International Journal of Arts and Humanities Studies (IJAHS)

ISSN: 2754-4311 DOI: 10.32996/ijahs





Relationship between Cultural Anthropology and Cultural Contexts of Consumer Behavior: A Conceptual Model

Md. Mahfuzur Rahman Khan

Institute of Social Welfare & Research, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh

☑ Corresponding Author: Md. Mahfuzur Rahman Khan, E-mail: mahfuzur.rkm@gmail.com

ARTICLE INFO

ABSTRACT

Received: 08 September 2021 Accepted: 14 October 2021 Published: 23 October 2021 DOI: 10.32996/ijahs.2021.1.1.1

KEYWORDS

Cultural Anthropology, Culture, Consumer Behavior, Kinship & Institutional Anthropology, Conceptual Model This paper assesses whether there is an appropriate relationship between the cultural context of consumer behavior and cultural anthropology. While these two fields are not seen as identical, they are often related to similar constructs such as attitudes, behavior, beliefs, cultural influence, and the influence of reference groups. People of the same culture behaving in an organized way. To be very specific, cultural anthropology is mixed up with the cultural context of consumer behavior to some extent. Cultural anthropology and consumer behavior are conceptualized as problems to be understood at varying levels of complexity, from individuals acting alone to large groups of people. Surveys of 235 people were conducted, who are also members of a model organization. This study finds out how the two areas of cultural anthropology are related to consumer behavior's cultural aspect. Toward this end, this paper illustrates ways in which the perspective of cultural anthropology can be applied to cultural issues of consumer behavior. A relational model was also proposed.

1. Introduction

Anthropology and consumer behavior studies are two fields that are contextually related. Cultural anthropology is a subfield of anthropology that is concerned with the cultural-social diversity of people and their environments. Anthropologists have demonstrated that individuals can adapt to their current circumstances in certain ways through their culture. Individuals who live in a variety of circumstances will frequently have a variety of societies, and thus a variety of cultures. The anthropological hypothesis began with a valuation of an interest in neighbourhood tensions. Particular societies and cultures, as well as global descriptions of human beings. Indeed, cultural anthropology unites those disciplines whose common goal is to describe and explain human beings in terms of their biological and cultural characteristics which they are distributed and to emphasize the differences and variations that exist among these populations over time. On the one hand, the concept of race is linked to culture. On the other hand, they have garnered special attention from a variety of anthropological research fields. Although their meanings are still debated, these are undoubtedly the most frequently used terms in the anthropologist's lexicon. Anthropology, which is concerned with studying human differences between societies, is not far removed from comprehending the consumer's interests, which are also influenced by culture. Anthropology has gradually splintered into two distinct spheres. One might consider studying the biological characteristics of man. The study is primarily concerned with cultural characteristics. Cultural anthropology is the study of culture in its entirety. To be more precise, it is frequently applied to holistic approaches. Cultural anthropology also examines the ways in which culture shapes individual experience. The cultural context of consumer behavior aims to provide a comprehensive picture of a people's knowledge, customs, and institutions. The overall emotions and behaviors of different people included a more sophisticated view, while others required nothing more than close and personal correspondence procedures and continued to live in a palaeolithic manner, which was critical to the origins of cultural anthropologists (Rhodes, 2001). This article begins by examining the academic connections between anthropology and consumer behavior. These sections define the anthropological approach to consumer behavior research and explain why the author chose and developed the relationship between the two. The author designed the study/paper by incorporating an anthropological perspective into a consumer behavior course through the use of a model organization as an observation site. In

Copyright: © 2021 the Author(s). This article is an open access article distributed under the terms and conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution (CC-BY) 4.0 license (https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/). Published by Al-Kindi Centre for Research and Development, London, United Kingdom.

the results section, a relational model was proposed to explain the relationship between cultural contexts of consumer behavior and cultural anthropology.

2. Theory & Central Concept

Anthropology investigates more subjective and qualitative methods that are extremely useful in a variety of contexts. Consumer behavior can be better understood with the aid of cultural anthropology and cultural context. Culture and consumption are inextricably linked. Recently, an increasing number of anthropologists have become involved in consumer studies. Cultural anthropologists study how individuals who share a common social framework organize and shape their physical and social environments and how they are shaped by those thoughts, practices, and actual conditions. Consumer behavior and anthropology are mutually exclusive in terms of specific open doors for clear participation. Through privilege and arrogance, the advancement of promoting thought has been shaped by a type of prominent area that vows to submerge all of the controls governing cultural anthropology. Culture requires an understanding of human behavior and attitudes, as well as the facts that shape human decision-making. As a result, it is critical to examine cultural variation in order to comprehend variation in behavior and attitude. Cultural anthropology is defined by the concept of culture. Toward one side of the scale, innovation might be viewed as a danger to "regular" methods of being and acting human, or a force that humans cannot control (Khan, 2020a). A succinct yet comprehensive definition of culture is 'the knowledge that people use to live their lives and the manner in which they live' (Handwerker, 2002). Cultural anthropologists have some expertise in examining the convictions, practices, and psychological and associational underpinnings of consumer behavior in cultures and people groups. Cultural anthropology is defined by the methods used to investigate human societies and cultures. Cultural perception, however, is more than simply conversing with individuals; it is also accompanied by effective meeting strategies that incorporate one-on-one meetings with social specialists, centre gatherings, polls, and reviews, as well as a variety of techniques for investigating social data and social spaces. Cultural anthropology is concerned exclusively with the cultures, beliefs, practices, values, ideas, technologies, economies, and consumer behaviors of humans. This field is predominately based on cultural understandings of living human populations gained through direct experience or participant observation. Historically, consumer behavior research has been concerned with the psychological, social, and cultural contexts. This principle holds true for both cultural anthropology and studies of consumer behavior. Anthropology teaches useful techniques for analyzing specific cultures and their contexts. Cultural anthropology is a broad term that refers to the changes that occur in individuals' behavior and way of life as their cultures are presented to others. As previously stated, culture is the accumulation of learned beliefs, values, and customs that serve to quide members of a particular culture's consumer behavior. Given culture's breadth and pervasiveness, its study generally necessitates a thorough examination of the character of the entire society, which corresponds to the ideas of cultural anthropology. Language, knowledge, laws, religions, food customs, music, art, technology, work patterns, and other artifacts that contribute to a society's distinct flavor play a significant role in human behavior and decision-making. Cultural significance progresses from the culturally constructed world to consumer goods and so forth. Fundamentally, culture refers to a person's manner of conduct. This style has been discovered to be prevalent in the practices of the majority of people living in a particular culture. This example varies according to culture, and thus usage varies across nations.

Kinship is the anthropological study of how people form and maintain associations and relationships with one another. It also considers how those connections work inside and characterize social associations and relationships. Kinship is the bedrock of all human social orders that we know. All people perceive fathers and moms, children and girls, siblings and sisters, uncles and aunties, married couples, grandparents, cousins, and a lot more intricate sorts of connections in the phrasing that they use. That is the lattice into which human kids are conceived in the incredible lion's share of cases, and their first words are frequently family relationship terms. Anthropologists have written widely on the varieties of marriage across societies and its authenticity as a human organization. In the context of consumer behavior, culture is defined as the sum total of learned beliefs, values, and customs that serve to regulate the consumer behavior of members of a particular society. Beliefs and values are guides for consumer behavior; customs are unusual and accepted ways of behaving. The impact of culture is so natural and ingrained that its influence on behavior is rarely noted. Yet, culture offers order, direction, and guidance to members of society in all phases of human problem solving. Culture is dynamic, and gradually and continually evolves to meet the needs of society. Culture is learned as part of social experience too. Culture is communicated to members of society through a common language and through commonly shared symbols. Because the human mind has the ability to absorb and process symbolic communication. As with any substantial discipline, the reasons for legitimating institutional anthropology as a field of study are manifold. One of the primary characteristics of contemporary societies of the late modern age is the thriving development and excess multiplication of institutional anthropology. Today's world is characterized by the processes of globalization that so far have produced global economic systems and cultural exchanges on a global scale of anthropology and consumer behavior. With anthropology's human centered focus on communicative interaction, symbols, meaning and knowledge processes, this arena offers vast possibilities in a range of anthropology's classic topics, as well as in new ones. Such important and societal-forming processes as those driven by companies and other organizations should not be left untouched by the anthropological gaze. Cultural anthropology may break down worker's guilds, organizations going from little endeavors to partnerships, government,

clinical associations, training, penitentiaries, and budgetary establishments. Institutional anthropology may also focus on an establishment's internal operations, for example, the connections, progressive systems, and societies formed, and the ways in which these components are communicated and kept up, changed, or relinquished over time. Also, some humanities establishments analyze the particular plans of foundations and their corresponding quality. All the more explicitly, anthropologists may break down explicit occasions inside an organization, perform semiotic examinations, or investigate the systems by which information and culture are coordinated and scattered. Obviously, what people conduct alludes to consumers' reactions to items and administrations, and how those items and administrations are introduced. To get purchasers and the decisions shoppers make, understudies must examine a scope of human reactions, including, yet not restricted to, emotional (sentiments), psychological (considerations), and social (activities). Each one of those human reactions can be educated through member perception, an amazing anthropological academic methodology that fits into the conduct hypotheses of learning admirably. The essential establishment for practices can be accessed from perception and afterwards used to figure feelings with the subjectivity of the spectator and the ideal impacts. The administration area is seen as the ideal spot for understudies to find out about consumer behavior since culture and cultural anthropology need both substantial items and theoretical assistance. Sometimes consumer behavior can be viewed as social science, but the anthropological approach is effective in the cultural context of consumer behavior because anthropologists and anthropological methods offer an alternative perspective on that.

3. Methodology

Conceding methodology in this way may also help reduce disagreements about appropriate strategies and the current notions of methodological clarity and speculation. The advancement of strategies should be directed within the bounds of a degree of investigation. Subsequently, literature work may remain the essential apparatus for customer choice cycles and people in the research process, so long as the factors tapped are pertinent principally to that level. Speculation from such exploration is prompted less by methodological contemplations but rather more by hypothetical contemplations, i.e., what is the appropriate degree of examination for a specific issue? This study found out how the two areas of cultural anthropology are related to consumer behavior's cultural aspect. To define and measure the level of influence of various intermediate variables, future research can put forward hypotheses based on the model and conduct an empirical analysis to demonstrate its value in practical applications (Khan, 2020b). Toward this end, this paper illustrates ways in which the perspective of cultural anthropology can be applied to cultural issues of consumer behavior. A relational & conceptual model was also proposed and developed.

3.1 Measurement

For this study, the author adapted the wording of the measures to suit the context of the study. All scales used a 7-point, Likert-type scale with anchors of strongly disagree (1) and strongly agree (7). For kinship, the author uses the 5-item measurement scale. Some modifications were made in order to capture the cultural and institutional anthropology context.

3.2 Sample Size

In order to control the rational effects, a model organization was selected for the survey and a survey of 235 people was conducted. For this purpose, a structured questionnaire was made and distributed to the respondents. The result showed the reliability and the validity of the variables were acceptable. However, some modifications were made to guarantee the questionnaire was expressed clearly and accurately.

3.3 Hypothesis

Two areas that are briefly covered by cultural anthropology, which are kinship and institutional anthropology, are also important multipliers in the cultural context of consumer behavior. There are two obvious points of relationship between cultural anthropology and the cultural context of consumer behavior. Consumer behavior is a form of human activity and decision-making that occurs in a cultural context; therefore, it is itself a subject for anthropological inquiry. Successful understanding of consumer behavior is based on knowledge of human behavior and practices, and anthropological knowledge of human behavior is very useful in this process. Thus, cultural anthropologists both study consumer behavior and can be employed in consumer behavior roles. Anthropologists have adopted several stances toward the study of cultural activity characteristic of consumer behavior. Therefore, the following hypothesis was proposed:

- H1: Kinship is positively related to cultural context of consumer behavior
- H2: Cultural context of consumer behavior is positively related to institutional anthropology
- H3: Kinship is positively related to cultural institutional anthropology

4. Results and Discussion

As linking-pin disciplines in their distinctive culture, consumer behavior and cultural anthropology can provide unique synergies to analysts willing to merge the varied perspectives. Findings of cross-cultural human behaviors from anthropology can assist experts with promoting products to a certain cultural crowd. Anthropology considers religion too, and it can assist one with

sorting out if it is all right to showcase certain things to certain strict societies. Diverse cultural contexts have distinctive consumption propensities, and anthropology can assist one with seeing each culture one need to market to.

Reliability: The author conducted exploratory factor analysis. Each item appeared to belong to the appropriate domain, and none exhibited significant cross-loadings. The factor loading is acceptable and represents a good dimensionality of the measures. Moreover, the items were submitted to reliability analysis via Cronbach alpha. Reliability analysis of four factors can be seen in Table 1. All the factors' reliability values were either close to or greater than 0.70, as Nunnally (1994) recommends for research.

Table-1: EFA and CFA results

Table-1: EFA and CFA results							
Construct	ltem	EFA	CFA	T-value			
Kinship α=0.8312	CC-1	.738	0.70	13.61			
	CC-2	.754	0.73	14.33			
	CC-3	.649	0.60	11.07			
	CC-4	.495	0.43	7.47			
	CC-5	.659	0.61	11.30			
	CC-6	.633	0.57	10.50			
	CC-7	.518	0.45	7.94			
	CC-8	.742	0.70	13.40			
	CC-9	.534	0.46	8.09			
	CC-10	.592	0.53	9.51			
Cultural context of consumer behavior α=0.8658	KP-1	.778	0.71	13.91			
	KP-2	.840	0.80	16.42			
	KP-3	.817	0.76	15.26			
	KP-4	.770	0.70	13.59			
	KP-5	.829	0.79	16.20			
Institutional anthropology α=0.8462	IA-1	.685	0.61	11.30			
	IA-2	.803	0.76	15.09			
	IA-3	.795	.0.76	15.08			
	IA-4	.730	0.66	12.51			
	IA-5	.789	0.74	14.50			
	IA-6	.721	0.65	12.31			

Validity: A confirmatory factor analysis was performed to check the discriminant and convergent validity of the variable by using the Lisrel-8.70 program (Anderson and Gerbing, 1988). The results (x2=229.78; df=186; P<0.05, NFI=0.95; CFI=0.99; NNFI=0.99; AGFI=0.92; RMSEA=0.027) show a good model fit and the data fits the CFA model very well. In estimating convergent validity, one method often used is examining the parameters' estimated pattern coefficients (Anderson & Gerbing, 1988). As shown in Table 1, each of the factor loadings is large enough and significant at the 0.01 level (the minimum t-value is 7.47). Therefore, convergent validity was achieved for all the constructs in the study. The author conducted a SEM-based approach--nested models to access the discriminate validity (Deerye et al. 1999). According to nested models, the author ran the model unconstrained and also constraining the correlation between constructs to 1. If the two models did not differ significantly on a chi-square difference test, we failed to conclude that the constructs are different from each other (Bagozzi et al., 1991). In this procedure, the author employed a similar analysis on each pair of constructs, constraining the constructs to be perfectly correlated and then freeing the constraints. The results indicated that all constructs in our study are significantly (the minimum Δx^2 (1) =976.82, p<0.01) different and discriminated validity have been achieved. Hypotheses Test Results The results of the structural model indicate that the model fits the data very well (see Table 2). As a measure of exact fit, Chisquare of this model

statistic (x² = 229.78) is significant. However, the Chi-square is sensitive to the sample size (Bagozzi et al., 1991), and additional fit indices are reported, too. The Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Normed Fit Index (NFI), the Non-Normed Fit Index (NNFI), the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI) and the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) of this model are 0.99, 0.95, 0.99, 0.94 and 0.027, respectively. All the fit indices are within a satisfactory range and show that the model accounts for a substantial amount of variance. Table-2 provides an overview of the standardized estimates of full model.

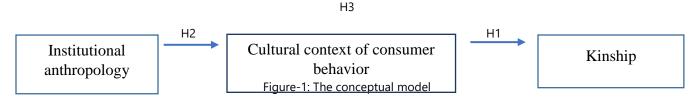
Table-2: Model fit indices

Chi-Square(df)	Р	CFI	GFI
229.78(186)	.0015	.99	.94
X²/df	RMSEA	NFI	NNFI
1.24	.027	.95	.99

The data support all three hypotheses (see Table-2). Consistent with previous research, kinship is positively related to the cultural context of consumer behavior (P<0.001; t-value=3.35). Hypothesis 1 is confirmed. Consumer behavior and its cultural context can be rationally interrelated to kinship. Customized service always involves high quality. In addition, kinship also makes the interaction between consumer behavior and cultural anthropology. It is effective way for firms and companies to improve understanding of consumer behavior by investigating the cultural anthropology. The results show that the cultural context of consumer behavior is positively related to institutional anthropology (P<0.001; t-value= 5.42). Hypothesis 2 is confirmed. Cultural context of consumer behavior is more likely to strengthen their attachment with institutional anthropology. Concerning hypothesis 3, kinship has a significantly (P<0.01; t-value=2.85) positive effect on institutional, cultural anthropology, which means that kinship also influences institutional anthropology directly.

5. Findings

The author's anthropological approach in the consumer behavior course was effective in a number of ways. As previously stated, traditional consumer behavior studies take a primarily psychological approach, whereas the author takes an anthropological approach with an emphasis on cultural context. The anthropological approach is relatively new in this field of research, as only a few studies have been conducted to examine the relationship between cultural anthropology and cultural facets of consumer behavior. This complicates the process of acquiring necessary objectives and resources. It is critical for the author to conduct research on this approach in order to connect it to some extent with consumer behavior. Additionally, to take this approach when searching for and preparing related academic and practical resources in advance. In summary, the anthropological approach is not a straightforward synthesis of anthropology and consumer behavior studies on a cultural scale. The anthropological approach, which is based on the author's own understanding and experience, focuses on the influences of culture and society on the behavior of individual consumers. The following is a proposed conceptual model of relationships. However, the anthropological approach developed above using a relational model places a premium on consumers' information processing capabilities. Specifically, an anthropological perspective holds that culture provides individuals with an abundance of information to process, and the outcome of information processing results in individuals behaving in predictable ways as consumers. For instance, individuals may receive information about their national norms and beliefs, which can serve as a stimulus to act in particular ways. As a social science, it is specialized in the study of societies' past and present, particularly the study of humans and human behavior. Although anthropology and consumer research have long been considered distinct disciplines, this study's motto and objective are to rationalize their relationship.



In summary, the anthropological approach is not a straightforward synthesis of anthropology and consumer behavior research. The anthropological approach, which is based on the author's own understanding and experience, focuses on the influences of culture and society on the behaviour of individual consumers. It is necessary to construct a relational model with anthropology and design the assignment within the framework of consumer behaviour theories. The three most prevalent approaches to consumer behavior are cognitive, behaviorist, and psychodynamic. However, it is now believed that combining them will result in

a more profound understanding and knowledge of consumer behavior and a better understanding of anthropological research and future predictions. The study takes an anthropological approach to the consumer and its critical role in the development of societies. Although cultural anthropologists believe that norms, behaviors, and beliefs are to blame, consumers may reduce their spending budgets in response to the stimulus. Strong political, monetary, and social changes permit social orders to go through a significant advancement in strategic mindsets, combined with this the serious level of a mechanical turn of events and the capacity to absorb progressively current methods that permit managers to give a strategic vision to anticipate the eventual fate (Khan, 2020b). Anthropology makes a clear distinction between cognitive and cultural approaches to consumer behavior, stating that consumer's process information from external sources in apparent ways when using a cognitive approach, whereas consumers using a cultural approach may be unaware of the impact of the external environment.

6. Conclusions

The analysis of 235 respondents from a model organization indicates that kinship has a positive direct effect on institutional anthropology as well as an indirect effect on consumer behavior via the cultural context. Some cultures place more value on religious identity and authority, while others do not (Khan, 2021a). A cross-field analysis of cultural anthropology and the cultural context of consumer behavior contributes to future research by elucidating the meanings of time, space, friendship, agreements, things, symbols, and etiquette across cultures and segments of a total culture as their appropriate adaptations. Individuals' perspectives on consumer behavior and culture also vary. With the aid of cultural anthropology, these views have a significant impact on their consumption. According to some, nature is finite and should be preserved for future research. Crosscultural research enables the identification of specific fields' attitudes toward culture. Again, understanding how people view themselves enables marketers to develop appropriate strategies, which can be accomplished through cross-cultural analysis. Cross-field research entails adapting standard research techniques to the unique requirements of different languages, structural characteristics of societies, and the investigator's values. Cross-cultural anthropology frequently focuses on social organization, belief systems, and similar topics; similarly, cultural studies frequently focus on these topics. While conducting the survey, the author employs an outside-in approach in order to unearth observers' "native" images of events and behavior. The researcher records these "native" images separately from his or her observations and interpretations. Respondents were asked to comment on the researcher's descriptions and explanations in order to resolve existing discrepancies. Similarly, discrepancies in cultural aspects must be identified and explained. Indeed, the most nuanced accounts of a cultural system include both contradiction and controversy as sources of consensus. Additionally, it is critical to convey to the public that anthropologists employ a variety of data collection techniques in the field. Decent society was undoubtedly born from this pragmatism of a part of the elites, which little by little converted to the questioning of an understanding of individual freedom which reduced it to equal rights and which affirmed that political inequalities were the natural and necessary consequence of the latter (Khan, 2021b). Anthropologists frequently combine qualitative techniques with more quantitative approaches (surveys, for example) in practice, particularly when conducting research in complex organizations. Though the author conducted the survey on a model organization. Even when quantitative and qualitative techniques are used in conjunction, the author argues that in-depth participant observation (for at least several months) is the bedrock of valid anthropological research in a wide variety of fields. From a different angle, the study's conclusions also point to distinct, though related, directions for future research, namely the examination of the various dimensions of information search activities. Anthropology is becoming a more popular field of study for examining various aspects of consumer behavior. Not only do many anthropologists conduct consumer research themselves, but more researchers are incorporating anthropological methods into their work. The anthropological approach focuses on the various ways in which culture and society influence the individual consumer's behaviour. It places a premium on participant observation and academic analysis of consumer behavior from the perspective of consumers. It is argued that an anthropological approach to consumer behavior research could be extremely effective in assisting people in comprehending consumer behavior principles. This study examines the relationship between two subfields of cultural anthropology and the cultural dimension of consumer behavior. Two areas that cultural anthropology briefly covers, kinship and institutional anthropology, are thoroughly investigated in order to develop a rational relationship between them. These two factors are critical multipliers not only for consumer behavior's cultural context, but also for cultural anthropology. Between cultural anthropology and the cultural context of consumer behavior, there are two obvious points of connection. Consumer behavior is a type of human activity and decisionmaking that occurs within a cultural context; it is an anthropological subject. However, the study has some limitations. For instance, the study's measurement of kinship is a one-dimensional construct. A multidimensional measurement scale should be considered in the future. The formulation of descriptive concepts of reality does not help at all if this partial vision of it is not complemented by an analysis that contributes to the change of reality itself, and the world of duty to be (Khan & Sultana, 2021).

Conflicts of Interest: The author declares that there is no conflict of interest.

References

- [1] Anderson, J. C., & Gerbing, D. W. (1988). Structural equation modeling in practice: A review and recommended two-step approach. Psychological bulletin, 103(3), 411. Bagozzi, R. P., Yi, Y., & Phillips, L. W. (1991). Assessing construct validity in organizational research. Administrative science quarterly, 421-458.
- [2] Deery, S., Iverson, R., & Erwin, P. (1999). Industrial relations climate, attendance behaviour and the role of trade unions. *British Journal of Industrial Relations*, 37(4), 533-558.
- [3] Handwerker, W. P. (2002). The construct validity of cultures: Cultural diversity, culture theory, and a method for ethnography. *American anthropologist*, 104(1), 106-122.
- [4] Khan, M. M. R. (2020a). Rationalizing the Relationship between Ergonomics and Human Resource Management. *Journal of Mechanical, Civil and Industrial Engineering*, 1(1), 31-35.
- [5] Khan, M. M. R. (2020b). Strategic human resource management in facilitating the organizational performance: Birds-eye view from Bangladesh. *Annals of Management and Organization Research*, 2(1), 13-24.
- [6] Khan, M. M. R. (2021a). Religious Radicalization: Dimension of Culture and the Foundation of Freedom. *International Journal of Cultural and Religious Studies (IJCRS)*, 1(1), 19-23.
- [7] Khan, M. M. R. (2021b). Political state and the dilemma of dignity, equality and freedom: Evidence from a sovereign state. *Dynamics of Politics and Democracy*, 1(1), 29-37.
- [8] Khan, M. M. R., & Sultana, R. (2021). Shift in the role of criminology in criminal law: Reflecting the doctrinal change. *Annals of Justice and Humanity*, 1(1), 1-10.
- [9] Nunnally, J. C. (1994). Psychometric theory 3E. Tata McGraw-hill education.
- [10] Rhodes, L. A. (2001). Toward an anthropology of prisons. Annual review of anthropology, 30(1), 65-83.