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CHAPTER 8

POWER AND LEGITIMATION

POLITICAL STRATEGIES, TYPOLOGY, AND CULTURAL EVOLUTION

Peter Peregrine

Tell Mardikh lies on an arid plain to the east of Hamas, Syria. It is not an unlikely place for an ancient city, nor is it a particularly obvious one. It is surrounded by tillable land, and is adjacent to the Orontes River valley. It is not a particularly impressive site. It has massive walls, the ruins of which can be seen for several miles, but they are no larger than those surrounding many tell sites in northern Syria. What makes Tell Mardikh special are the more than 15,000 clay tablets discovered *in situ* in what appears to have been a royal archive, tablets that offer a remarkable portrait of an ancient empire (Matthiae 1981). Without the archive of tablets, Tell Mardikh is one among several Early Bronze Age city-states in northern Syria, each controlling a modest hinterland of agricultural fields and pasturage (e.g., Wilkinson 1994). With the archive, Tell Mardikh becomes the center of control for an empire that stretched across much of what is today northern Syria and Iraq and southeastern Turkey (Pettinato 1991).

Tell Mardikh illustrates an assumption that underlies the rest of this chapter: The past is more complex than the archaeological record makes it appear. This assumption is, in my opinion, a fairly uncontroversial one, and is a logical extension of what we know about the archaeological record. However, it also problematizes much of traditional thought in archaeology, for example, Yoffee's Rule, which asserts that "if you can argue whether a society is a state or isn't, then it isn't" (Yoffee 2005:41).

Yoffee's Rule (and, by extension, much of traditional thought in archaeology) represents an inherently conservative approach to prehistory. It suggests that political complexity (the state) does not arise easily or commonly, and if the presence of a state cannot be demonstrated beyond any doubt, an archaeologist is forced to withhold statehood from the political entity. It also suggests (despite arguments to the contrary, e.g., Yoffee 2005:31) regularity and stability in political formations, that once a state arises, its

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presence will be obvious to any knowledgeable observer. Finally, Yoffee's Rule suggests clarity in the archaeological record, that what is found is unambiguous to scholars, and accurately represents political formations as they existed in the past.

I have a far different approach to prehistory, an approach that I think is nicely illustrated by the example of Tell Mardikh. In my approach, political formations are best perceived as fluid and changing, representing the strategies of political leaders as they attempt to establish and maintain authority (Blanton et al., 1996; cf. Yoffee 2005:176–79). These strategies sometimes involve actively promoting the leader's authority; other times they involve masking it (Peregrine 1999). For this reason I do not assume that the archaeological record provides a stable or unambiguous record of political formations; rather, I believe the archaeological record requires careful examination and a coherent theory of political behavior in order to be understood (cf. Yoffee 2005:31–41). Scholars with different theories may come to different conclusions, and this is to be expected. The final judgment of which conclusion is correct must be based on explanatory power, not simply whether or not all parties agree.

More importantly, my approach assumes that conclusions about prehistory will change as more archaeological work is done (e.g., Bloch 1953:23, 58). Archaeologists by necessity work with nonrandom samples of the past. We have no idea what the population we study looks like, and therefore we have no way to generate a truly representative sample from it. What this means for us is that whatever we identify from the samples we obtain probably masks a great deal of diversity that we are not finding, because the probability of finding low-frequency items is very small. In other words, it is likely that we are missing a lot, and thus it is reasonable to assume that there is more diversity than what we appear to be finding.

Variation and Typology

The inherent complexity of the archaeological record forces us to categorize, if only to make sense of what we find. This categorization has often been done using descriptive criteria; that is, particular traits or constellations of traits regularly found in association. For example, a state is variously defined as a polity having three or more levels of settlement hierarchy (Wright and Johnson 1975), as a society having marked differences in access to resources (e.g., Flannery 1972), or one having monumental architecture (e.g., Flannery 1998), or a combination of such traits. Each of these is a plausible material indicator of the presence of a political state, yet each seems to avoid the reality that states are not monolithic and immutable

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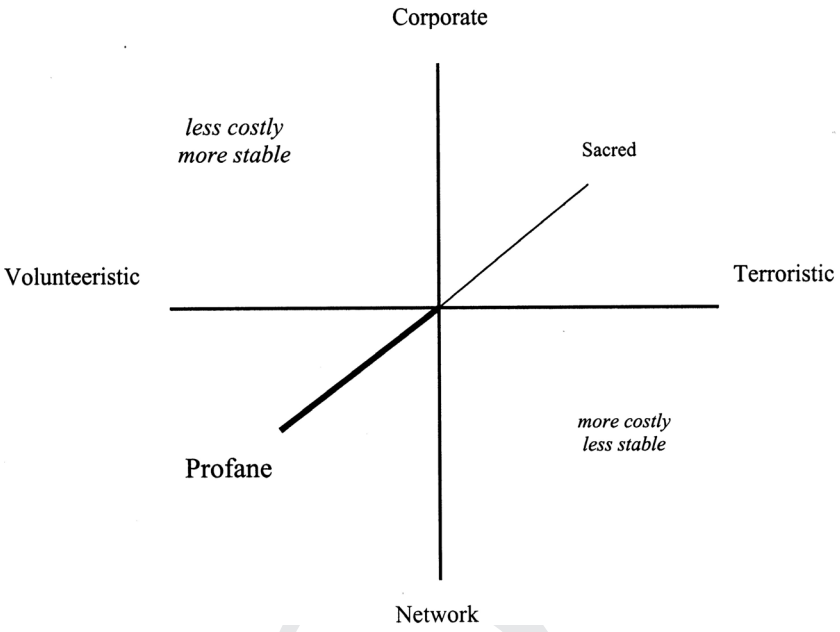

Figure 8.1. Three dimensions of strategy. The *X* dimension reflects strategies for implementation of power. The *Y* dimension reflects strategies for construction of power. The *Z* dimension reflects strategies for the source of power.

things, but rather vary and are subject to change over time. One problem with the typological approach is that it masks the variation known to be present within defined types.

A second problem with the typological approach is that, when considering change, typologies encourage us to think in terms of neoevolutionary "stages" (e.g., bands, tribes, chiefdoms, states). It is against this kind of simplistic neoevolutionary-stage thinking that Yoffee's Rule is really meant to stand. We shouldn't envision a state just because we think it should be there, following a chiefdom; rather, Yoffee would argue, states are both unique and diverse political formations that no simple categorization accurately captures. I agree, but I also argue that a more nuanced approach to the neoevolutionary problem is needed. Because the past is always more complex than the archaeological record makes it appear, no typology can accurately reflect the past, as we cannot know what range of variation we have captured and what we have missed. What we should do, instead, is to consider social formations from a multidimensional perspective, focusing on variation and ranges of variation rather than on traits and their presence or absence.

Figure 8.1 displays my conception of a multidimensional approach to the typology of political formations. It presents three separate dimensions, each

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of which shows a range of possible strategies that political leaders employ in the exercise of power. The *Y* dimension has been discussed at length by Blanton et al. (1996) and has been employed by scholars working in the Southeast, the Southwest, and Mexico (e.g., Blanton 1998; King 2006; Peregrine 2001). On this dimension, which I call here the construction of political power, corporate strategies are those in which leaders attempt to build a power base by developing and promoting activities that reinforce the corporate bonds tying members of the polity together. A common corporate strategy is, for example, to mobilize goods from across a polity for large public rituals or construction projects that bring members of the polity together in corporate-affirming activities. On the opposite end of this dimension are network strategies. Leaders following a network strategy attempt to build a power base by controlling access to networks of exchange and alliance both within and outside the polity. Thus a network strategy is one in which leaders attempt to monopolize sources of power, whereas a corporate strategy is one in which leaders attempt to share power across different groups and sectors of a polity (see discussion by Feinman, Chapter 3).

The *X* dimension reflects what I call strategies for the implementation of political power. At one end is the implementation of power to terrorize individuals within the polity. In this strategy, political leaders essentially force individuals, through the threat of persecution and death, to follow them. It is a strategy that seems all too familiar today. On the other end of this dimension is the implementation of power to encourage individuals within the polity to volunteer their time, talents, and resources to support the polity. In one sense, this might be similar to the kind of selfless volunteerism that brings people together to build houses for the homeless or to enlist in the military when they see their society threatened. In another sense, volunteerism can be seen akin to the way Foucault (1977) envisions polities creating self-disciplined individuals by defining the conditions of a "natural" or "just" society, and creating mechanisms through which individuals feel compelled (internally, if possible) to seek to obtain those conditions. Utopian communes certainly fall on this end of the implementation of power continuum, but for Foucault (and others, e.g., Toulmin 1990) the entire Enlightenment "project" was one promoted by political elites to establish and maintain a new political system in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War. For these scholars, Westfalian nation-states are rooted in what I am here calling a volunteeristic strategy for the implementation of political power.

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The *Z* dimension in Figure 8.1 represents strategies for establishing the source of power. At one end of this dimension is a purely supernatural source, a strategy in which political leaders claim the source of their power comes directly from the supernatural, the gods, magical knowledge, ancestors. At the other end of this dimension is a purely profane, earthly, social source, in which power comes from the will of the people through, for example, direct election. Kin-based strategies lie somewhere in the middle. A political leader might claim the source of their power is rank within a clan (a more socially oriented strategy) and the clan's relationship to the original founder of the polity (a more supernaturally oriented strategy). Divine kingship and Western democracies perhaps define the ends of the spectrum of strategies for establishing the source of power.

To illustrate and explore this multidimensional approach, I employ a comparative method that is somewhat different from those employed by others in this volume (see discussion in Smith and Peregrine, Chapter 2). Termed holocultural, this method employs a random sample of cases, each a single community at a single point in time, drawn from a well-defined population of cases designed to reflect the range of variation in the cultures of the world (see Ember and Ember 2009). Variables of interest are coded from primary ethnographic documents, and then compared to identify patterns of variation and intervariable correlations that, because they are found in a random sample, can be (at least probabilistically) generalized to all the cultures of the earth. The Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) provides an online, digitized population of such cases, each with an extensive collection of indexed primary source material for coding variables. Numerous variables coded by other researchers are also available through the journals *Ethnology*, *Cross-Cultural Research*, and *World Cultures*.

For this analysis a random sample of twenty-six ethnographic cases from the HRAF probability sample were coded for each dimension of political strategy (Bramm 2001). Coding was conducted by a single coder, who recorded all the information pertinent to each of the dimensions, and then gave each case a rating on a five-point scale for each dimension (Bramm 2001:45–47). The coder also determined whether the case was a band, tribe, chiefdom, or a state according to criteria derived from Service (1962). Both the codebook and data are presented here as an Appendix.

Figure 8.2 presents a scattergram of the ethnographic cases as coded on the three dimensions of political strategy. Clearly these dimensions provide an adequate way to separate the cases, and thus, seem an appropriate set of variables to discuss similarities and differences among the cases.

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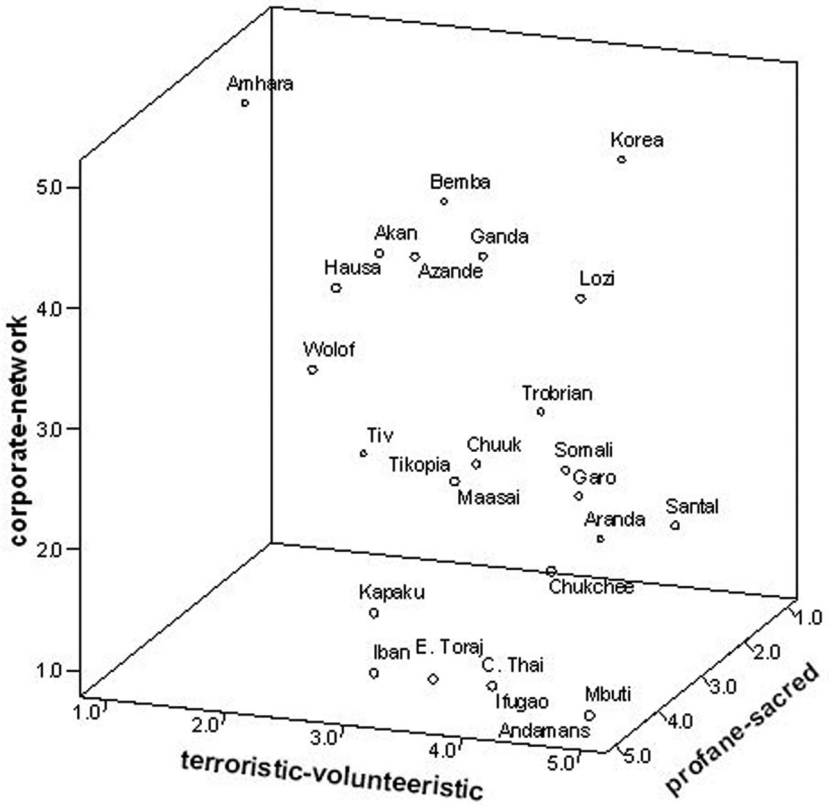

Figure 8.2. Scattergram of twenty-six ethnographic cases as coded on three dimensions of political strategy.

However, there does appear to be a trend among the variables such that more corporate-oriented strategies are also more profane and volunteeristic in their orientation (multiple regression R-squared of .497 with corporate-network as the dependent variable). Figure 8.3 shows separate scattergrams for each dimension, and also illustrates modest but statistically significant intercorrelations between the corporate-network variable and the two other dimensions of political strategy (also see Table 8.1). So, the three dimensions are not completely independent, but, because they separate the cases well, they do seem to be useful variables for exploring diversity in political formations.

How does this multidimensional approach relate to "classic" neoevolutionary typologies? Table 8.2 illustrates the relationship between the three

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Table 8.1. Kendall's Tau-b correlations between three dimensions of political strategy

Political strategy	Corporate-Network	Terroristic-Volunteeristic	Sacred-Profane
Corporate-Network	1.000		
Terroristic-Volunteeristic	−.407(**)	1.000	
Sacred- Profane	−.507(**)	.251	1.000

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

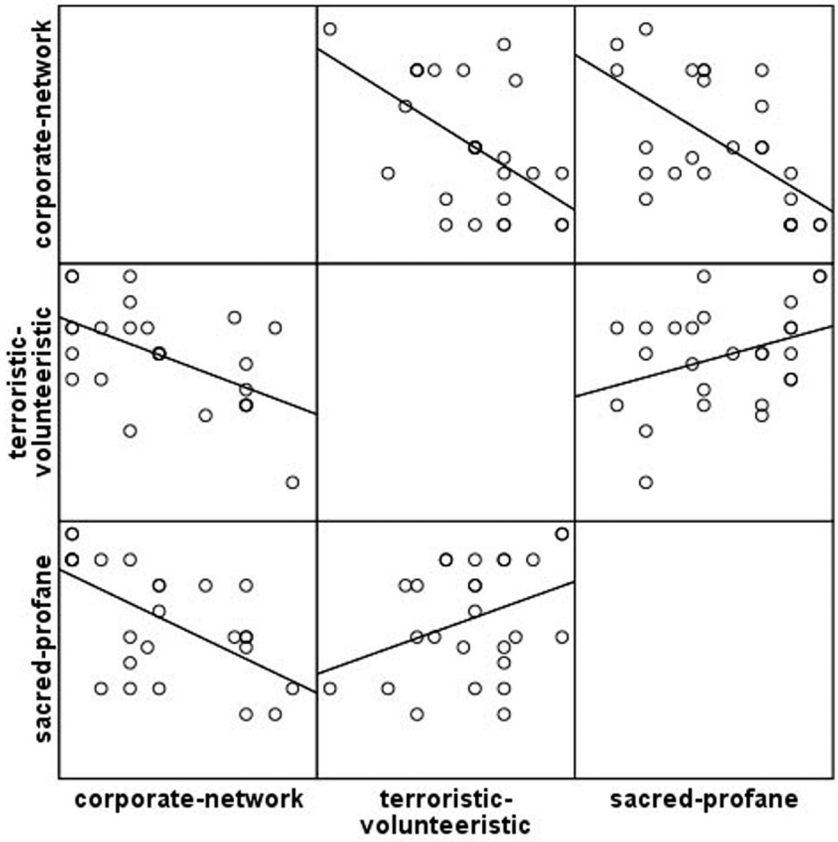

Figure 8.3. Scattergrams for each dimension of political strategy, showing best fit regression line.

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Table 8.2. Kendall's Tau-b correlations between dimensions of political strategy and classic neoevolutionary typologies

	Corporate-Network	Terroristic-Volunteeristic	Sacred-Profane
Service (1962)	.620(**)	−.381(*)	−.357(*)
Fried (1967)	.355(*)	−.418(*)	−.168

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

dimensions of political strategy and two classic neoevolutionary typologies, those of Service (1962) and Fried (1967). Interestingly, there are a number of statistically significant correlations. Indeed, the correlation between the corporate-network variable and Service's neoevolutionary types is fairly strong, and both the other dimensions of political strategy also show statistically significant correlations, although more modest. Does this imply that the dimensions of political strategy are just another neoevolutionary scheme? No. What it shows is that these dimensions do reflect

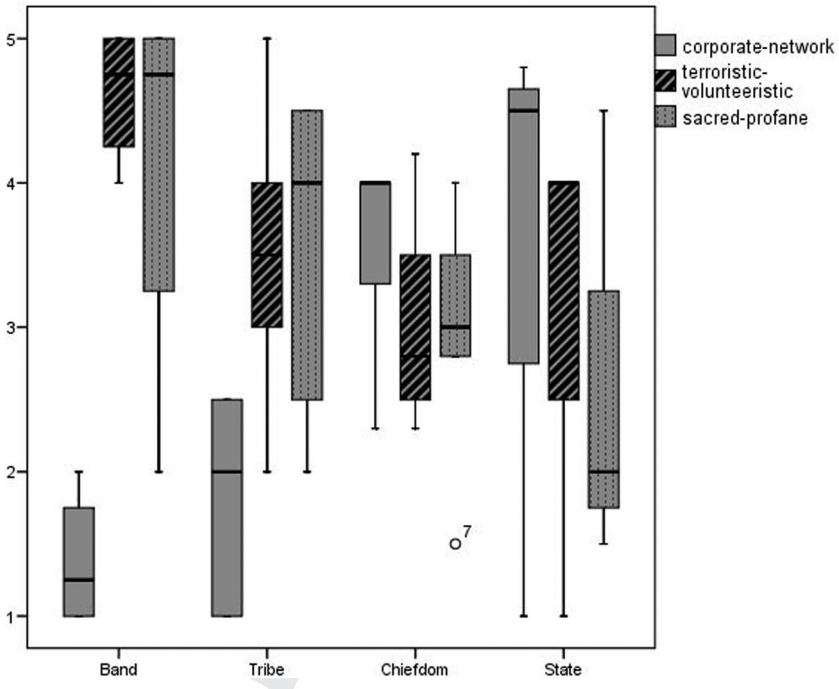

Figure 8.4. Boxplot of three dimensions of political strategy grouped by neoevolutionary types as defined by Service (1962).

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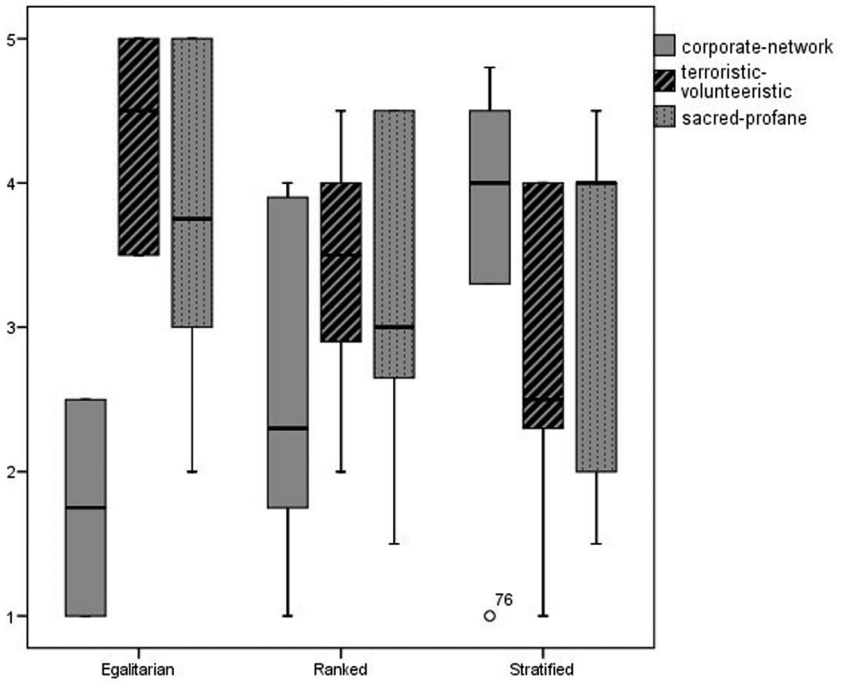

Figure 8.5. Boxplot of three dimensions of political strategy grouped by neoevolutionary types as defined by Fried (1967).

general trends in human societies, just as do neoevolutionary typologies. But because they are continuous dimensions, they do not limit our ability to see or explore variation in the way that neoevolutionary classifications do.

The relationship between the dimensions of political strategy and classic neoevolutionary typologies can be seen more clearly in Figures 8.4 and 8.5. Figure 8.4 is a boxplot of the three dimensions grouped by Service's band, tribe, chiefdom, and state types, whereas Figure 8.5 shows the dimensions grouped by Fried's egalitarian, ranked, and stratified types. In Figure 8.4, it is apparent that bands and tribes are strongly associated with corporate strategies, while chiefdoms and states have a tendency to be associated with more network-oriented strategies. This makes some sense if we think about the organization of bands and tribes (and, of course, recognizing that there is a range of variation within these types). They are rooted in kinship; in other words, in corporate groups. There are little possibilities for aggrandizement, and indeed there are often active social control mechanisms preventing it. Thus, purely network-oriented strategies are not practical in

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bands or tribes. The same argument could be made for egalitarian societies as shown in Figure 8.5. It is interesting that states demonstrate the full range of corporate-network strategies. This suggests a fuller range of political strategies may be available to leaders in states.

States demonstrate a range of strategies for the implementation and legitimation of power as well, whereas bands (and egalitarian societies as shown in Figure 8.5) tend to be strongly volunteeristic. Again, this may be because of the limited ability of emergent leaders in bands to use force – it simply is not an option. And the use of true, terroristic force and strongly sacred strategies seems limited to states – neither tribes nor chiefdoms employ them, nor do the ranked societies shown in Figure 8.5. This is likely because of limits on leaders' authority in these societies. Because, by definition, there are no formal social classes in either chiefdoms or ranked societies, it may be impossible for leaders to adopt a strategy that differentiates them as "divine" rulers or gives them absolute power to use force. Thus, once again, limitations inherent in the sociopolitical formations of these societies limit the range of strategies that leaders in these polities might employ.

Political Strategy and Typology

There are regular associations between the dimensions of political strategy I have defined here and classic neoevolutionary typologies. I hypothesize that these associations exist because the strategies used by leaders impact and can shape other aspects of culture; that is, the correlations between neoevolutionary types and political strategies exist because particular political strategies tend to create particular constellations of social forms. Thus political strategies, although not in themselves social or political "types," may function to create what might be seen as social or political "types." Table 8.3 presents the results of bivariate and partial correlations designed to illustrate this point.

Table 8.3 demonstrates that more corporate-oriented societies tend to have multifamily dwellings, while more network-oriented societies tend to have dwellings where single families or individuals reside alone. This trend is present even when controlling for classification into Service's band, tribe, chiefdom, and state typology. What this suggests is that people tend to live more communally in more corporately oriented societies, and to live in more isolation in more network-oriented societies. Although a causal relationship cannot be established by these correlations, it seems that political strategy and household form tend to co-vary in a way that suggests that

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Table 8.3. Correlations between dimensions of political strategy and other social variables. The top number for each variable is a Kendall's tau-b correlation, while the bottom number is a partial correlation controlling for Service's (1962) classic neoevolutionary typology

	Corporate-Network	Terroristic-Volunteeristic	Sacred-Profane
Household Form	.482(**)	−.298	−.242
	.490(*)	−.257	−.139
Family size	.171	−.430(**)	−.140
	.088	−.519(**)	−.092
Descent-Membership in Corporate Kinship Groups	−.348(*)	.247	.525(**)
	−.378	.174	.599(**)

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

both reflect a basic ideology – one more group-oriented, the other more individualistic. I further suggest that this variation stems from the political leaders and the strategies they employ to construct power. Their strategies flow outward and permeate society, affecting many aspects of life, including household form.

The strategies leaders use to implement power, I suggest, also affect society, and evidence to support this suggestion is presented in Table 8.3. The second line of the table shows that more terroristic-oriented societies tend to have extended families, whereas more volunteeristic-oriented societies tend to have nuclear families. This may seem an odd relationship, but I suggest it makes sense if we think of a permeating ideology shaping family life. In more terroristic societies, leaders implement power through the threat of force. In this situation, families might consolidate – brothers joining one another, fathers and sons cooperating – as a form of resistance to power. No such resistance is necessary when volunteerism is the prevailing ideology. In such a society, a nuclear family can thrive even in times of difficulty because the family knows that others are available to help.

Finally, Table 8.3 suggests that societies in which leaders legitimate power through more sacred means tend to be more matrilineal in orientation, whereas those in which leaders use more profane means tend to be more bilateral in orientation. It is important to note that there is a statistically significant correlation between this variable and household form (matrilineal societies tend to have larger dwellings – see, e.g., Ember 1973), and thus also with strategies for the construction of power. The correlation, however, weakens when membership in Service's neoevolutionary

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Table 8.4. Cross-tabulation of recoded sacred-profane and descent group membership variables. Expected values are shown in parentheses

	More sacred	More profane	
Descent groups present	11 (8.5)	6 (8.5)	17
Descent groups absent	2 (4.5)	7 (4.5)	9
TOTAL	13	13	26

Chi-squared = 4.248; p =.039; Fisher's exact p = .048.
Kendall's tau-b = .404; p =.024.

typology is controlled for, probably because both bands and states tend to have bilateral kinship. The correlation between sacred power strategies and matrilineality is a less obvious one than the others presented in the table. I believe it stems from the focus on ancestor veneration and the totems and taboos that are present in many societies with descent groups. In this way the correlation is more one between sacred strategies and the presence of descent groups versus profane strategies and the lack of them. This association is presented in Table 8.4, which shows that descent groups are more likely to be present in more sacred-oriented societies than expected, whereas they are more likely to be absent in more profane-oriented societies than expected.

Tables 8.3 and 8.4, then, demonstrate an association between sacred strategies for legitimating power and the presence of descent groups. Is it reasonable to suggest that political leaders actively create descent groups through implementing a sacred strategy? No. But it is reasonable to suggest that leaders implementing a sacred strategy might emphasize and utilize existing sacred beliefs in descent-based societies, and thus make a sacred strategy more practical, and more likely, in a society where descent groups are present. In this way political strategy and social organization respond one another dialectically, each changing to adapt as the other changes and adapts in response. It is this dynamic process of leaders implementing strategies in the face of existing social conditions, and by doing so, affecting the social conditions and perhaps the political strategy itself, which I suggest underlies political process in human societies.

Political Strategy and Cultural Evolution

When considering political strategy from the perspective of leaders, I assume that maintaining power is the basic, underlying goal of political

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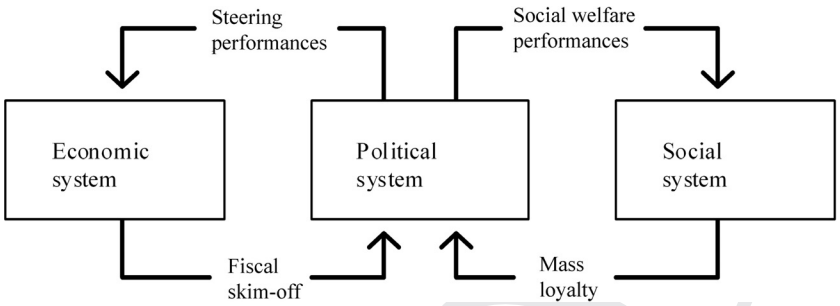

Figure 8.6. Habermas's conception of Capitalist sociopolitical organization.

actions (e.g., Machiavelli 1513). The most basic political activity from this perspective is one of legitimation (see Stark and Chance, Chapter 9), and the primary threat to legitimation is what has been called a "legitimation crisis" (Habermas 1973; Peregrine 1999).

Figure 8.6 is a diagram of Habermas's (1973) conception of the Capitalist system. On the far left is the economic system, the privately owned enterprises that produce goods and services for profit. The arrows going to and from it show how it is aided by the political system, which develops laws and policies beneficial to economic interests, and which works with other polities to maintain favorable conditions for growth. In this way, the political system helps to steer the economic system to maximum performance for private, profit-driven interests. In return, the economic system financially supports the political system, which cannot maintain itself otherwise because it produces nothing beyond steering the economic system and providing social welfare, which leads to the other side of the diagram.

The right side of Figure 8.6 shows the sociocultural system, basically the traditions, beliefs, norms, values, expectations, and the like that are shared by members of the polity. As the figure shows, these traditions are aided by the polity through social welfare programs that support them, leading, in turn, to mass popular support for the polity. The political system uses financial resources generated through the economic system to support the sociocultural system, which, in turn, legitimates the polity's existence and right to govern; that is, its right to create and implement laws and policies beneficial to the maximum operation of the economic system. This interdependency is the basis of Habermas's view of Capitalist societies and the basis of his conception of legitimation crises.

Because the three systems are tightly interdependent, a crisis in any one of them may lead to a systemic crisis of the whole. However, Habermas (1973) suggests that the weak point in the system is in the "mass loyalty"

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arrow leading from the sociocultural system to the political system. His reason for this is complicated, but is basically that the political system can control everything except people's "rational" minds, and crises in any part of the system are going to tend to produce crises in legitimation, precisely because it cannot be readily controlled. Habermas argues that an environmental calamity or crisis in the subsistence economy is not a necessary, or even common, precondition for collapse; rather, a crisis in the sociocultural system, a legitimation crisis, is a more likely source of political collapse.

As I have argued elsewhere (Peregrine 1999), legitimation crises are not confined to Capitalist economies alone, but can be seen in a wide range of economic systems, especially those in which economic stability is considered something a political leader can provide. Stability may come from active management of the economic system (as in the case of Capitalism), or from perceived manipulation of natural and supernatural forces. But in either case, where it is part of a political leader's job to ensure economic stability, to ensure, at minimum, that people have enough to survive, a legitimation crisis may ensue far sooner than an economic crisis if the people perceive an economic crisis is immanent, even possible. To stave off a legitimation crisis, a leader might turn to an alternate strategy of maintaining mass loyalty, a strategy to contain the emergent crisis – a "strategy of containment" (Jameson 1981).

The concept of political strategies of containment was, like that of legitimation crises, developed to understand the modern Capitalist system, but there is no inherent reason it cannot be usefully applied to non-Capitalist societies (Jameson 1981:9–10). A strategy of containment is intended "to 'manage' historical and social, deeply political impulses, that is to say, to defuse them, to prepare substitute gratifications for them, and the like" (Jameson 1981:266). Such strategies can take many forms, and are often developed in the face of specific political or economic challenges (Jameson 1981:267). These strategies are also not a pure creation of political leaders, but are produced in the context of resistance: "This process cannot be grasped as one of sheer violence . . . nor as one inscribing the appropriate attitudes on a blank slate, but must necessarily involve a complex strategy of rhetorical persuasion in which substantial incentives are offered for ideological adherence" (Jameson 1981:287).

I also assume that leaders facing a potential crisis will adopt strategies of containment that they can implement without much social endorsement; that is, ones they can implement largely by themselves. Looking at Figure 8.2, these strategies might include network means of constructing

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Table 8.5. Kendall's Tau-b correlations between political strategies and selected cost and stability variables

		Corporate-Network	Terroristic-Volunteeristic	Sacred-Profane
Cost factors	Jurisdictional Hierarchy Beyond Local Community	.580**	−.326*	−.309*
	Political Role Differentiation: Full-Time Specialists	−.515**	.272	.366*
	Enforcement specialists (police, tax collectors)	−.577**	.272	.457*
	Taxation paid to community	−.632**	.109	.444*
Stability factors	Unstable Political Power Index	−.071	−.429*	−.138
	Food Stress or Hunger	.411**	−.164	−.317*
	Perceptions of Political Leaders' Benevolence	−.530*	.218	.681**
	Conflict (Social or Political) in the local community	−.091	.070	.404*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (1-tailed).
* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (1-tailed).

power, terroristic means of implementing power, and supernatural means of establishing the source of power.

I hypothesize that there are different "costs" associated with implementing different strategies and that some are more difficult to maintain. Table 8.5 presents evidence supporting these hypotheses. In Table 8.5, each strategy is correlated with a series of variables intended to measure the relative cost and stability of the strategy. The first four row variables in the table are cost factors. They are considered "costly" because they require more individuals to be supported by the polity or, in the case of taxation, are a direct measure of costs borne by the polity. The last four row variables are stability factors. They are intended to measure the relative degree of social stress or unrest in the polity. None of these variables is a direct measure of either cost or stability, but together they provide a general picture of the relative cost and stability of the various strategies.

The corporate-network strategy demonstrates the clearest pattern in terms of relative cost. More corporate-oriented polities tend to have fewer levels of hierarchy, less role differentiation, fewer specialists, and fewer taxes

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than more network-oriented polities. In terms of terroristic-volunteeristic strategies, the relative costs are not clear, although terroristic-oriented polities appear to require greater levels of jurisdictional hierarchy. Finally, sacred-oriented polities appear to require greater levels of jurisdictional hierarchy than more profane-oriented ones, as well as greater role differentiation, more specialists, and more taxes. It would appear from these variables that corporate and profane strategies are less costly than others, and that volunteeristic strategies may be less costly.

In terms of relative stability, both corporate-network and sacred-profane strategies again demonstrate a fairly clear pattern. Corporate-oriented polities tend to have less food stress than network-oriented ones, and leaders appear to be perceived as more benevolent. In sacred-oriented polities, the opposite appears to be true, and both conflict and food stresses are more pronounced than in more profane-oriented polities. There is not a clear trend for terroristic-volunteeristic strategies, but it appears that terroristic-oriented polities are more generally unstable than volunteeristic-oriented polities. From this it would appear that corporate and profane strategies are more stable than others, and volunteeristic strategies may be more stable.

I further hypothesize that less costly, more stable formations of these strategies will survive for longer time periods than more costly and less stable ones. However, in the face of crisis, leaders will implement more costly and unstable strategies to contain the crisis. The ensuing struggle is the process of history. But why would leaders choose more costly, less stable strategies? I propose that in a crisis a leader will choose a strategy over which they have relatively strong control (e.g., network, terroristic, sacred), and where only a handful of key supporters are needed to implement the strategy. Corporate, volunteeristic, and profane strategies require societal endorsement, a time-consuming and often difficult process, especially in the face of crisis. This means that leaders' choices are constrained. Although they may want to implement a more stable and less costly strategy, the opportunity may not be present.

Examples from the cases coded for this study nicely illustrate the relative stability of different strategies, and provide initial support for my hypothesis that more stable strategies persist longer than more unstable ones. Three modern states were coded for the study – Amhara (Ethiopia), Central Thai, and Korea. If we consider the time period one hundred years before the focal time for which the case was coded (which differs for each) to the present, and look at the relative stability of the polity over that time period, we would expect to see the pattern shown in Table 8.6, with the Central Thai being the most stable, the Koreans being intermediate, and the Amhara being

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Table 8.6. States categorized by their relative stability as defined by their coding on three dimensions of political strategy

	Construction of power	Implementation of power	Legitimation of power	Predicted stability
Amhara	network	terroristic	sacred	unstable
Korea	network	volunteeristic	sacred	intermediate
Central Thai	corporate	volunteeristic	profane	stable

relatively unstable. Indeed, the history of these polities seems to match this pattern.

The focal time for Central Thai is 1955. If we go back one hundred years we find the kingdom of Thailand settling into a new capital in Bangkok and beginning to feel pressure from the British and French. The kingdom was able to defend itself against European colonization; indeed, Thailand was never colonized. In 1932, a revolution forced the king to accept a constitutional monarchy, but the monarchy has retained its prestige and has considerable influence, especially in rural areas. Since the 1950s, Thailand has had a range of governments from military juntas to elected democracies, but the monarchy has provided stability throughout. In recent years, greater degrees of political instability have affected Thailand, culminating in a 2006 military coup (which, interestingly, was justified in part as a means to protect the monarchy). A new constitution calling for democratic elections was ratified in 2007, and elections were held at the end of that year. Despite ongoing political scandals and the Constitutional Court's removal of the sitting Prime Minister in 2008, the Thai monarchy has been remarkably stable over the past 150 years, and indeed, over the 700 years since its emergence.

The focal time for Korea is 1947, just before the beginning of the Korean War. One hundred years earlier, Korea was ruled by the Joseon dynasty, which had been in place since the fifteenth century. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Korea had closed its borders to trade with all nations except China, and by the end of the century Russia, Japan, and the United States were putting enormous pressure on Korea to open its markets to foreign trade. In 1897, the last Joseon king, Gojong, declared himself emperor of Korea to bolster his authority in the face of the Japanese occupation of parts of Korea following the Sino-Japanese War. The attempt failed, and in 1910, Japan annexed Korea. Korea remained under Japanese rule until 1945. Korea was divided into North and South following World War II, and the division intensified following the Korean War. Since 1953, North

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Korea (where the focal community for the case is located) has been a communist dictatorship with a hereditary leader from the Kim family. In the last 150 years, Korea has seen the collapse of a five-century dynasty, conquest, and civil war. The polity remains, but is a divided entity and cannot be termed entirely stable.

The focal time period for Amhara, the largest and most politically powerful ethnic group in Ethiopia, is 1953. One hundred years earlier, in 1853, civil unrest fostered by European colonial efforts and the crumbling of the ancient Solomonid dynasty led to the emergence of Tewodros (crowned emperor in 1855) who sought to unite Ethiopia under his rule. Tewodros ultimately failed, and the political disruption that followed his suicide in 1868 provided the opportunity for Muslim insurgents to wreak havoc on the largely Christian country. At the same time an heir to the Solomonid dynasty, Menelik II, emerged and regained power for the Solomonids, moving the capital from Gonder (which had been destroyed by Muslim insurgents) to Addis Ababa, where it remains. Menelik's heir, Haile Selassie, was crowned emperor in 1930, just before the focal time for the case. Ethiopia was invaded by Italy in 1936, but Haile Selassie was able to take control of the country once again following Italy's defeat in 1941. He remained emperor until 1974, when he was deposed by a military junta. In the years that followed, Ethiopia was wracked by civil wars and famine. In 1994, a constitution defining a parliamentary democracy was ratified, and the nation has remained relatively stable under this new government. The last 150 years have not been stable ones for Ethiopia or the Amhara people. The Solomonid dynasty fell and rose again, the nation was conquered and liberated by Europeans, and in recent years the nation has suffered through multiple periods of civil war and unrest.

Considering these three case studies, it does appear that corporate, volunteeristic, and profane strategies are more stable than network, terroristic, and sacred ones. The most corporate-, volunteeristic-, and profane-oriented polity (Central Thai) appears to have been the most stable over the past 150 years, and is the only one that has not suffered at least one major foreign invasion or a civil war. The other two polities have both been conquered by external polities, and both have experienced at least one civil war. The hypothesis that there are more stable constellations of political strategies that might differentially survive over time does seem to be supported.

Differential survival over time can lead to evolutionary change, and this gets us to the final point of this chapter: the multidimensional approach to typology I have described here is also an approach to understanding cultural evolution. It is an approach that is similar to but more nuanced

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than the approach behind neoevolutionary typologies. Pragmatically, the multidimensional approach provides a way for variation within "types" to be discerned and perhaps explained. It also allows for exploration and perhaps explanation of variation in other aspects of society. Philosophically, the multidimensional approach moves away from the unilineal evolutionary trajectories inherent in neoevolutionary typologies, and allows for particular forms of political strategy to vary and evolve in different ways. Although I have hypothesized (and provided some support for) a general evolutionary trend toward greater stability, it is clear from the case studies that this is not unilineal, but rather multilineal and multidimensional. It involves historical circumstances, and it takes place in the context of both domination and resistance, a context in which domination and resistance both play active roles in stability and change.

Summary and Conclusions

I assume that the past is more complex than the archaeological record makes it appear. From this basic assumption it follows that neoevolutionary typologies are unsatisfactory, as a basic problem with the typological approach is that it masks variation within defined types. Because the past is always more complex than the archaeological record makes it appear, no typology can accurately reflect the past, as we cannot know what range of variation we have captured, and what we have missed. What I have suggested here is that we consider political formations from a multidimensional perspective, focusing on variation and ranges of variation rather than on traits and their presence or absence.

I presented three dimensions of political strategy: the corporate-network dimension, which represents strategies for the construction of power; the terroristic-volunteeristic dimension, which represents strategies for the implementation of power; and the sacred-profane dimension, with represents strategies for the legitimation of power. These three dimensions are useful descriptors, but they can also be used to explain variation in other aspects of culture. These dimensions are also correlated with established neoevolutionary typologies because the strategies leaders employ to create and maintain power have impact on many other aspects of culture. And because political strategies impact other aspects of culture, change in political strategy can cause change in other aspects of culture.

Following this logic, I proposed a specific model of cultural evolution. First, I assumed that maintaining power is the basic, underlying goal of political actions, and that power was under constant threat from legitimation crises. Second, I assumed that leaders facing a potential crisis will

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adopt strategies of containment that they can implement without much social endorsement; that is, ones they can implement largely by themselves. I then hypothesized that there are different "costs" associated with implementing different strategies and that some are more difficult to maintain, and demonstrated support for this hypothesis. Next, I hypothesized that less costly, more stable formations of these strategies will survive longer than more costly, less stable ones. Again, I demonstrated support for this hypothesis.

To conclude, I suggest that a multidimensional approach provides important insights into the past, overcomes problems inherent in neoevolutionary approaches, and provides a useful theory of cultural evolution. In line with suggestions in Chapters 2 (Smith and Peregrine)and 12 (Smith), I hope others will join me in pursuing this approach.

Appendix: Data and Coding Information

Table 8.7. Codebook and data

1. Society name
2. Standard cross-cultural sample number
3. Corporate-network dimension (Bramm 2001)
   1 = Most corporate
   2 = Corporate
   3 = Intermediate
   4 = Network
   5 = Most network
4. Terroristic-volunteeristic dimension (Bramm 2001)
   1 = Most terroristic
   2 = Terroristic
   3 = Intermediate
   4 = Volunteeristic
   5 = Most volunteeristic
5. Sacred-profane dimension (Bramm 2001)
   1 = Most sacred
   2 = Sacred
   3 = Intermediate
   4 = Profane
   5 = Most profane
6. Service's neoevolutionary typology (Bramm 2001)
   1 = Band
   2 = Tribe
   3 = Chiefdom
   4 = State

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7. Fried's neoevolutionary typology (Bramm 2001)
   1 = Egalitarian
   2 = Ranked
   3 = Stratified
8. Conflict (Social or Political) in the Local Community (Ross 1982)
   1 = Endemic: a reality of daily existence (e.g., physical violence, feuding, bitter factionalism)
   2 = High: Conflict present but not a pervasive aspect of daily life
   3 = Moderate: Disagreements and differences do not result in high violence or severe disruption
   4 = Mild or rare
9. Descent: Membership in Corporate Kinship Groups (Murdock and Wilson 1972)
   1 = Matrilineal – through female line
   2 = Double descent – separate groups through male and female lines
   3 = Patrilineal – through male line
   4 = Ambilineal – through one parent in each generation
   5 = Bilateral – not a corporate kin group
10. Enforcement Specialists (e.g., Police, Tax Collectors) (Ross 1983)
   1 = Present
   2 = Not specialized but done by leaders who do other things as well
   3 = Absent, or carried out by social pressure of wider community
11. Family Size (Murdock and Wilson 1972)
   1 = Nuclear Monogamous
   2 = Nuclear Polygynous
   3 = Stem Family
   4 = Small extended
   5 = Large extended
12. Food Stress or Hunger (Sanday 1985)
   1 = food constant
   2 = occasional hunger or famine
   3 = periodic or chronic hunger
   4 = starvation or evidence of protein deficiency
13. Household Form (Murdock and Wilson 1972)
   1 = Large communal structures
   2 = Multi-family dwellings
   3 = Single family dwellings
   4 = Family homestead
   5 = Multi-dwelling households, each with married pair
   6 = Multi-dwelling households, husband rotates among wives
   7 = Mother-child households, husbands separate
   8 = Multi-dwelling households, each dwelling occupied by individual married man or woman

(*continued*)

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Table 8.7. (*continued*)

14. Jurisdictional Hierarchy beyond Local Community (Murdock 1962–1971)
    1 = No levels (no political authority beyond community)
    2 = One level (e.g., petty chiefdoms)
    3 = Two levels (e.g., larger chiefdoms)
    4 = Three levels (e.g., states)
    5 = Four levels (e.g., large states)
15. Perceptions of Political Leaders' Benevolence as seen by Society (Ross 1983)
    1 = Capricious and arbitrary, power used to further own interests
    2 = Neither particularly malevolent nor benevolent in use of power
    3 = Basically benevolent, working in interest of entire community
16. Political Role Differentiation: Full-Time Specialists and their Differentiation from Others in the Society (Ross 1983)
    1 = Highly differentiated by wealth, special titles, or lifestyle
    2 = Moderately differentiated
    3 = Somewhat wealthier but share much of lifestyle by age, gender
    4 = Same lifestyle, may be older and have somewhat more prestige
    5 = Few exist but leadership roles present, wealthier than others
    6 = Few exist but leadership roles present, same lifestyle (as #4)
    7 = None exist, no permanent leadership roles
17. Taxation Paid to Community (e.g., in agricultural produce, labor, finished goods) (Ross 1983)
    1 = Regular and nonnegligible taxes to community
    2 = Only in special situations or Modest level
    3 = None
18. Unstable Political Power Index (Paige and Paige 1981)
    1 = All three variables – ritual warfare, achieved leadership, and social indebtedness – have a score of 0.
    2 = Only one of the three variables has a score of 1; the other two score 0
    3 = Two of the variables have a score of 1; the other has a score of 0
    4 = All three variables have a score of 1

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Table 8.8. Coding criteria for the dimensions of political strategy variables (from Bramm 2001:59)

How do leaders behave?				
Corporate (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) Network
"First among equals" Position is more important than the person.	Some differentiation between leaders and others.	Marked differentiation between leaders and others.	Marked differentiation between leaders; special privileges and identity.	"True elites" Person is the power holder, not the position.
No individual leader identity.	Leaders have some privileges. Identity of leader clearly defined.	Leaders have special privileges such as housing or access to goods.	Leaders expected to consume and display wealth, authority, etc.	Individual aggrandizement and cult of leader.

How do leaders behave?				
Corporate (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) Network
Powers of the leader are circumscribed or restricted. Number of leadership positions available is not limited. Emphasis on group solidarity and survival of the group.		Leadership is clearly defined with recognizable symbols of power and special behavior.	Leaders identified by personal name instead of title; person is more important than position. Patronage and nepotism may be common.	Conspicuous consumption and display of wealth, authority, etc. Problems of succession are characteristic. Number of leadership positions is limited. Prestige goods systems common.

(*continued*)

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Table 8.8. (*continued*)

How do leaders legitimate their authority?				
Sacred (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) Profane
Divine ruler. Authority comes through supernatural ability and/or because of favor by supernatural being.	Leadership predicated on kinship ties, but ritual training, taboos, supernatural ability, or knowledge of / interaction with the supernatural are vital to maintaining authority.	Leadership predicated on kinship ties.	Leadership predicated on kinship ties, but group acknowledgment and natural abilities are vital to maintaining authority.	Leaders chosen by group based on the individual's abilities. Popular support is necessary to maintain authority.
How to leaders exercise authority?				
(1) Terroristic	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5) Volunteeristic
Leaders exercise power using force/coercion, military, police. Leader may exercise power without popular support or the consent of the people governed.	Leaders may use force as constrained by formal laws, often written. Offenses are punishable by death or imprisonment; physical harm may be done.	Leaders may use force as constrained by tradition; may or may not be written laws. Punishments are formal and usually fines; physical harm usually not done.	Offenses are handled on an individual basis and are adjudicated situationally. Punishment is informal; physical harm is not used.	No formal control over individual behavior. Leaders exercise authority by convincing others or appealing to the common good. Shame, guilt, or ostracism are common forms of punishment.

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Table 8.9. Outline of coding criteria for Band, Tribe, Chiefdom, State variable (from Bramm 2001: 61)

Exchange		
1	2.5	5
reciprocal exchange no control over resources	mostly reciprocal exchange, but some distribution/ redistribution	controlled access to resources
Subsistence		
1	2	3
hunter/gatherer low population density	pastoral horticultural	agricultural high population density
Specialization		
1	2	3
no specialization division of labor by age/sex only duties of subsistence come first everyone possesses the same skills	some specialization some groups with more access to particular skills	high degree of specialization division of labor into discrete skill groups
Integration		
1	2.5	5
family is the primary sociopolitical unit	pan-tribal sodalities kin-based units primary	non-kin units predominant sociopolitical units presence of chief or other preeminent leader

Coding is determined by the sum of these variables, according to the following formula:
Sum = 1 to 4 = Band
4.5 to 7.5 = Tribe
8 to 13.5 = Chiefdom
14 to 16 = State

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