

Teaching Note:  
"Culture" and "Society"

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In teaching introductory folklore classes, one of my goals is to heighten my students' awareness of the folklore surrounding them; an important second goal is to provide them with concepts and tools to help them interpret and analyze the folklore in their everyday lives. To this end I emphasize the fact that folklore is enacted in context and is best understood in terms of its context.

Like most folklorists, I mean more than one thing when I say "context." While Bauman's article on "The Field Study of Folklore in Context" (1983) is both clear and provocative to me, I have found it too rich for beginning undergraduate students. The difference between his umbrella terms, "cultural" and "social" context, is one of the first stumbling blocks.

For the class I am currently teaching, I have elected to focus on four kinds of context, namely situational, historical, social, and cultural. I explain to my students that what I mean by "situational context" (and I recognize that this is possibly an idiosyncratic interpretation) is all the relevant information about what goes on when the folklore is performed, used, or enacted--just what happened right then. By "historical context," I mean what happened previously which sheds light on the event. These concepts seem easily assimilated; the sticking point for my students (as for many folklorists and anthropologists) is the difference between "social" and "cultural."

I put my apology up front: my intention is to provide my students with concepts which will be useful to them, not to rehearse a litany of

definitions or to trace a history of ideas. No doubt my concepts of "culture" and "society" do not exactly match how many of my esteemed colleagues (and betters) use the terms, and I readily admit that what follows is rather simplified. However, it does seem to be useful in an introductory folklore class, and also, I hope, does not sabotage my students' ability to understand what other scholars mean by these terms.

My explanation draws attention to the abstract nature of culture and the concrete nature of society. Culture, I tell my students, has to do with ideas and rules; society has to do with relationships between people. Culture is the set of rules and ideas that a given society holds about what is right and wrong, what is acceptable and unacceptable, what is expected and what is outrageous, and what is the "common sense" way to approach any given problem. Society is the people who have these ideas.

For my part, the difference between culture and society is made most clear whenever I re-read Geertz's article on a Javanese funeral (1973). This article, however, is even less accessible to undergraduate students than is Bauman's. Following Geertz's lead, I came up with two examples of a disjunction between social reality and cultural ideas that are familiar to my students, both of which have to do with a lack of adequate cultural terminology for ubiquitous social realities.

The first example is the social reality of unmarried people living together ("in sin" as some would say). Surely every American knows at least one couple which fits this category. What is the equivalent of the term "husband" for a man unmarried to the woman with whom he lives? There is no lack of terminology: domestic partner, live-in-boyfriend, significant other, lover. What is lacking is any widely accepted terminology. Certainly the phenomenon is more common than any of the names for it; certainly

none of the names comes close to the acceptance enjoyed by "husband."

A second example of an American instance of social change outpacing the ability of culture to name the change has to do with divorce. A concrete example will illustrate the problem best. A and A' marry, have children a1, a2, and a3. A and A' divorce; A is given custody of the children. A marries B', who brings along children b3 and b4, leaving children b1 and b2 with B, the ex-spouse. A' marries C who brings along child c1. Now the households look like this:

A=B': a1 a2 a3 b3 b4

A'=C: c1

B: b1 b2

C' (alone)

Clearly a1, a2, and a3 have the relationship "step-sibling" to b3 and b4 and "step-child" to B'. But what is a1's relationship to C? to c1? It is bizarre to think of C as a1's step-parent when C lives in a different household, but it is entirely likely that a1 will have a steady relationship with C and c1. And for a real headache, try to figure out the relationship between a1 and b1.

This example might be a bit contrived, but having taught about one hundred students a course in elementary composition last year and having read journals that they kept daily, I can attest that, at least in that sample, the social term "dad" is used indiscriminately for biological and adopted fathers; at least one of my students had been put into her father's custody and called her biological mother's new husband (with whom my student did not live) "dad."

My folklore students seemed to understand and appreciate the examples, which also illustrate the idea of "cultural lag" (ideas hang around longer than the social relationships they describe).

One caveat, pointed out to me by Jennifer Livesay, is that my distinction between culture

and society might be confused with a distinction between "ideal culture" and "real culture"--it might sound like culture is "ideal" and society is "real." I acknowledge the potential for confusion, which rises partly from some overlap in the concepts. All I can say is I have not encountered a problem with this yet, and probably anyone who wants to teach "ideal" and "real" culture would be advised to use a different pedagogy than outlined above.

### References Cited

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- 1983 "The Field Study of Folklore in Context." In: Handbook of American Folklore, ed. Richard M. Dorson, pp. 362-368. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

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