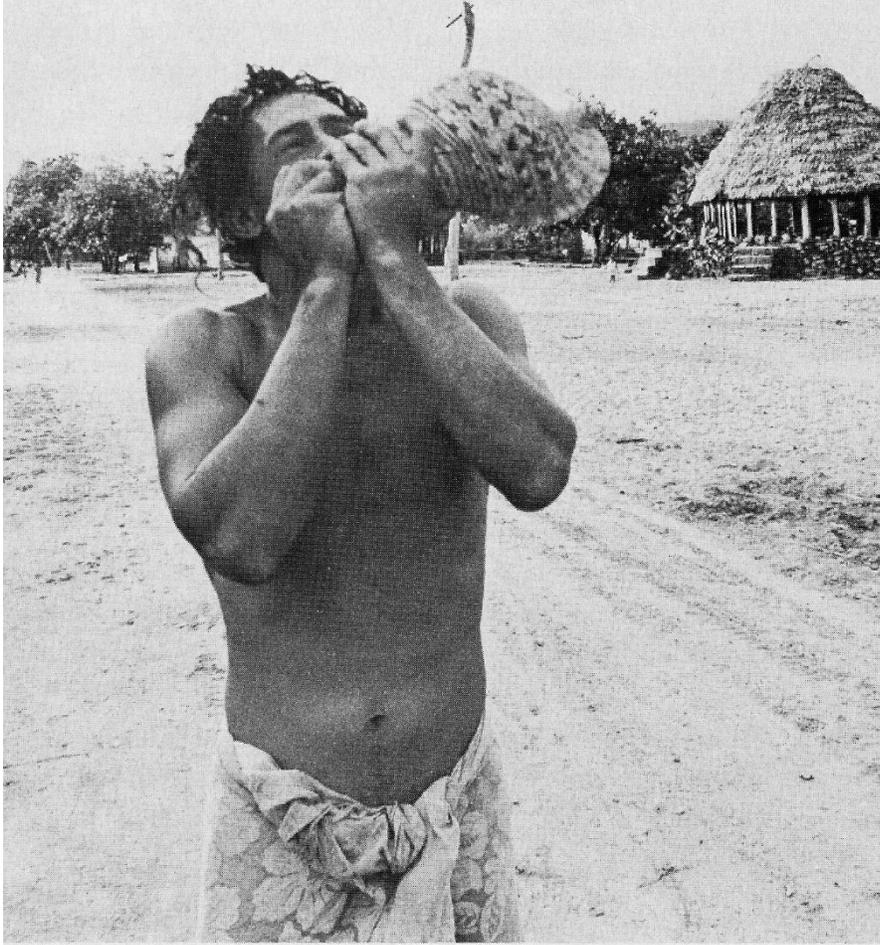
8. It is illegal to be out on the road after the 10:00 P.M. evening curfew blast is blown on the shell.

Fine: 20 cents

9. All beards and long hair on boys, and mini-skirts or slacks on girls are forbidden.

Fine: \$1.00

(Continued)



◀ Sounding curfew
with a triton shell
trumpet

10. Theft is forbidden.

Fine: 5 pigs

11. Failing to attend church on Sunday is forbidden.

Fine: \$1.00

12. No one should be late to church on Sunday.

Fine: 10 cents

13. Stealing or running off with the wife of a chief is forbidden.

Penalty: *Ifonga* by the guilty man to the chief whose wife is involved;
banishment of the man from the village

14. It is forbidden to weave any baskets or cut down palm trees on Sunday.

Fine: \$1.00

(Continued)

15. It is against the law to beat up a stranger to the village who has done no harm.

Fine: 5 pigs

16. It is forbidden for a boy to marry a girl he is related to.

Penalty: 50 pigs fine each for boy and girl; banishment of boy and girl from the village.

17. Drunkenness in the village is prohibited.

Fine: 1 pig

18. Fishing on Sunday is prohibited.

Fine: 2 pigs and 100 taros

19. Malicious gossip about another person is prohibited.

Fine: 5 pigs or money decided on by chiefs or Women's Committee

20. Murder is forbidden.

Penalty: Banishment from the village; *Ifonga* by murderer's chief to family of victim. A fine of 25 to 50 pigs and plantation crops is given to the chiefs. In some cases, the entire family of the murderer is banished from the village, and the family's land is confiscated.

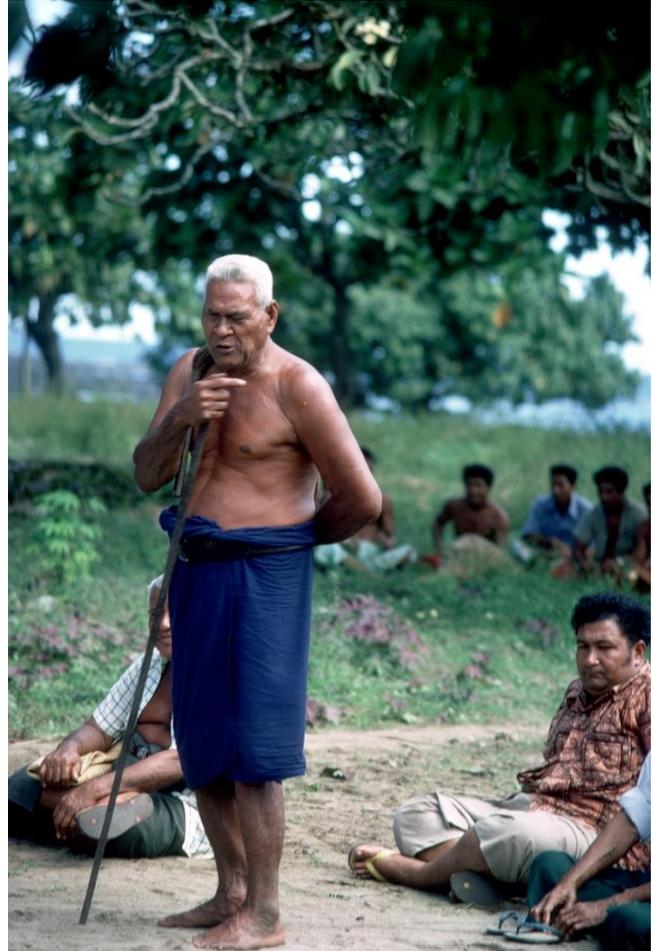
In Samoa, most property (land, crops, animals, buildings, money) isn't owned by a person, but by the entire family. If someone in the family does wrong, the entire family is punished by the fine or penalty.

Discuss: Is it fair to blame the whole family for the behavior of one of its members? How do you think a Samoan chief might justify this?

Do you think this is more effective, or less effective than just punishing the guilty person?

Based on these laws, describe (in your journal) some important differences in the Shared Ideas of Samoans and those of your society.

An official orator announces crimes and their punishments decided by the *matai*. ►



Investigation: Classifying Sanctions

Page 1 of this unit described “sanctions”—rewards and punishments used to control people in a society. In the Model, “Sanctions” is a sub-subcategory for the Action Pattern subcategory of “social control.” (See Model in Unit 7, page 16.)

Go back through the data in this unit, and list the sanctions. Group similar ones together, and use the groupings to build a classification scheme—a set of sanction categories that expand the Model to another level.

Which sanctions are related to “internal” social controls? “External?” Explain.

Social Control in Saudi Arabia

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia occupies a large but lightly populated desert. In many ways the culture is highly traditional, and important segments of its society haven't changed much in a thousand years.

However, under the Arabian Desert is the main power source for modern technology—oil. Since its discovery in 1938, it has brought Europeans, Americans, and a great deal of money to the Kingdom. Most leaders and members of the very large and wealthy royal family (with an estimated 7000 princes) are well-educated in European and American Universities.

Saudi Arabia is changing, but underneath the changes are powerful traditions resisting change. Ancient laws are respected and obeyed. Kings rule with near-total authority. Changes in life and customs occur slowly, held in check by the national religion—one of the strictest, most conservative forms of Sunni Islam—Wahhabi fundamentalism.



Two ancient cities—Mecca and Medina—are shrines for religious devotion for Muslims everywhere.

In this section you'll investigate rules and controls that structure the lives of the citizens of Saudi Arabia.

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Investigation: Shared Ideas in Saudi Arabia

The two most important elements of Saudi society—religion and the family—are described in the data below:

Analyze and discuss the data and decide:

- 1: How Saudi Shared Ideas would affect their attitudes toward change,**
- 2: Conflicts Saudis would see between their traditional Ideas and Action Patterns and those of Western society.**

Primary Islamic beliefs:

- There is only one God, unique, incomparable, eternal, and absolute. He cannot be perceived in this world except through His works.
- God is creator of all that exists.
- God’s will is supreme. *Islam*—the name of the religion—means “submission to the will of God.”
- God has sent messengers to mankind, including Jewish prophets and Jesus. Muhammad is the final messenger.
- Angels, immortal creatures, exist, as does Satan.
- Humans are responsible to God for their actions.
- On Judgment Day, all-knowing and merciful God will judge all mortals according to their deeds in this life.
- Those found worthy will live in Paradise. Unworthy people will burn in Hell.
- The *Quran* is the holy book of Islam, the Word of God, transmitted to Muhammad. It is written in heaven and on earth in Arabic, unchanged and unchanging from its beginning.
- The Quran provides guidance for all aspects of life: religious, social, political, and legal.
- The Quran cannot be translated into other languages with accuracy. Versions in other languages are interpretations.
- Quran means “recitation.” Memorization of Quran and reciting it are important aspects of Muslim life.

In Saudi Arabia, society and culture are centered on the *Quran*. The primary legal system in Saudi Arabia is the Islamic *Sharia*, which is based on the Quran and the Sunnah (the traditions of the Prophet). The Quran and Sunnah are considered the kingdom's constitution.

The Western practice of keeping religion separate from other parts of life seems wrong to Muslims.

Perhaps the most important word in Arabic is “*Inshallah*,” (in-Sha-LAH) meaning “God willing” or “if God wills it.” It is used—with great frequency—when talking about any kind of plans or possible future events. Arab Muslims tend to be uncomfortable talking about the future, and avoid talking about it as much as possible, since they believe that only God knows and controls the future.

The same attitude—that the future is in God's hands—leads to another practice: Muslims do not ask God for favors (such as healing for the sick, or success in a task) in their prayers. Prayers are primarily words of praise and requests for forgiveness and guidance.

Discuss: How would these views affect Shared Ideas and Action Patterns related to social control?

David E. Long is a scholar who has focused on the Middle East. He comments on the extended family as the center of Arabic life:¹

Virtually every Saudi citizen is a member of an extended family, including siblings, parents and grandparents, cousins, aunts and uncles. The extended family is the single most important unit of Saudi society, playing a pivotal role not only in Saudi social life, but economic and political life as well. Even personal self-identity assumes a collective self. [*Individuals see themselves as “fingers on a hand” rather than individual “marbles.”*] Each family member shares a collective ancestry, a collective respect for elders, and a collective obligation and responsibility for the welfare of other family members. It is to the extended family, not to the government, that a person first goes to seek help.

The Role of Family Elders: ...Saudi Arabia is a patriarchal society, maintaining a respect for age and seniority that has all but disappeared in Western society. The wisdom and authority of elders is seldom challenged, and younger men and women must wait their turn, often until their sixties or older, before they are accorded the role of family patriarchs and matriarchs.

(Continued)

¹ <http://susris.com/2003/03/10/the-role-of-the-extended-family-in-saudi-arabia/> (selected passages, adapted)

Gender Roles: Traditional gender roles in Saudi society share a number of common characteristics with other traditional societies; men's roles are outside the home as family providers, protectors, and managers, and women's roles are in the home, doing household tasks and caring for children. Men are predominant in business and public affairs, and women are to a large degree particularly predominant in parental decisions. Increasingly, however, the lines of distinction are being blurred. For example, as the population explosion [see chart below] has greatly reduced the per capita income, many young wives are finding employment outside the home, and husbands are assuming duties in the home unthinkable a generation ago.

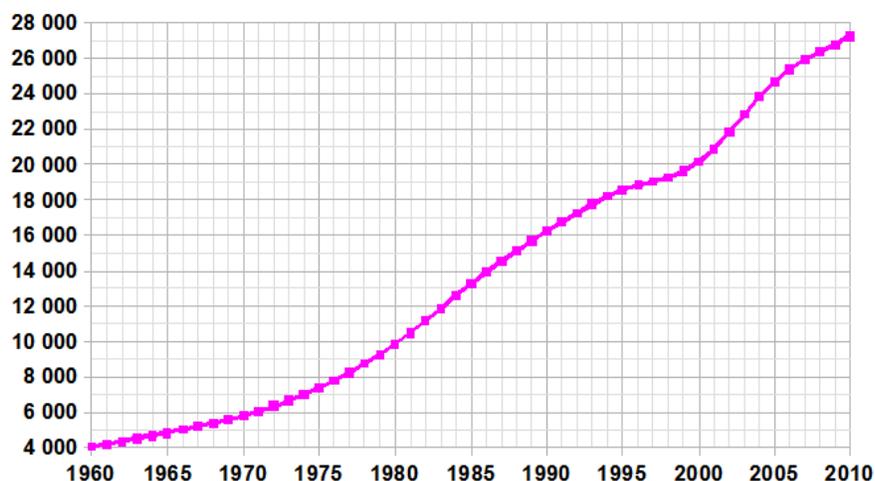
The Decision-Making Process: The traditional method for reaching and legitimizing group decisions in Arabia is through consultation (*shura*) among those within the group whose opinions are considered important. From consultation emerges consensus (*ijma`*), and is binding on all members of the group. Within the extended family, the principal consensus makers are senior members or elders.

This ancient Arabian process of consultation and consensus was given religious sanction in Islam. From texts in the Quran and the Sunna (Prophetic traditions of the Prophet Muhammad), comes the belief that God would never permit a consensus of the Islamic community to be in error. Consensual decision-making is still the norm in Saudi Arabia, whether in family, government, or business decisions.

Senior women may also participate in family consultations and consensus making, not only on issues involving the home but also on issues involving family businesses and on occasion where the family is involved, even in politics.

Saudi Arabia is not a country of individuals ruled by a single, absolute monarch, or even an autocratic royal family ruling over a country of individuals. It is a system whereby the patriarch of an extended royal family rules with the consensus of leading members of a nation of extended families.

Population in thousands: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Saudi_Arabia



Marianne Alireza was an American woman who married a man from a prominent Saudi Arabian family—the first Western woman to live in Saudi Arabia. In later years she commented about the nature of the family into which she moved in 1945:¹

Alireza says: “Time had not moved there. I was stepping back into a traditional, conservative society. There were no roads, no hotels, no stores, no electricity. We didn’t go out, and we didn’t do things. We lived together.”

Bleak as that may sound, Alireza is quick to say, “There were wonderful compensations in the human element. Maybe it sounds weird, but it’s true.

“When I stepped out of the car cloaked and veiled, my mother-in-law gathered me in her arms and told me, ‘We love you as we love our son.’ That acceptance from the first second set the tone.”

“The smallest unit in their society is the family, not a human. You don’t hurt the family at any cost.”

While many Western women look on the veiled Muslim women with pity, Alireza says, “If you want the truth, Saudi women feel sorry for Western women. They see beauty contests and girlie magazines in the West, and they say, ‘Women in your world are sex objects.’ To them it’s abhorrent.

“They don’t consider their freedom as limited. They are limited in mixing outside of their families or meeting men, but they would not want that for themselves. They would never embrace any change that would dilute their own moral and religious values. They won’t give up values for change and progress.”

Keep this data about religion and family in mind during the following investigations.

Note: Pages that follow describe restrictions on the behavior of Saudi women and prohibition of places (such as movie theaters) where men and women might come into forbidden contact. Beginning about 2017, many of these restrictions were lifted, and the society is changing rapidly under the liberalizing influence of Crown Prince Muhammed bin Salman. In mid-2018, women were allowed to drive vehicles, and some even became Uber drivers.

¹ http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1990-12-16/features/9004140030_1_saudi-arabia-veil-first-child

Investigation: Sanctions in Saudi Arabia

Sanctions for violations of laws vary a great deal from society to society. Some tend to have fairly mild punishments, others are harsh. Sanctions in Saudi Arabia are described below.

In your opinion, are these sanctions likely to be more effective in preventing crime than those in your own society?

Besides preventing crime, what other reasons might Saudi Arabians give for their sanctions?

Grant Butler, an American who lived and worked in Saudi Arabia, reported this incident:¹



<http://www.reallycoolblog.com/the-kingdoms-oil-a-journey-to-saudi-arabia-pt-1/>

“Your people no longer seem strange to me,” I told Sami Hussein. “I’ll probably feel right at home with them.”

“I trust you will,” he said seriously, “for it is true that our peoples do have much in common. Still, you should be prepared for differences that may sometimes surprise or alarm you. I hope, for example, that you will not be unduly shocked when you see our method of punishment. It is based on the Quran’s law, ‘An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth.’”

When I arrived in Saudi Arabia a few weeks later, during the bus trip from the Dhahran airport I was suddenly reminded of Sami’s warning. Passing the high fence that surrounded the American community, I noticed something hung up near the gate. It looked like a hand. I turned to the fellow seated next to me and said, “That looks like a hand up there!”

He stared for a minute at the fence, then nodded, “It is.”

I learned presently that the Arabs had conducted a very graphic display of justice in front of the Arab employees a few hours before our arrival. A young Arab houseboy who had been caught stealing for the third time had been taken out in front of the community to have his hand chopped off.

The severed hand was left hanging on the fence for several days—a lesson to other employees.

¹ Grant C. Butler, *Kings and Camels* (New York, Devin-Adair Co. 1960)

A problem¹ and a punishment:²

Saudi Arabia Has the Highest Road Accident Death Toll in the World

An average of 17 Saudi Arabian residents die on the country's roads each day, a report by the Kingdom's General Directorate of Traffic has revealed. The news comes after the World Health Organization found Saudi Arabia to have the world's highest number of deaths from road accidents, which now make up the country's principal cause of death in adult males aged 16 to 36. First reported by the Saudi daily Arab News, the study found that 6,485 people had died and more than 36,000 were injured in over 485,000 traffic accidents during 2008 and 2009.

[In 2015, more than 8,000 people died, 35,000 people were injured, and 17,000 left with permanent injuries directly from traffic accidents.]

<https://www.osac.gov/pages/ContentReportDetails.aspx?cid=19243>

There was no official reaction to the unfortunate world record, and Saudi analysts pointed to larger underlying problems.

"The driving problems are with young people," Ali Abdul-Rahman Al-Mazyad, a Saudi columnist in Riyadh told The Media Line. "There are very little outlets for young people to enjoy themselves and kids basically do what they want."

"Saudis often try to drift with normal cars and thousands of spectators on the sides of the street," he said, referring to an informal motor sport in which drivers intentionally over-steer so as to lose traction and drift [sideways] on the road. "Sometimes the car drifts into spectators, slamming them into buildings along the sidewalk."

(2012) In other Gulf news, a young Saudi was sentenced to 150 lashes for "drifting" his car after police repeatedly caught him driving aggressively. Police Director Maj Yehya Al-Biladi urges young men to abstain from drifting, and guarantees severe penalties for future offenders. He told *Arabian Business* it was a "completely wrong" concept that Islam discourages seat belts "as safety is in God's hand."

Identify possible relationships between this problem and the characteristics of Saudi culture. Why might Saudi young men have attitudes that lead to thrill-seeking?

How does the last sentence above relate to religious Shared Ideas?

¹ <https://www.greenprophet.com/2010/03/saudi-arabia-death-toll-driving/>

² <https://www.greenprophet.com/2012/05/drifting-sinful-saudi-arabia/>

Other sanctions:¹

Retaliatory punishments, or *Qisas*, are practiced: for instance, an eye can be surgically removed at the insistence of a victim who lost his own eye. Families of someone unlawfully killed can choose between demanding the death penalty or granting clemency in return for a payment of *diyya* (blood money), by the perpetrator.

Recalled by author:²

I was having dinner in a Swiss restaurant with a group of co-workers from my company, which installed satellite communications systems around the world. Jack, the man sitting next to me, had been one of our program managers in Saudi Arabia when we installed a network for the kingdom.

Jack told me, “I was walking across a parking lot in downtown Riyadh and noticed a crowd gathered near a railing. I wish I hadn’t been curious, but I wandered over to see what was going on.

“The people in the crowd saw that I was a foreigner, and quickly shoved me to the front. A few feet from me, some poor howling guy was pushed down on his knees by officers, and a big Arab with a big sword cut off his head with one violent blow. I got splattered with blood. I’m still having nightmares involving sharp edges.”

“They tied his body to the railing, and everybody wandered off. I’d give anything to have missed that experience.”

The death penalty [in Saudi Arabia] can be imposed for a wide range of offences including murder, rape, armed robbery, repeated drug use, apostasy [renunciation of Muslim faith], adultery, witchcraft and sorcery and can be carried out by beheading with a sword, stoning or firing squad, followed by crucifixion. The 345 reported executions between 2007 and 2010 were all carried out by public beheading. The last reported execution for sorcery took place in September 2014.

(Continued)

¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia (including data in bottom window)

² Howard Brady

Foreigners accounted for "almost half" of executions in 2013, mainly on convictions for drug smuggling and murder, although there has not been any report of a Western national being executed in the recent history of Saudi Arabia. In 2015, the number of beheadings reached a two decade high of "at least" 157 and 47 were executed on 2 January 2016.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_punishment_in_Saudi_Arabia#cite_note-AIExecutions2013-2

Homosexual acts are punishable by flogging or death. Atheism or "calling into question the fundamentals of the Islamic religion on which this country is based" is considered a terrorist crime. Lashings are a common form of punishment and are often imposed for offences against religion and public morality such as drinking alcohol and neglect of prayer and fasting obligations.

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia

Right: Praying pilgrim at Masjid Al Haram, Mecca. Every Muslim is expected to visit the shrine in Mecca—Islam’s holiest site—at least once. Huge crowds arrive during the holy month of Ramadan. Non-Muslims are not permitted to enter the city.



Investigation: Change in Saudi Arabia

You’ve looked at system change (unit 7), and considered some of the causes for change. Generally, changes in Setting or Demographics eventually cause changes in Action Patterns, and eventually even Shared Ideas.

One of the forces causing change in traditional societies worldwide is the influence of the culture of the West—Europe and North America. Cars and smartphones, skyscrapers and social media, pizza and TV are everywhere. And people everywhere see Americans and Europeans, dressed casually, acting with great freedom. In many places, traditional people are changing their Action Patterns to more closely match that of Westerners.

Read the following, and identify the changes that are occurring and their probable causes:

A book published in 1960 by an American who was employed by Aramco (the national oil company jointly owned at that time by an American company and the Saudi government), suggested that change was happening in Saudi society:¹

One of my acquaintances, Rashid bin Ahmad, a former Bedouin shepherd who in recent years had worked for Aramco told me he was definitely in favor of the many reforms taking place in his country. But, he said, he was also in favor of moderation. He reminded me of an old Arab proverb, “Haste comes from the devil.”

He explained: “The strength of my people is based in part on the strength and durability of the individual family. Through the centuries, it has been traditionally united by close ties of affection and loyalty. Though we are now ready for great changes in the customs of our women, we do not want to see the family broken down by conflicts between the mothers, who cling to the old ways, and the daughters, who are educated to the modern ways.

I asked him, “Do you believe, then, that education should be encouraged only for boys, and discouraged for girls?”

“Not discouraged for girls, no,” he replied, “But not rushed, either. In the interests of family security, let the transition be gradual.” And he reminded me of another Arab proverb: “Educate a man, and you educate a single individual. Educate a woman, and you educate a family.”

“But doesn’t the Quran urge education for both men and women?” I asked. If I remember the text correctly, it reads: “Pursuit of knowledge is a duty for every man and woman.”

“It does, indeed,” said Rashid, with whom I had frequently discussed the Quran. “And the Prophet’s own wife, Khadijah, was so learned that men came to her from far and near for counsel in theology and law. For hundreds of years after the founding of Islam, Muslim women continued to participate in public and social life, often achieving widespread recognition. Shuhda of Baghdad, for example, was renowned as one of the foremost scholars of the twelfth century. Throughout the Muslim world, women taught school, traded in the market place, sat on the councils of state, and even fought on the battlefields alongside their men.

I couldn’t help asking, “How do you reconcile all this with the religious custom of keeping women in the background?”

“You are mistaken,” he told me, adding, with a smile, “the same way so many others are mistaken, in calling this a religious custom. As a matter of fact, Islam did not order the seclusion of women. This was a social custom, without religious significance.

¹ Grant C. Butler, *op. cit.*

Later events:^{1,2}

In Saudi Arabia, the 1960s, and especially the 1970s, had been years of explosive development, liberal experimentation, and openness to the West. A reversal of this trend came about abruptly in 1979, the year in which the Grand Mosque in Mecca came under attack by religiously motivated critics of the monarchy, and the Islamic Republic of Iran was established...

In the years following these events, the rise of the ultraconservative periphery has caused the vast center of society to shift in a conservative direction, producing greater polarity between those who are Western-oriented and the rest of society. The 1991 Persian Gulf War marked another dramatic shift toward conservative sentiment, and this conservative trend continued to gain momentum in the early 1990s.

On an individual level, some Saudi citizens, especially educated young women, were expressing the revivalist mood by supplementing the traditional Saudi Islamic *hijab* (literally curtain or veil), a black cloak, black face veil, and hair covering, with long black gloves to hide the hands. In some cases, women who formerly had not covered their faces began to use the nontransparent covering once worn mainly by women of traditional families. Some, especially younger, university-educated women, wore the *hijab* when traveling in Europe or the United States to demonstrate the sincerity of their belief in following the precepts of Islam.

The change came in the 1980s, as conservative Islamist movements were burgeoning throughout the Middle East. The Saudi government, its legitimacy threatened by such upheaval, enlisted religious police in a kingdom-wide crackdown that imposed upon all Saudis the rigidity of its most conservative sub-culture. School curriculums were revamped. Music was silenced as un-Islamic. Couples walking or driving in public together were forced to show police their marriage licenses.

And central to the conservative crusade was the castigation [reprimand] of women: for succumbing to Western influence, for appearing outside the home without male guardians, for speaking in voices that might distract or seduce men, for dishonoring God by failing to drape themselves completely in black.

The reason Saudi Arabia has only one movie theater, a new science museum IMAX: The government shut all cinemas during the conservative surge in the 1980s. Besides screening problematic Western movies, dark movie theaters make it easier for men and women to mix.

¹ <http://countrystudies.us/saudi-arabia/29.htm>:

² <http://ngm.nationalgeographic.com/2016/02/saudi-arabia-women-text>.

Discuss. What might explain the reaction of Saudi Arabian society to Western influences? What kinds of changes might Saudis view as threatening or harmful to their society? (Clue: Consider Saudi ideas and patterns related to family.)

On September 11, 2001, terrorists hijacked planes in New York City and used them to kill almost 3000 people. Fifteen of the 19 terrorists were from Saudi Arabia. **How might this be related to the changes described here?**

The data that follow identify additional recent changes.

Below: The King Abdullah financial district in Riyadh.



<http://www.cnbc.com/2016/10/02/saudi-arabia-gets-it-right---finally-.html>

For over 70 years, Saudi Arabia has financed its development by spending the money it gets from exporting its oil. Evidence of the wealth is shown by many sights like that in the photo above. However, the oil reserves will eventually run out. The kingdom has made elaborate plans to lessen its dependence on money from the sale of oil, for example by increasing manufacturing and tourism.

Planning for the future is essential. Even planning a building like those above requires schedules and deadlines.

Read the data in the middle box on page 3 again. How is the necessity for planning likely to affect that shared idea?

What changes are suggested in the Saudi data on the next two pages? Are these changes likely to continue?

February 19, 2015:¹

The violation of modesty might seem technical, but this was Saudi Arabia, and the religious police were having none of it.

They swept through Riyadh's Marina Mall, going through shops with names like "Princesses' Island" and "My Scarf" which specialize in *abayas*, the all-enveloping, shapeless gown that Saudi women must by law wear in public, and tore down any that weren't black.

Black is the color stipulated for abayas, but as Saudi society has become more cosmopolitan, women have begun to experiment.

First dark patterns emerged, then a few diamante adornments, then the occasional striped sleeve; finally – the step the religious police thought was taking it too far – abayas of whole different colors, like brown, and dark blue.

The cloaks still hid every part of a woman's anatomy: only not in the same monotone.

"It was very annoying," said one shop assistant, who requested that he not be identified to prevent further raids. "They did cause a big problem. However, it is the law I suppose, so we just have to put up with it."

The attack on the Mall was not—women's rights and other activists say—a one-off. It happened shortly after the death of 90-year-old King Abdullah at the end of January, and may have been a sign that the once-feared religious police which he spent years trying to rein in felt they were now in the ascendant again.



¹ <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/middleeast/saudiabia/11421226/Return-of-the-religious-police-worry-reformers-in-Saudi-Arabia.html>

Reported by the BBC News, 13 April 2016:¹

The Saudi authorities have moved to curb the powers of the notorious religious police, or "*mutawa*".

Members of the Committee for the Promotion of Virtue and the Prevention of Vice will no longer be permitted to chase suspects or arrest them.

They must instead report observations to security forces personnel.

Religious police officers, who roam the streets enforcing strict standards of social behavior, are frequently accused of abusing their powers.

Several were reportedly arrested in February for allegedly assaulting a young woman outside a shopping center in the capital, Riyadh.

Officers will continue to help enforce strict segregation of the sexes, an absolute prohibition of the sale and consumption of alcohol, a ban on women driving [*ban was lifted in 2018*] and many other social restrictions.

But the new law stipulates that their mission has been amended to "carrying out the duty of promoting virtue and preventing vice in a gentle and humane way, after the model set in this regard by the Prophet [Muhammad] and his rightful successors".

They will also be obliged to display clear identification, showing their names, posts, jurisdictions and official working hours.

May 18, 2016:²

Outside a cafe on the fashionable Tahlia Street in Riyadh, Nada sits on a wicker chair, playing with her iPhone and examining her freshly painted nails as she waits for a friend.

"Honestly, a month ago I would never have done this, sat here," she says with a giggle, gesturing towards the pavement and the clogged highway.

A little way off lurk the mutawa, Saudi Arabia's feared religious police, clad in white robes and headscarves. It is their presence that has kept young women such as Nada away until now.

Saudi Arabia's move to clip the mutawa's wings after scandals over their brutal behavior has brought a surge of young women into public places where they had previously feared to tread.

¹ <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-36034807>

² <http://www.theaustralian.com.au/news/world/the-times/saudi-girls-stride-out-in-style-as-religious-police-reined-in/news-story/a1c83432c2f09fb73f3524647891395f>

Investigation: Perceptions of Crime in Your Society

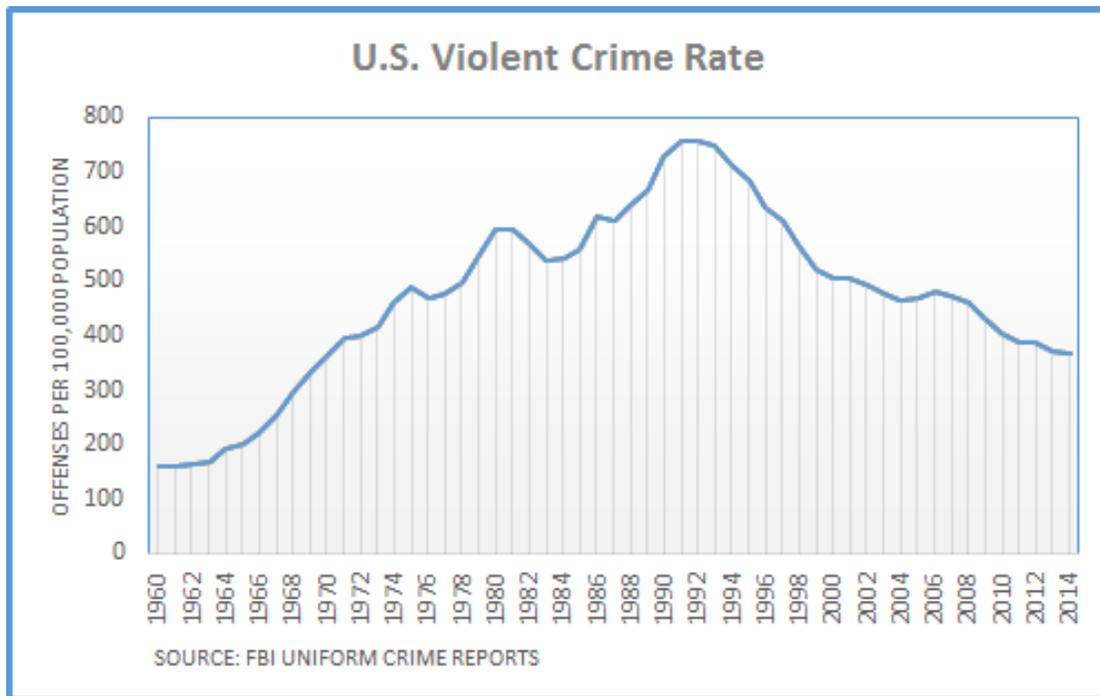
Many of your investigations have found relationships between Shared Ideas and Action Patterns. One kind of Shared Idea that's important in every society is the perception of threat or danger from various sources, including crime. People who feel threatened keep their doors locked, install alarm systems, and vote for candidates that promise to “crack down on crime.”

Over the next few days, interview as many older people as possible. Ask them, “Do you think crime in this country is increasing, decreasing, or staying about the same?” Record their answers.

The Reality:

In the United States and many other developed countries, crime has been decreasing since the 1990s—and not just a little. Here are graphs for the United States and (next page) the G7 countries (Japan, U.S, Germany, United Kingdom, Italy, France, and Canada).

<http://www.factcheck.org/2016/07/dueling-claims-on-crime-trend/>



Property crimes in the U. S. have declined even more rapidly since 1992 than violent crimes.

<http://www.economist.com/news/briefing/21582041-rich-world-seeing-less-and-less-crime-even-face-high-unemployment-and-economic>

If your survey results are similar to many others, a majority of people will say crime is increasing.

Working with others, develop possible explanations for the difference between perceptions of crime and the reality.



Investigation: Homicide Rates around the World

Note: This investigation will require computer access to the Internet to find necessary data.

As you've seen, crime rates have fallen in the United States. However, compared with some other nations, the U.S. still has a problem. The rates for homicides in the table below are recent data (2012-2015) in some selected countries:

Nation	Homicides/100,000 people
El Salvador	108.64
Jamaica	43.21
Mexico	16.35
United States	4.88
Samoa	3.15
Canada	1.68
Saudi Arabia	1.50
Australia	0.98
United Kingdom	0.92
Germany	0.85
Norway	0.56
Japan	0.31

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_intentional_homicide_rate

Choose your own nation and one other with a lower homicide rate for comparison. (If your own nation isn't listed, find comparable information.) Use the Model to help you identify possible cultural differences that might account for differences in homicide rates. Consider:

- Levels of internal violence from gangs and drug-related organizations
- Policing action patterns
- Gun ownership rates (part of Setting—tools)
- Levels of stress from economic problems such as unemployment or poverty
- Levels of incarceration (imprisonment)
- Demographics, e.g. proportion of the population under 25 years old
- Possible effects of lead poisoning of children from high exposure to exhausts of vehicles burning leaded gas (eliminated in the U.S. in 1995)
- Any other part of culture you consider related to homicide rates.

Prepare a report that summarizes your conclusions.

Investigation: Target Area Social Control

Within your Target Area, there are rules that probably aren't listed anywhere and don't have official sanctions, but everyone expects them to be followed. Failure to do so may bring stares, laughter, or complaints. Informal rules may include walking on the right (or left) in corridors and on stairs, not butting in line, supporting your own team at sports events, and other actions you do without thinking much about them.

Working with others, identify as many informal social controls as you can, listing the informal rule and the associated sanctions.



For Teacher/Mentor:

As we've said elsewhere, teaching is far more than just shoveling knowledge into learner's minds. Very often, it's the much more difficult task of replacing learner's misconceptions with other, more valid ideas. Most people resist changing ideas that have become part of tools for making sense of what's happening. Many—especially adults—when confronted with evidence that refutes something they believe, stubbornly refuse to accept that evidence.

Ideas related to ethnocentricity, for example, resist change. Ethnocentrism is almost universal, with many people holding two main misconceptions:

- Most people around the world are fundamentally the same; the differences are superficial.
- Any differences that aren't superficial are because “those people” are just uninformed or primitive.

One of the objectives of this course is to overcome these misconceptions. Not understanding the worldview of Iranian Shiite Muslims, the Northern Chinese, or many other societies can cause crucial errors in policy for Western nations.

“Americans tend to think that the universalisms we believe in are manifestly and obviously truly best for everyone. The American exceptionalist belief in representative democracy and market capitalism as the basis for the only good society is such a belief, more a matter of faith than of social science or history. How many presidents and other senior officials have you heard say something to the effect that people are the same all over the world, and everyone wants the same things for their children, and other politically questionable ideas?

“Of course there is a common humanity, and of course we are not fools or primitives to think that there are unshakable moral truths about the world. But we are wrong if we think that these truths are really self-evident to everyone, no matter their culture and background, and we are fools if we believe that our political values are really the default “best practice” of the rest of the planet, whose historical experiences have in the main been very different from our own. Because of this innocent, matter-of-fact Enlightenment universalism, we are demobilized before the task of learning other languages and learning about other cultures. We never bothered to learn anything about the Vietnamese during the Vietnam War. Our knowledge at the highest level about Afghanistan today is extremely limited and very late in coming. The same may be said about Iraq. We are just not curious about other cultures because we don't credit the significance, and the dignity, of their differences from us.”¹

¹ Adam Garfinkle, “What Our Students—and Our Political Leaders—Don't Know About the Middle East,” 2011, Foreign Policy Research Institute. <http://www.fpri.org/article/2011/12/what-our-students-and-our-political-leaders-dont-know-about-the-middle-east/>

Social Control in Samoa

During fieldwork for his doctorate in 1973, Bradd Shore was living in the village of Sala'ilua on Savai'i, as the guest of one of the two highest-ranking chiefs in the village. This chief was shot and killed from ambush by another chief, who was also the son of the other highest village chief. Both the murderer and his victim were teachers at the local school. The two had been at odds for some time, and had argued earlier in the day.

This incident gave Shore an opportunity to see Samoan social control operating at the most extreme level. It forms the central event of Shore's book, *Sala'ilua, A Samoan Mystery*.¹ The mystery is not in the identity of the murderer, or even his motive—both were known immediately in the village. The mystery was deeper, in the fundamental and extremely complex nature of Samoan society and its response to the event, which the book explores in detail.

Note that a brief unit such as this cannot effectively communicate the complexities of Samoan society to learners. The point here is to see social control in a cultural context different from the learner's own, to gain some understanding of its importance and ways in which it is effective.

Investigation: The Samoan Setting and Social Control

The traditional *fale* provides shelter from the frequent rains, shade when the sun is hot, and the open sides allow the breeze to blow through to cool the occupants. The side effect is that everyone's actions are on continuous public display.

In Unit 3, Learners investigated relationships between Setting and behavior, including relationships between crime levels and observation. In North Boston, many "eyes on the street" day and night led to low crime and delinquency, for example, as Jane Jacobs pointed out.

The same thing is true of Samoan villages—people are unlikely to misbehave when everyone's watching. As a result of living for generations in this way, Samoans developed the attitude that "those who try to achieve some level of privacy must do it because they have something to hide." That's the motivation for the Women's Committee visit to the Peace Corps Volunteer.

The omnipresence of observers and their effectiveness in controlling behavior apparently gave Samoans little incentive to develop internal social controls, as learners will see in the next investigation. (This may change as Samoans have moved to Western-style houses, but the change will likely be slow.)

Investigation: Classifying Social Controls

The data here are the real answers given anthropologist Shore, with all their complexities and ambiguities. They suggest significant differences between the Samoan culture and that of learners, so should result in some interesting discussion by learners. For example, they're sure to ask, "What's so terrible about

¹ Bradd Shore, *Sala'ilua, A Samoan Mystery*. 1982, New York, Columbia University Press

eating while walking on the road?” The answer isn’t clear, but what is clear is that it’s not the act of eating, but being *seen* eating while walking along the road that’s terrible. The wrongful act itself is one thing; the perception of the act by other people is something separate, and is the more important aspect of the rule violation. This separation seems characteristic of Samoa.

Most of the statements, of course, suggest the predominance of external social controls.

Investigation: Samoan Shared Ideas about Authority

The Samoan youths’ assumption is that in a situation where control is needed, anyone with authority will take physical action to assert control. Words of reprimand aren’t considered significant action. The corollary, then, is that a person who doesn’t take *physical* action must not have authority.

The story by the Samoan boy is more complex and subtle. If his actions are typical, then he must have expected the anger of his *matai* to dissipate, and there would be no long-term repercussions. His fear of the *matai* is evident in the first part of the story.

Investigation: Crime and Punishment in Samoa

Along with the prevalence of external social controls, the other major difference between Samoan patterns and those likely in the learner’s society is the punishment of an offender’s family, rather than the individual. This is at least partly a reflection of the Samoan relationship between the individual and his or her family—individuals are “fingers on a hand” rather than “marbles in a jar.”

Anthropologist Bradd Shore witnessed the *Ifonga* by the family chiefs of the murderer, who at the time was in the hospital after nearly being killed in a machete attack by the oldest son of the murder victim.

The *Ifonga* was accepted by the victim’s family, but the verdict of the *fono*—the village council—was that the family of the murderer, including his descendants, was “eternally cast out” of the village, and had to take up residence in another, distant village.

Investigation: Classifying Sanctions

Almost all the data describes negative sanctions. Those could be classified in a number of ways. The precursor book, *Idea and Action in World Cultures*, gave learners four categories of punishment: Corporal (bodily), economic, psychological, and supernatural, and asked them to apply these categories to data. Having learners develop their own categories (related to the Model) would be a better exercise of thinking skills. They may come up with these four categories, or some other scheme.

Social Control in Saudi Arabia

Saudi society is, by many measures, one of the most repressive on earth. There's little freedom of expression, and no significant freedom of religion. Women are strictly segregated, and are expected to be supervised by male family members (although the restrictions on women are rapidly being lifted). However, as with most societies, digging deeper into their culture reveals complexity that should be taken into account before judging their society by Western standards.

Investigation: Shared Ideas in Saudi Arabia

Relationships between social control and the data in this investigation may not be apparent at first, but understanding the nature of Islamic beliefs and the central role of the extended family in Saudi society is necessary context for making sense of social control in the kingdom.

The role of Islam and Sharia law in structuring Saudi society is major, and would seem on the surface to be a formidable conservative or reactionary force, inhibiting societal change. And yet change is occurring, most dramatically in the rapidly-improving educational level of Saudi women. More Saudi women than men now receive university degrees.

The importance of the extended family—the fundamental unit of Saudi society—is a clue to potential change in the society. The main concern of Saudis when confronting any alien Action Pattern: “Will this weaken the family in any way?” Education of women is assumed to be harmless or beneficial. Educated Saudi men prefer educated wives.

The central role of the family is succinctly stated in two of the sources:

“Saudi Arabia is not a country of individuals ruled by a single, absolute monarch, or even an autocratic royal family ruling over a country of individuals. It is a system whereby the patriarch of an extended royal family rules with the consensus of leading members of a nation of extended families.” (David W. Long, p. 4)

“The smallest unit in their society is the family, not a human [individual]. You don't hurt the family at any cost.” (Marianne Alireza, p. 5)

Learners have encountered similar points of view in the material on Southern China in unit 7, and Samoa in this unit. Even so, assumptions about individual identity in Western society are so deeply embedded that learners will likely have difficulty understanding the Saudi viewpoint.

Investigation: Sanctions in Saudi Arabia

This section is straightforward. The main focus is on the question of the effectiveness of the extreme Saudi sanctions in inhibiting crime. In the case of murder, the official rate¹ (which may be somewhat suspect as to accuracy) is 1.5/100,000; The U.S. rate is 4.9/100,000, over three times higher. On the surface, the Saudi system seems to be effective.

On the other hand, consider a country with minimum sanctions for murder—Norway. Norway's rate is 0.56/100,000, much lower than Saudi Arabia. Yet the maximum penalty for intentional murder is 21 years in prison. In 2011, Anders Behring Breivik went on a terrorist rampage (motivated, he said, by hatred for Muslims), and killed 77 people. His sentence: 21 years in prison.

The crime rate within any society has complex causes, and the inhibiting factor of possible punishment apparently has little effect on crime levels. The subject of homicide rates in different nations is dealt with in more detail in an Investigation at the end of this unit.

Investigation: Change in Saudi Arabia

The necessity for planning in any nation is a counterforce against the traditional fatalism of Islamic culture. Recently, Crown Prince Muhammed bin Salman, 31-year-old (b. Aug. 31, 1985) son of the king, has been assigned the responsibility for planning the future of the kingdom. In press conferences, he has displayed much optimism, discussing plans with confidence and only a rare “God willing.” It seems obvious that the traditional inhibiting force of “*inshallah*” has little effect on him. The younger Saudi elite, educated in Western universities, probably share his attitude. This is bound to be a source of stress between this influential cohort and the conservative clerics and others such as the *mutawa*.

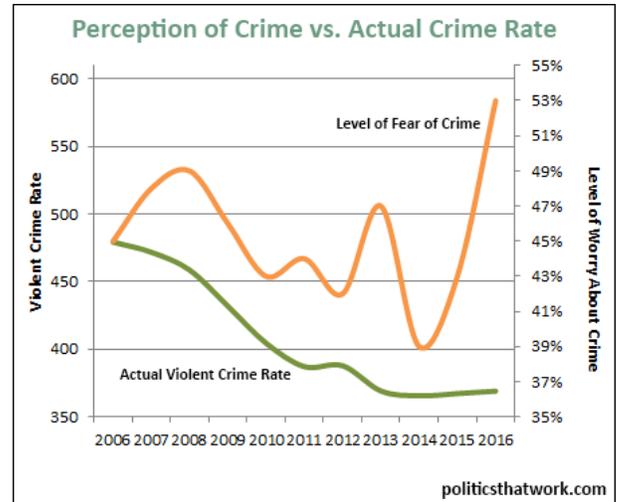
The pervasiveness of Western culture is a constant force, seen by the conservatives in Saudi society as a threat. Even other Muslim societies (e.g. Egypt) that provide greater freedom for women are seen as corrupting influences. If the past is any clue, gradual change in Saudi society is almost certain, but periods of reaction and reversion to more repressive policies are also probable.

Investigation: Perceptions of Crime in Your Society

For many years, and in survey after survey, people in the U.S. have assumed that crime is increasing. From <http://politicsthatwork.com/graphs/crime-rate-dropping-fear-rising> :

¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_intentional_homicide_rate

“The most obvious explanation for the disconnection between the perceived level of crime and the actual level is that [media coverage of violence doesn't track with the actual level of crime](#). The number of stories the news media presents about violent crime is presumably driven more by the number of stories about violent crime that viewers are willing to tune in for than it is driven by the actual incidence of violent crime.”



Investigation: Homicide Rates around the World

This is the only investigation in the course that suggests using Internet research. If adequate equipment isn't uniformly available to learners, skip the investigation.

Even with adequate Internet resources, this is a difficult assignment, and one with potential disagreements over such emotional topics as gun control. Make sure learners proceed with caution, gather data from solid sources, and work toward evidence-based conclusions.

Investigation: Target Area Social Control

As with all previous experience with similar projects, this should be easy for work groups to handle.

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