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Twinning Literature and Anthropology: A Proposed Theoretical Framework for Litero-Anthropological Research via "Exemplary Person", "Value Formation" and "The Good Life"

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Abstract

Although literature and anthropology might seem an unlikely pair, their collaboration has been the subject of debate. As a theoretical endeavor, the present study aims to propose a fruitful collaboration between these two domains through the framework of litero-anthropological research. The results of such research disclose how fictional works, once analyzed by means of anthropological criteria, can be assigned to three levels of reading that are not only relevant to anthropology but also uncover the layers of meaning in literary narratives. For this purpose, a theoretical framework is formed that draws on Max Scheler's exemplary person, Clyde Kluckhohn's value, and Edward Fischer's 'the good life', the combination of which has not been analyzed collectively before. It was concluded that the analysis of a literary work by means of this framework opens a new gate to character analysis whereby literary critics can reveal how protagonists are portrayed as exemplary persons who promote a set of values through their discourse. Finally, the theory of the good life revealed if the set of values the protagonist upholds is conducive to attaining the good life. These values aim to reach beyond the world of fiction and meet the actual world of the readers.

Keywords

Litero-Anthropological Research; Exemplary Person; Value; The Good Life.

1. Introduction

The collaboration between literature and anthropology is not a new endeavor, and their relationship has been discussed from different perspectives (Eriksen 167). On the one hand, Eriksen clarifies how some theorists argue for no absolute distinction between anthropological and fictional writing, while others draw a sharp distinction between the

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two areas (167). On the other hand, Loriggio maintains that "anthropology has been as basic a source for literary theory as linguistics" (305), while subsequent to bringing a series of arguments, Geertz also claims "anthropology is […] entirely on the side of 'literary' discourses rather than 'scientific' ones" (8). That is why in anthropology influential writers such as "Clifford Geertz, Victor Turner, Mary Douglas, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Jean Duvignaud, and Edmund Leach, to mention only a few, have shown an interest in literary theory and practice" (Clifford 3). Besides, among anthropologists, many are the closet novelists including Saul Bellow and Kurt Vonnegut who "had but a brush with anthropology, cut loose, and went on to become famous" (Daniel 6). Zora Neale Hurston also is witnessed to have variously mixed "ethnographic insight and novelistic talent" in her books (Narayan, "Ethnography" 136). Therefore, scientific anthropology can also be regarded as "an 'art'" and ethnographies can be studied for their "literary qualities" (Clifford 4). Surrey, moreover, argues, "Fiction engages students by providing what can be viewed as lively ethnographies of the cultures and time periods that we are exploring" (139). Daniel, hence, contends that the literary side of anthropology "has both widened and deepened this discipline's identity" (8).

Furthermore, Stoller gives an account of how there "has long been a productive and imaginative association among literature and ethnography and anthropology" (144), which underlies the fact that "literary anthropology keeps expanding and now has a substantial history" (Wulff, "Ethnografiction" 207). Regarding this productive and imaginative association, it is worth noting that "literature (at approximately the same time as anthropology) had been established as a credible academic field" (Peck 16). Wulff, thus, observes how literature has "been included in the anthropological agenda for a long time" ("An Anthropological Perspective" 547). Concerning literary anthropology, Wiles proposes that it can "produce a richer, more varied range of publications, with new research delving further into literary sources, style, and subject matter, and exploring the fruits of combining all three" (293). Łebkowska also contends, "The anthropological perspective of literary studies should extract literary anthropology from literature" (29). Thomas, moreover, holds that it "is by inducing readers continually to stage themselves that literature performs its anthropological function" (626).

Amid such debates, Erisken argues that the noteworthy issue might be to "identify the influence of anthropological thought on contemporary novels" (167), which clarifies Iser's dissatisfaction with the fact that the "anthropological implications of literary fictionality have hitherto received little attention" (79). Accordingly, the authors of this study aim to address and analyze this identified gap within the domain of litero-anthropological research in terms of the impact of anthropological theories in the analysis of fictional works that constitutes the first section of this study. This is followed by a detailed clarification of the proposed set of anthropological theories, which has not

been linked and investigated collectively before. They include exemplary person by Max Scheler, value by Clyde Kluckhohn and the good life by Edward Fischer. The interrelationship between these theories, all of which can be deemed to be useful theoretical means for a thorough analysis of fiction belonging to various genres, and each of which is explained in the following sections of this study, can be put as such: 1) exemplary persons present a set of values to their surrounding community through their discourse that includes their verbal and nonverbal behavioral acts; 2) The fact that the achievement of the good life cannot be attained by means of material conditions alone indicates the indispensable role of non-material qualities, including values, in constructing the good life.

2. Literature and Anthropology: Complementary yet Freestanding Academic Pursuits

Considering the practicable collaboration between anthropology and literature, Thomas Hylland Eriksen poses a likely scenario. Eriksen considers the assumption that if works of fiction solely deal with accounts created by the author while anthropological texts present an account based on social realities, then the central intermediate area between the two realms would be travelogues and those literary essays that address the society (169). However, Eriksen disputes such an assumption as he maintains that works of fiction "also form part of reflexive socio-cultural reality and to this effect are part and parcel of that society within which they were written" (191). Likewise, Winner mentions that literary works are not just limited to the culture in which they are produced, as literature "becomes, through its being made concrete in other cultures and other epochs, also a part of the many cultures of its many consumers" (53).

Advocating the same perspective, Karin Barber argues that the term 'text' is more objective and embracing than has ever been considered, because societies produce texts and hence texts are social facts that can be informative in the same way as ritual, kinship, and agriculture are informative (2-4). Cesareo also argues for the notion of "text-as-vestige, whereby the object (text) is understood as a microcosm of the social relations that created it" (159). Texts, viewed from such a standpoint, are produced to shed light on the issues that have been left unsaid. As such, texts must not be regarded as ancillary studies, as they form the focus of any study. Barber also observes that texts are reflexive phenomena as they not only represent social realities, but also comment on them, therefore, texts may confirm or criticize social forms (9-14).

Works of literature are objects of aesthetic analysis and contemplation in addition to the fact that they bear forms of civilizational and humanizing value (Barber 11). Storch clarifies how in William Wordsworth's time "it was the poetic imagination alone that could undertake the task [i.e. presenting values], of which Wordsworth himself was very conscious" (342). Subscribing to the same perspective, Fluck argues for a "return to a

reconsideration of the function of literature and, by doing so, to move from reception aesthetics to the project of a literary anthropology" (260). Sumara takes the same argument a step forward. He believes, "while literary anthropology is a research practice, it is also a pedagogical practice," because "research practices are important forms of personal and cultural learning" (257). Hence, those texts that bear a close resemblance to ethnographies are the target of analysis for social scientists (Barber 13). Many historians also go in search of the texts that provide information about the past; as a result, both social scientists and historians are inclined to look for narratives particularly those that deal with real people or the contemporary world, its realities, customs, and practices.

Narayan explicates how a number of anthropologists "have been drawn to the galvanizing energy of celebrated writers of world literature [including Jane Austen, E. M. Forster, and William Shakespeare] for their own books" ("Chekhov" 144). For Narayan herself, Anton Chekhov has been an ethnographic muse who has fruitfully inspired her in conducting her anthropological research (*Alive in the Writing*). Additionally, other anthropologists "have written about the ethnographic insights opened by creative writers, especially those associated with their fieldsites" (Narayan, "Chekhov" 144). In his investigation into the potential forms of litero-anthropological research, Eriksen adopts an anthropological perspective and applies anthropological criteria to literary works. In his close reading of three novels, Eriksen distinguishes between three resultant levels of reading fictional works that are relevant to anthropology (172).

A Morning at the Office (1950) written by Edgar Mittelhozer (1909-1965) exemplifies the first level and analyzes social relations on a micro-sociological scale in which Mittelholzer's cast of various characters represents all the ethnic, class, gender, and locality dimensions. Eriksen concludes that this novel can be regarded as an ethnographic source in which the author frequently makes implicit statements that are spontaneous and non-reflexive about the targeted society (191). At this level, rather than uttering statements, it can be said that the author is performing acts. To appreciate such an ethnographic source, the knowledge of the author's background and the targeted society are necessary. While conducting fieldwork in the English village of Wanet, Rapport frequently consulted the novels of E. M. Forster and considered him to be a knowledgeable fellow ethnographer. In other words, Forster's literary writings functioned as the first level of reading fictional works relevant to anthropology for Rapport who compared and contrasted Forster's world-views with those of the English informants from Wanet alongside his own research about the village.

The second level can be observed in *A House for Mr Biswas* (1961); written by V. S. Naipaul (1932-2018), it represents both a sensitive and rich ethnography. Eriksen argues that Naipaul's novel can complement an anthropological monograph by contextualizing the descriptions that are offered in the monograph and as such, this novel can also be regarded on occasion as evaluative commentary on professional ethnographies (180). In comparison with *A Morning at the Office* that is more detached, Naipaul's novel is in an explicit manner autobiographical (Eriksen 138). Another apt instance of literary works belonging to this second level are Daniel Defoe's (1660-1731) novels, the realism of which is the reason for their popularity among twentieth-century anthropologists. Defoe's novels offer the anthropologist insights into "social worlds of the past in the same way as archival materials may be studied, but with the added dimension of belief systems expressed in the thoughts and actions of the characters" (Reeve 75). For anthropologists, such epics as Defoe's major works are "rich ethnographic material that can be mined for an understanding of daily life, knowledge, and values of the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth-century England" (Reeve 76).

Written by Earl Lovelace (1935-), *The Dragon Can't Dance* (1979) discloses details about the private life of its author and his personal perceptions. Compared to the first two novels that can be regarded as sociologically naive, Lovelace's book is a self-conscious contribution to an *ongoing* public dialogue in his targeted society. Lovelace develops a genuine cultural context with real characters that inhabit it; moreover, Lovelace has also anticipated the effects that his novel will be having on its audience (Eriksen 184-186). In this case, the boundary line between the realm of literature and anthropology is a subtle one, or in Tallman's terms, the "relationship between the ethnographer and the novelist becomes blurred in the ethnographic novel" (12). However, it can still be said that *The Dragon Can't Dance* is more widely read and has a more considerable direct impact on its targeted society (Eriksen 188).

Eriksen concludes that these three novels do not provide simple ethnography because their narratives do not declare to provide the truth and they represent an uncertain relationship to the social realities (190). However, the first level can present an ethnographic source and as such may equal the statements of informants, at which level, the author reveals aspects of their targeted society to a certain degree unwittingly (Eriksen 191). The second level provides an ethnographic description the information of which can be taken as a kind of ethnographic documentation to a specific degree (Eriksen 191). The last level may serve as theoretical anthropology that embodies a reflexive comment and cultural analysis of the author's targeted society (Eriksen 191). Though anthropology and literature deal with and represent social realities in different ways, in both anthropology and fiction an underlying assumption of a universally human notion can be observed, and their representations of such realities can on occasion be regarded as overlapping and complementary (Eriksen 192). Thus, the transformation of the world of thoughts and sensations into that of words is shared by both the mainstream

anthropologist and the novelist (Eriksen 193). Behar, moreover, draws attention to the fact that "the writing we do as cultural anthropologists, what we call 'ethnography,' *is* a form of literature, a unique variety of 'creative non-fiction'" (106).

Accordingly, the completion of litero-anthropological research brings to light whether various literary works can be regarded as ethnographic sources, ethnographic descriptions or exemplify theoretical anthropology. Many a work of fiction features its targeted society as the setting against the background of which the main character is portrayed. On occasion, these protagonists represent the different types of exemplary persons whose verbal and nonverbal behavioral acts promulgate a specific set of values. Whether the set of values upheld by the protagonist can bring the good life for the other characters of the same literary work is a further consideration that the proposed anthropological criteria of this paper, which consist of the exemplary person, value, and good life, is going to address.

3. Fictional Protagonists and Actual People: Exemplars, Leaders, and their Unique Idiosyncrasies

Exemplary persons and leaders can be fictional protagonists, actual persons or fictionalized actual personages in a literary work. Max Scheler argues that the life of human beings are subject to changes, good or bad, due to two distinctive yet intertwined elements that are exemplary persons, leaders, and the power they exercise (127). He claims that it influences nearly all aspects of human lives. Scheler observes that though leadership has been studied from various points of view, the effectiveness, significance, and formation of personal exemplars are yet to be explored (127-129). As a result, in order to compensate for this lack of data, Scheler embarks on his course of inquiry into the individual idiosyncrasies of personality and behavior particular to leaders and exemplars. These include 1) visibility on the platforms of public life, 2) presence or absence of the knowledge and will surrounding the status of exemplar and leader, 3) the relation between exemplars, leaders, and their public, 4) attribution of value-laden and value-free status to exemplars and leaders, 5) distinguishable demands on the part of exemplars and leaders, 6) exertion of differing influence on their concerning public, and 7) the existence of counter-exemplars. Subsequently, Scheler explains each of these seven distinctions separately.

Scheler argues that leader's effectiveness is obviously observed in the broad arena of public life while the effectiveness of exemplary persons is shrouded in mystery; it is because the impact of an exemplary person is lasting deep in the souls of every individual and groups of individuals (129). Transforming into either a leader or an exemplar demands differing qualifications. A person who functions as an exemplar to another individual does not need to be aware of and does not have the will to be regarded as such, even when his followers admit his exemplary status; however, a leader must be aware of his position and must have the will to exercise his power to lead (Scheler 130).

Consequently, the relationship between a leader or an exemplar and their followers necessitates a divergent range of interactions. While the relationship between exemplary persons and the people who follow their path is ideally framed as it is a spatiotemporal-independent relationship that is not in need of the historical existence of the exemplar, a leader and his public form relationships that are concrete and sociological (Scheler 130). Furthermore, Scheler clarifies how a person can become an exemplar regardless of the fact that s/he may have lived long ago such as Jesus Christ, or that an exemplar might even be a fictional character like Hamlet (130). Nonetheless, Scheler makes it clear that leaders must be real, historical individuals (130).

Scheler explicates how at all times individuals can be divided into two social strata that include a small number of individuals who lead other people and are referred to as 'the law of the small number' or leadership and the larger number of people who form the following (132-133). Scheler then unravels how the law of the small number is value-free. It is because the term 'leader' is used with no meaning of a value since leaders can be regarded as both positive and negative characters such as a savior or a seducer (Scheler 133). At the same time, the concept of 'personal exemplar' is value-laden because it is regarded as good; individuals are attached to exemplary persons through positive value-valuation and through love (Scheler 133).

What leaders and exemplars demand of their public differs diametrically, because whereas leaders demand their followings' actions, accomplishments, and comportment, exemplary persons seek their followers' whole beings and the cast (gestalt) of their souls (Scheler 135). The way leaders influence their following is differentiated from how exemplars affect their public. It is because leaders only influence the will of their followings, while exemplars specify the moral tenor beneath the will of their followers that does not happen voluntarily (Scheler 140). This refers to the attractive power of the exemplar, which is embedded in the consciousness of values and in the love or hatred his/her followers feel for these values.

Scheler recognizes that the existence of an exemplar is accompanied by that of the counter-exemplars, which are portrayed by antagonists in literary works. Antagonists are repeated forms that human beings develop into due to their hatred for those people who are destined to be their exemplars, though they do not admit and accept it. Scheler illustrates how an exemplar and a leader, though dissimilar, might be related; even if there is no necessity for such a probability, leaders can be regarded as exemplars only if their followings are influenced by them charismatically (135-139). One instance of the case, in which a leader is simultaneously an exemplar, is depicted in *Lord of the Flies* (1954) written by William Golding (1911-1993). The character of Ralph portrays the novel's exemplary person who is a "democratic man [and] the symbol of consent" (Spitz 26). Ralph is set apart not by "virtue or intelligence or other sign of personal superiority—— though he may well have been the tallest and strongest of the boys—— but by the fact that it was he [...] who had exercised the symbol of legitimacy" (Spitz 26).

Ralph is chosen as the chief through an election and he always desires to "maintain parliamentary procedures, to respect freedom of speech, to rule through persuasion, with the consent of the governed" (Spitz 26). Although Ralph is not an intellectual, he "could recognize thought in another" (Golding 67). More importantly, as the leader of the group of boys on the island, Ralph draws support from the boys not only because of his congenial characteristics but also because they are influenced by his charismatic personality (Li and Wu 119). The counter-exemplar of Golding's *Lord of the Files* is the character of Jack, who is likened to Hitler and Mussolini, coming out of "an authoritarian tradition […] a Satanic figure with his red hair and black cape" (Spitz 27). As Ralph's antagonist, Jack represents "the brilliant world of hunting, tactics, fierce exhilaration and, skill"; he is "a dictator […], the strong-willed, egomaniacal boy" and the novel's "prime representative of the instinct of savagery and violence" (Li and Wu 120).

The great importance of leaders and exemplars, Scheler argues, is that "at least the basis, and the main direction, of the being, of the kinds, forms, and development of groups are solely" determined by these 'ruling minorities' (136). The undeniable significance of exemplars is also recognized by Humphrey who claims that an exemplar "is part of discovering and cultivating oneself" (36). For Humphrey, to obtain an understanding of the discourse of the exemplary person, including his sayings or actions, individuals are bound to experience a thorough understanding of themselves as well that reveals their true selves. Kirin Narayan's (1959-) novel *Love, Stars, and All That* (1994) is the merry tale of the young Indian Gita Das who studies at the University of California, Berkeley as a graduate student. Following the day her Aunty Saroj informs Gita that she is destined to meet her true love, 'jori,' in March 1984, life transforms into a journey of self-discovery for Gita.

While Gita endeavors to find her 'jori,' which is a love exemplar to her, it "seemed, these days, that everything in Gita's life was being stripped of value unless it could somehow be related to" the love exemplar (Narayan, *Love* 59-60). Subsequent to meeting a famous poet and a university professor, Aunty Saroj familiarizes Gita with another suitable marriage choice, an amiable Indian man. However, Gita who has already reached her journey destination on the path of finding her love exemplar, explains to a friend that while recognizing the "hidden contours of another person […] you understand the topography inside" and finally "get to love [that] person in all kinds of ways" because "a *jori* isn't destined but you make it happen" (Narayan, *Love* 311).

Subsequent to detailing the differences between an exemplar and a leader, Scheler expatiates on what he refers to as 'models of exemplary persons' that include the master in the art of living, the leading mind of civilization, the hero, the genius, and the saint (142). These models are not abstractions; rather individuals imagine these ever-existing ideals of value-persons in their intuition as they encounter factual people and fictional

characters. Thus, the exemplary persons are not in themselves enough to gain individuals a complete understanding of themselves. These vague and tender casts have to receive help from the experience history and literature offers so that they will transform into 'concrete models' (Scheler 142).

The character of grandfather Francisco in N. Scott Momaday's (1934-) *House Made of Dawn* (1968) is an instance of the first model of exemplary persons, the master in the art of living, who after going through immense physical torment, "his lungs should burst, for now they were burning with pain and the last and least element of his breath, and he should stumble and fall" (208), successfully overcomes the agony and "ran beyond his pain" (208). Francisco is an exemplar for his grandson Abel and the account of his experience is "an all-important legacy for Abel, because he has been struggling for years to overcome personal torments both physical and mental in a modern world that will not allow him to be himself" (Woodard 28).

Abel has just returned home from World War II and feels he can no longer identify with his surroundings; therefore, he decides to go to Los Angeles to start a new life. However, life is no easier for Abel in the glamorous world of twentieth-century Los Angeles, and one of Abel's friends persuades him to return to his ancestral reservation in New Mexico. There, Abel reunites with his dying grandfather who once again rekindles a love of native values and traditions in him. Francisco recounts his life story for Abel, thereby reconnecting him to the world of physical and spiritual integrity and kinship with his people and the land, a world which is referred to as the house made of dawn that is all "about those old ways, the stories and the sings" (Momaday 146).

When his grandfather dies, Abel eventually realizes what he must do, and after he prepares Francisco "for burial and notifies the priest, he goes out in the dawn to run the ceremonial race" (Woodard 28). Abel was running and started to sing to himself, there "was no sound, and he had no voice; he had only the words of a song. And he went running on the rise of the song. House made of pollen, house made of dawn" (Momaday 212). During this ceremonial race with other runners, Abel at last "manages, like his grandfather before him, to run past his pain" (Woodard 28).

As an instance of the third model of exemplary persons, one can refer to Joe Bonham, the protagonist of Dalton Trumbo's (1905-1976) *Johnny Got His Gun* (1939). In this award-winning anti-war novel, Joe Bonham is a young soldier and hero of World War I who returns home irreparably maimed, losing almost all his body parts which has left him with a sole torso. In spite of the fact that Joe's fate revealed nothing but a picture of sheer misery to him, as a war hero he never lost his hope; every "moment of his life since he had awakened into the darkness and dumbness and terror of it had been concentrated upon the time some day some year when he would break through to them" (Trumbo 300). This "vague hope that kept him going […] had shined like a glow in the distance

toward which he never stopped moving" (Trumbo 300). Joe's single desire was to communicate through Morse code, the only possible way he had to reveal the most frightful horrors that a disastrous war would brought on humanity. All that Joe hoped for was to reveal the genuine picture of his brothers in arms and how "we are men of peace we are men who work and we want no quarrel" (Trumbo 308).

4. From Anthropology to Literature: Behavioral Manifestations of Value

The concept of 'value' is a fertile ground for the collaboration between literature and anthropology. All literary works display different types of values in a nation, an epoch, or a culture. Observing such a fortuitous opportunity, Kluckhohn's analysis positions this concept in the behavioral frame to see how it is reflected upon human actions. Thus, he strives to form a definition for the term 'value' that is both convenient and meets the requirements of social sciences and literary studies. Moreover, Kluckhohn notes that value can be regarded as a standard that persists over time and organizes the system of action by means of applying the continuum of approval-disapproval (394-395). Consequently, Kluckhohn defines the term 'value' as a "conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action" (395). Klukchohn's commentaries on each of the terms used in his definition help clarify it better.

Given the observability constraints on the notion of value, Kluckhohn employs an analogy to justify this. In comparison to culture, the concept of 'value' is equally unobservable because both culture and value are determined according to what individuals say and do. As a result, because values are not abstracted from neurological properties, to understand the values of individuals, human nonverbal and verbal behavior must be observed closely. The protagonist of Amitav Ghosh's (1956-) *In an Antique Land* (1992), who is a Hindu Indian living in contemporary Muslim Egypt, begins to investigate and learn more about the dominant culture he is situated in and recalls "as the days passed the thought of my trip became ever more exciting. We were then well into Ramadan" (75). As a deep-rooted value, fasting is undertaken by the Muslim Egyptians and while observing the "thirsty faces around me," the protagonist of the novel concludes, "the thought of Cairo and Alexandria […] grew ever more attractive" for him (Ghosh 75).

Kluckhohn notes that a value is a felt preference that can be both morally and reasonably justified (396). Even if a value is implicit, an undertone of the desirable can be observed in the behavior that refers to this conception (395-396). The desirable is something that is thought or felt suitable to want. A value is a morally and reasonably justified preference since an individual or a group of individuals believe they 'should' or 'ought to' desire it for themselves (Kluckhohn 396). Once an individual or a group of individuals internalizes a value, it commits them to a certain course of action so that an observer will note specific patterns of behavior.

Kluckhohn makes it clear that values are prone to be negotiated. Although concerning implicit values, the observer will not directly discuss the value, and while the value is regarded as the tacit premise, the observer focuses on the approval or disapproval of concrete acts (397). Values are preferred because they are desirable and the 'desirable' entity signifies emancipation from the present, worldly stresses, and the anxiety of its situations (Kluckhohn 397). However, some of the most profound and prevalent cultural and personal values are either partially or scarcely verbalized; in several cases these values are inferential constructs that the observer has to explain their behavioral consistencies. Thus, the verbalizability test of values is essential. It means that values, especially implicit ones, are often put into sensible words and are expressed by the individuals who can be actual personages, writers, or fictional characters.

As is said, the values of a group of individuals can be inferred from how they customarily tend to use their energy, consume their time, and spend their money. Kluckhohn indicates that though values are for the most part regarded as cultural products, each of the group values is unavoidably interpreted privately by each of the individuals and is imparted with their personal meanings so much so that on occasion the values become personally distinctive (398). In addition to group values, idiosyncratic values also account for the continual change and invention of new sets of values (Kluckhohn 398-407). Thus, not only some writers but also some fictional characters become the advocate of some values or introduce new sets of values. Jane Austen's heroic characters exactly assume such a role and through what Handler and Segal call 'alter-cultural action,' these characters not only "avoid both facile acceptance and facile rejection of conventional etiquette and propriety" but they also "recognize and understand social conventions not as rules that limit their behavior but as meaningful principles with which to communicate" (16). Austen's heroines and their partners, hence, "richly communicate through interactions that comment on—— and thereby displace—— conventional etiquette and propriety" (Handler and Segal 17).

Following the internalization of a specific set of values, individuals are inclined to selective behavior that is always associated with incompatibilities and consequences and refers to the rejection of other possible behaviors. Even when an individual's personality seems to represent many internal incompatibilities in comparison with their cultural background, still they can preserve their normal function and continue to integrate socially. However, too many incompatibilities have serious consequences for the preservation of the system as a system (Kluckhohn 399).

The term 'value' indicates the inherent union of reason and feeling that is signaled by the combination of conception and desirable in the definition Kluckhohn offers. The rational element is as necessary as is the affective aspect of value and if they are omitted nothing remains except for 'sentiment' or 'attitude' and aesthetic (Kluckhohn 400-402).

Internalization of a specific set of values orients an individual or a group of individuals in relation to their actions because values exert a considerable amount of influence and impel an individual to select one mode of action or thought instead of another one. As a result, Kluckhohn claims once values are mentioned, it is meant to indicate that human behavior is neither reflexive nor instinctual or random (420).

Once individuals are faced with the multiple options that are available in the world, they are oriented towards the adoption of specific modes, means, and ends of action, which signifies the quality of orientation specific to the concept of 'values' (Kluckhohn 402). Under no circumstance can individuals escape the orientation to the concept of 'values' because although criminals reject almost all the codes of their societies and that their conduct is oriented negatively towards cultural principles, *even* their behavior is oriented toward the codes of the deviant groups they belong to (404). Henceforth, criminals, like anti-heroes and antagonists, follow a set value, albeit different from what seems to be the dominant values. Subsequent to his elaboration on the concept of 'value,' Kluckhohn presents the dimensions of values pointing out that the term 'dimension' is here defined in the same way as it is defined in mathematics. These eight dimensions are summarized in Figure 1.

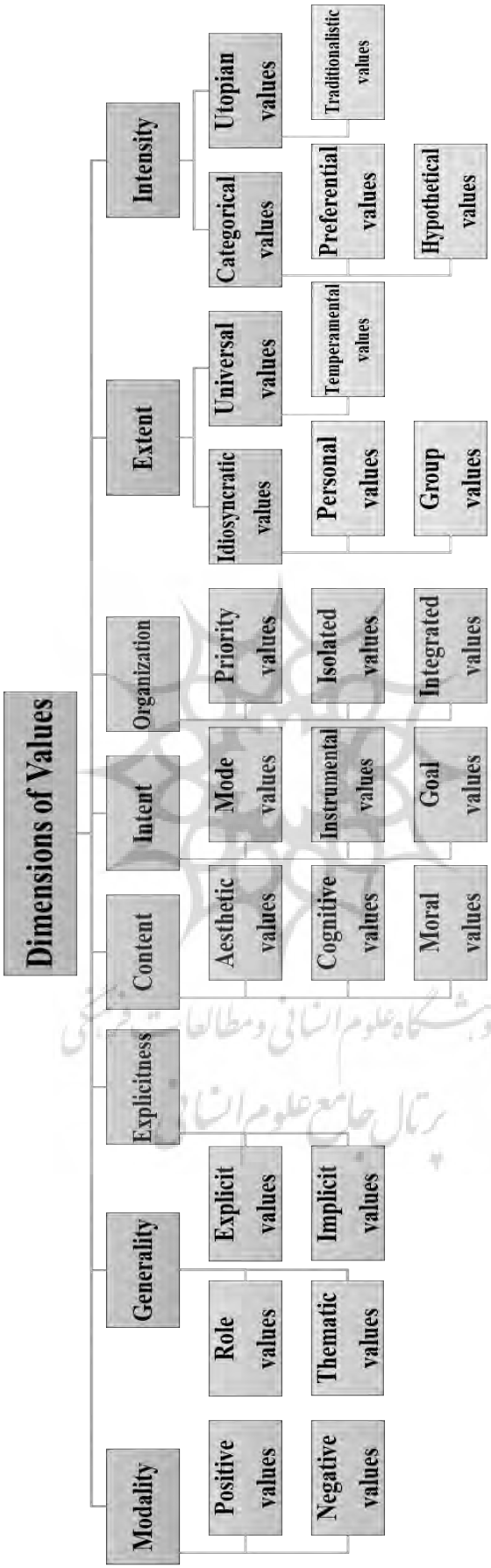

Figure 1. Dimensions of values: Summarized from Clyde Kluckhoh's definition of "Values" (413-420)

Apart from the dimensions of modality and content, regarding the dimension of intent, Kluckhohn explains that mode values are those values that are associated with the preferred or approved style of carrying out an act or the manner of making an object; they are often referred to as 'expressive values' (413). In literary works, these values are often found in stock characters. Berry and Brown have compiled a list of stock characters "from the fields of both literature and drama" that includes but is not limited to "action hero, bully, cynic, damsel in distress, heroine, miser, recluse, and spoiled child" (290-291). Instrumental values are those values that function as means to ends for individuals, while goal values refer to virtues and aims that individuals and societies make (Kluckhohn 413).

While the writers of socialist realism and propagandists prefer instrumental values, other writers criticize instrumental values and favor goal values. Henrik Ibsen's (1828-1906) oeuvre serves as a good example of the confrontation between instrumental and goal values. Ibsen's play *Brand* (1865) is one noteworthy instance of such confrontation. The character of Agnes faces the serious dilemma of choosing between having her goal values or holding the instrumental values that the character of Brand, who is a priest and the eponymous protagonist of the play, familiarizes her with. S∅dal contends that Agnes "fails to combine deontological thinking with evaluations of the consequences and the actual situation in the most decisive conflicts in the play" and that is why she is "not only deceived by her husband, but by her own values which have also destroyed her life and sent her to an early death" (86-87). In his *Billy Budd, Sailor* (1924), Herman Melville (1819-1891) also gives expression to such opposition between instrumental values and goal values. The absolute rule of law, which has become a goal value for everyone, comes into question when as an innocent person, Billy Budd is put to death. Melville's *Billy Budd* is not only an examination of justice and injustice, good and evil; it also presents a minute "dramatization of the twisted relations between knowing and doing, speaking and killing, reading and judging, which make political understanding and action so problematic" (Johnson 599).

Concerning the dimension of generality, in the same manner as those values that are reserved for specific content areas or certain situations, role values are the values that are considered to be proper only in specific roles; however, thematic values apply to a broad range of situations and deal with different areas of culture content (Kluckhohn 413). In literature, the roguish central figure of picaresque novels most often portrays role values while thematic values are depicted in numerous genres and forms. Role values are the dominant type in Thomas Nashe's (1567-1601) *The Unfortunate Traveller* (1594), the plot of which induces a sense of chaos and randomness in the reader because the protagonist, Jack Wilton, who is a rogue and a gambler, "fosters easy irresponsibility and faith in chance" (Gohlke 402).

Considering the dimension of intensity, categorical values refer to the 'musts' and 'must nots' of any culture whose violations are accompanied by strict sanctions (Kluckhohn 414), while preferential values are those that individuals are strongly urged to achieve the failure of which are not only not reproached but are also culturally rationalized (Kluckhohn 414). The distinction between categorical and preferential values is revealed in literature when religious allegories, like John Bunyan's (1628-1688) *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World, to That Which Is to Come* (1678), are compared to and contrasted with an Existentialist work, like Jean-Paul Sartre's (1905-1980) *Erostratus* (1939).

Although utopian values affect the direction of behavior, they are understood to be beyond instant achievement, in the same manner as hypothetical values; however, hypothetical values, paid verbal compliments, has slight influence over individuals' actions (Kluckhohn 414). Larger-than-life characters found in tragedies and epics depict utopian values whereas hypothetical values are common in panegyrics, eulogies, and elegies. One such hypothetical value looms into view in Kurt Vonnegut's (1922-2007) *Cat's Cradle* (1963) in which he mentions the term 'granfalloon' for the first time; it refers to "a proud and meaningless association of human beings" and Vonnegut includes nations in his list of such unnatural abstractions (xv). As one of the most significant concepts both in the Vonnegut universe and that of the readers', granfalloonery is "the profound need for community, for a sense of purpose and of belonging" (Tally 175).

However, to Vonnegut, such a hypothetical value seems ridiculous and in *Cat's Cradle* he clearly shows how "silly such things as school spirit, club membership and nationality are" (Tally 175). In addition, traditionalistic values are those values that in a specific culture are regarded as bearing historic associations, though, due to the changes in that culture or in its situations most of their operative force is lost (Kluckhohn 414). Traditionalistic values are also referred to as passive or ritualistic values, whose forms persist in spite of the fact that the feeling for their content is almost completely gone (Kluckhohn 414). This can explain why religious allegories like the late fifteenth-century morality play *The Summoning of Everyman*, John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress,* or Dante Alighieri's (1265-1321) *Divine Comedy* are studied for their literary merits rather than their traditionalistic values.

Central and peripheral values are also included in this dimension; they are differentiated based on the variety and number of behavior they influence and the extent of the difference that would be observed in the behavior of individuals if these values were to be disappeared (Kluckhohn 414). In literature, central and peripheral values are defined by the popularity and infamy or the obscurity of a work, a genre, or a character type. For example, Thomas Stearns Eliot (1888-1965) brought John Donne's (1572-1631) method of literary creation from the peripheral to the central value by introducing the term "dissociation of sensibility" in his essay "The Metaphysical Poets" (1951). Equally, Eliot pushed William Shakespeare (1564-1616) to the margin of peripheral values through the publication of his critical essay "Hamlet and His Problems" (1919).

With regard to the dimension of explicitness, an explicit value is the one that is verbally expressed by the individual, while an implicit one is to be understood on the part of the observer from the repeated patterns of behavior that also include verbal behavior (Kluckhohn 415). The same pattern is found in literary characterization since telling characters mostly pronounce explicit values while showing characters portray implicit values. Children's literature and those works that clearly refer to the 'moral of the story' also epitomize explicit values, one notable instance of which is Madame Leprince de Beaumont's (1711-1776) *Magasin des Enfants* (*Children's Store*) (1756) that includes, among others, *Beauty and the Beast*. De Beaumont used a frame setting in this collection of fairy tales in order to "transmit different kinds of didactic tales in which a governess engages several young girls between six and ten in discussions about morals, manners, ethics, and gender roles and uses stories to illustrate her points" (Zipes 16). As regards the dimension of extent, an idiosyncratic value is held only by one individual from a group of individuals, while a personal value refers to the personal interpretation of a group or universal value (Kluckhohn 416). Idiosyncratic values can be found in the literary works that are categorized under a specific genre while a personal value can be traced in the works of a particular writer in that genre who tries to adapt the tenets of the genre to his/her own culture and time.

For example, European Absurdist literature of the 1950s and 1960s share many similarities in their depiction of idiosyncratic values about the human condition whereas Tawfiq al-Hakim's (1898-1987) Muslim and Arab version of Absurdism is personal. The character of schoolmaster Gradgrind in Charles Dickens' (1812-1870) *Hard Times: For These Times* (1854) believes that facts are pure and unadorned by personal judgment. He also claims that cultural differences must be homogenized as universal values: "what I want is Facts. Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. […] In this life, we want nothing but Facts, sir; nothing but Facts!" (3-4). However, "as soon as facts are presented, as soon as facts are put out in the world […] they represent a judgment" (Zinn 18), and thus, facts, as regarded by Gradgrind, are in reality akin to personal values, which bear the hallmark of every individual's personal judgment and interpretation.

A group value draws support from a number of individuals that may form an association, a nation, or simply a family, and includes socially agreed modes, means and socially sanctioned ends of action (Kluckhohn 417). In addition, universal values are general and broad, and if the superficial cultural trimmings were removed from the conceptual core, it becomes transparent that universal values go beyond cultural differences (Kluckhohn 417). We can witness group values in European Absurdist literature found in the works of Samuel Beckett (1906-1989) and Eugène Ionesco (1909-1994). However, to mourn the impossibility of mourning for the absurdity of the human condition in this world is a universal value portrayed through the incomprehensibility of

the fictional universe and the nonsensical language, which writers from all over the world in different historical epochs have depicted even if they were not categorized as Absurdist. One example of such absurdist literature is Joseph Heller's (1923-1999) *Catch-22* (1961) that is his World War II satire, which suggests a serious moral dilemma: Engulfed in an insane world, how can man retain his sanity?

Catch-22 is much more than an anti-war novel. "Heller's vision of "the horrifying absurdity of service life in World War II is […] merely an illustration of the absurdity of the human condition itself" (Kennard 75). As a universal value, the acute experience of how to grapple with the absurdity of life is what the characters of *Catch-22* has to go through, for whom not only the idea of pennants as prizes is a charade but also "risking what little life he has left for something so absurd as a country" has become a prosaic familiarity (Heller 81, 257). What adds to such incomprehensibility is the nonsensical language that is spoken; in an episode in a brothel in an Italian town, an Italian old man rants about the decisive victory of Italy while Americans suffer a heavy defeat, justifying himself by mentioning that "Italy is really a very poor and weak country, and that's what makes us so strong […] Yes, I am quite certain that Italy will survive this war and still be in existence long after your own country [America] has been destroyed" (Heller 253).

Kluckhohn argues that all cultures, regardless of their magnificent variations in other respects, represent general agreement on a number of broad universals, and his conviction is that across all cultures the conceptual core of the desirable and non-desirable can be regarded as constant (418). Additionally, temperamental values are those that relate to specific constitutional temperaments such as Buddhistic, Apollonian and other 'paths of life' that are widely distributed all around the world and are manifested in numerous literary works. Hermann Hesse's (1877-1962) *Siddhartha: An Indian Poem* (1922) is a novel that is concerned with Buddhistic temperament and portrays the temperamental values related to it. At odds with his age and particularly its modernist atmosphere, Hesse "engrossed himself in exploiting Indic tradition to seek 'Unity or Oneness', in finding the meaning of life" (Misra 115). Hesse's *Siddhartha*, hence, is his endeavor to seek "this 'Oneness' and to restore faith in humanity" (Misra 115), and through the analysis of the character of Siddhartha, Hesse makes an effort to "present his view about the eternal value of culture and religion" (Misra 121).

In respect of the dimension of the organization, priority values refer to those values that are highly prioritized and can contribute significantly to the consistent functioning and organization of the whole system (Kluckhohn 420). The governmentally supported literature by ideological regimes, like socialist realism mandated by Joseph Stalin in the Soviet Union in 1934 is a prime example of literature mobilizing prioritized Marxist values. Kluckhohn also differentiates between isolated and integrated values. While the former refers to the values that do not support or conflict with other values, the latter

are those values that are proved to be part of an interconnected network (Kluckhohn 420). Most literary works depict integrated values because literature is not created in a vacuum. All literary works are partly shaped by the society and partly shapes the society. Albrecht, hence, maintains that "literature reflects predominantly the significant values and norms of a culture" (426).

5. The Good Life is What Writers Venture for: Material or Non-material Pursuit?

Since the beginning of the production of oral literature, good life and its definition have played a central role for writers of various literary genres. Many ancient literary documents portray the stories of "rulers who, satiated by wealth and fatigued by the expenditure of energy needed to maintain it," searched for the contentedness that a good life brought (Tuan 115). "This life may be conducted in Nature's Eden or on a farm" (Tuan 115). One cannot deny the age-old importance that has always been assumed by material conditions; however, in order to be able to live a good life, material conditions alone cannot be helpful, since "at a time when almost everything can be bought and sold," there are "some things money can't buy" (Sandel 3-5). Fischer introduces three key non-material qualities that pave the way for individuals to attain a good life that include 1) aspiration and opportunity, 2) dignity and fairness, and 3) commitment to larger purposes. Fischer argues that individuals must have a critical outlook towards life, meaning that they must specify the elements of the good life in their own culture and also other cultures. It is because this will open up opportunities for improvements, and that human beings must consider material wealth necessary only presupposing its function as conducive to non-material qualities on the path of achieving a good life (1-2).

Reading works of literature serves as a useful starting point for obtaining such a critical outlook; an apposite instance might be Daniel Defoe's works including *Robinson Crusoe* (1719), *A Journal of the Plague Year* (1722), and *Moll Flanders* (1722) because "they tell us not only of English urban and sea-faring life during the mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth centuries" but also about "the social values of the time, and the critical perspective of the writer" (Reeve 73). What adds to the usefulness of Defoe's works for this purpose is that with his fiction he ushered "a new reality-based story-telling style" (Reeve 73). Tedlock also supposes that on the way to gaining such a critical outlook, "we are all becoming ethnographers, gathering, inscribing, and interpreting what others say and do in order to make sense of our own sayings and doings" (xii).

With regard to the good life, there are two types of happiness: hedonic, which refers to everyday fulfillment, and eudaimonic, which conforms to Aristotle's concept of a satisfied life, and refers to the satisfaction one gains from constructing the life they value. Since the latter type is judged by the criteria of 'the good life' and 'well-being,' Fischer deduces "[i]f wellbeing is more than just being well" (2), possibly it can be concluded that the good life also cannot be regarded as a fixed state. Instead, it must be a continuing aspiration that inspires the individual to achieve something better and makes life's pursuits purposeful (Fischer 2).

Hence, simply being happy is not enough to conclude that one is living a good life, because in the light of this perspective, good life is the achievement of a worthy life that often entails foregoing hedonistic pleasures. In order to understand the good life, no matter where it is found, in addition to the material conditions, individuals' imaginations, desires, and aspirations, which are the subjective factors that drive their engagement with the world, must also be considered (Fischer 5). As a result, Fischer admits that "*adequate material resources* ('adequate' being relatively defined), *physical health and safety*, and *family and social relations* are all core and necessary elements of wellbeing," however, they are not sufficient (5).

Concerning the first subjective domain, aspiration, and opportunity, "[w]ellbeing requires a capacity for *aspiration* as well as the agency and opportunity to make realizing aspirations seem viable" (Fischer 5). This domain recognizes the "strategic element of choice," and embraces "a subjective sense of desire and the role of imagination in determinations of value" (Fischer 6). It has been argued that the issue of well-being and the element that imparts meaning to life are both "grounded in the mystery of existential discontent, a sense of insufficiency; and loss [which underlines] hope, a sense that one may become other or more than one presently is or was fated to be" (Jackson xi). This hopeful feeling that develops out of a sense of discontentment functions both as a larger purpose or life project, which is necessary to well-being no matter if the individual is poor or rich, and an aspirational quality that gives meaning to much of what individuals decide to do.

However, the effectiveness of agency and aspiration is for the most part dependent on 'opportunity structures' as in addition to the individual's will, there must also be a way (Ibrahim and Alkire 383-384). Such opportunity structures may be "formal and informal social norms; ethnic, gender and other systematic distinctions […] and the whole range of institutional factors that define the space of the possible" (Fischer 6). Therefore, individuals decide and act through their own aspirations and agency that are henceforth limited by the present opportunity structures (Fischer 6). However, there may also happen cases of 'frustrated freedom' that refer to the condition where "high levels of agency belief [is] combined with limited opportunities" (Victor et al. 39).

The second subjective domain, dignity and fairness, may be considered from two perspectives. "On the one hand, these include basic rights such as freedom from discrimination and exclusion. In a more expansive sense, they also entail the positive value of respect, a sense of being treated fairly" (Fischer 7). Fischer explains how the notion of 'fairness' is understood subjectively by individuals, and that in order to be able to live a good life, this notion must be respected by others, as individuals react viscerally to what they regard as unfair and unequal. Interestingly, since the nineteenth century, some literary genres are systematically focusing on class distinction and inequality. Mark Twain's (1835-1910) novels is an instance of such literary works since they engage the reader with questions of "race, social justice, class structure, and imperialism in nineteenth and early twentieth century culture" (Surrey 139).

Another work that portrays inequality and class distinction is Tillie Olsen's (1912-2007) *Yonnondio: From the Thirties* (1974). The novel follows the wretched life of the Holbrook family during the last years of 1920s and the Great Depression, each of whom experiences their own desperate struggle to be able to move on with their lives. For Mazie, the oldest child of Jim and Anna Holbrook, life has stopped because she feels how her father's career in a Wyoming coal mine has stagnated for long; to Mazie, coal mines have transformed into the "bowels of earth" which would someday "grow monstrous and swollen with these old tired dreams, swell and break," taking away all her hopes for a bright future (Olsen 5, 8).

While Mazie is wasting away, after being harassed by Sheen McEvoy who has lost his job in the mines, Jim's sole concern is to earn money, which was eventually "going to drove him crazy" (Olsen 81). Anna, meanwhile, has become sick with the thought of money, "sicknesses. Streets. Dirt. The children, my children. What is happening to them, what will be? My babies, my children. Outside no answer" (Olsen 120). The only ray of hope that has not yet been stifled for this anguished family, which is suffering from the increasing inequality and fierce class distinction brought on by the Great Depression, is the noise made by baby Bess, the last child of the family, who repeatedly drops a fruit-jar lid on the table and thereby fills the "fetid fevered air […] with Anna's, Mazie's, [and] Ben's laughter" (Olsen 191). Will, Mazie's brother, enters these cheerful moments with a pleasant surprise; a borrowed radio to the sound of which all the family members listen serenely.

Commitment to larger purposes is the third subjective domain. The presence of larger purposes and life projects that transcend narrow self-interest are regarded as central to the wellbeing of all human beings (Fischer 7). Cultural values and top priorities in life define 'meaningful' for us and induce a sense of purpose (Fischer 7). Meaningful projects might also overlap with virtue. They can be defined as the excellence at a particular practice, the mastery of a specific skill or even attending to one's family. Such projects are not necessarily limited to what is regarded as positive and thus they may include "hate-group ideology as well as religious fervor, the mastery of a video game as much as mastery of a vocation" (Fischer 7).

The essential criterion for being regarded as meaningful and for serving as the larger purposes of life conforms to no absolute code as it spans the range of all social and political leanings. In addition, the existence of commitment to larger purposes makes life meaningful regardless of whether these purposes and projects are achieved or not. In pursuing "larger purposes and life projects, we improvise, adapt, and even sometimes act against our own better judgment, betraying values we have earlier proclaimed. Yet believing in these projects gives meaning and direction to life" (Fischer 8).

Although being poor makes one's life miserable, affluence does not necessarily guarantee wellbeing, and those individuals who contribute to larger purposes and possess the agency to bring about changes are more contented with their lives. Generally rich people tend to be happier in comparison with poor people; however, this does not ensure a one-to-one correspondence between happiness and income (Fischer 8). In spite of the fact that income is on occasion elevated from a means of purchase to a measure individuals use in order to evaluate others and themselves (Layard 44), it is worth noting that "more income produces proportionate advances in happiness up to a given point" (Fischer 9). The influential capabilities perspective on development perceives the purpose of financial gain to be 'substantive freedom' that signifies "the ability of people to live the lives that they themselves value" (Victor et al. 30). In addition to financial gain, what contributes to the individual's pursuit of the life they value is agency that refers to the "capability to act with intention, to envision and make changes in one's life" (Fischer 9).

As such, poverty acquires a new definition as referring to the condition when life is no more capable of offering the individual "acceptable choices across a broad range of important life decisions" so that the individual feels "a serious lack of freedom to be or to do" what s/he desires to (Foster et al. 1). Many a literary genre and form, from ancient to post-post-modern era, has elaborated on different forms of poverty and wealth that may not be necessarily finalized by financial prosperity. Korte and Zipp, thus, propose that literature can "(re-)configure how we think, feel and behave in relation to poverty and the poor" (3). Moreover, social scientists at the London School of Economics concerned with development studies argue that works of fiction can offer "a wide-ranging set of insights [...] that are all too often either ignored or de-personalized within academic or policy accounts, without compromising either complexity, politics or readability in the way that academic literature is often accused of doing" (Lewis et al. 209).

6. Conclusion

In this research, the fruitful collaboration between anthropology and literature has been investigated. Through a number of prominent critics' views, it was clarified how literary works can be regarded as a prominent part of the culture in which they are created, and how they can also reflect social realities in the same way ritual, kinship, and agriculture do. Moreover, literary works both comment on, criticize and confirm these realities. On the basis of the above discussion, it was proved how litero-anthropological research can be carried out by means of applying anthropological criteria in the analysis of works of fiction, which underlines the grave theoretical importance of these domains. Litero-anthropological research results in three levels of reading and interpreting literature: fictional works can be regarded as 1) ethnographic sources, 2) ethnographic descriptions

or 3) theoretical anthropology, all three level of which were instantiated and analyzed through the examination of different literary works. Through considering the results of this study, it was indicated that the settings of works of literature can portray the author's targeted society while from the various typology of fictional characters, protagonists have the potential to function as exemplary persons. The portrayal of exemplary persons in literary works was analyzed through the application of Scheler's seven characteristics. Exemplary persons can be fictional characters or the fictionalization of actual personages. They present a specific set of values to the other characters of the same literary work. In order to discover what the protagonists' values consist of, this study clarified that their verbal and nonverbal behavior must be analyzed according to Kluckhohn's criteria. Besides, it was shown how the main characters' values can be categorized according to the dimensions of values that are suggested by Kluckhohn. Furthermore, based on Fischer's theory, which alludes to the necessity of the non-material qualities in the attainment of the good life, it was illuminated whether following the protagonist's set of values is effective in bringing about the good life for the other characters of the same fictional work.

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