

Preface

One out of two anthropologists in this country is now employed outside of academia. This situation reflects an increasing realization that anthropology, and what it has discovered about humans, is useful. Why else would so many anthropologists be hired to help solve practical problems? It is appropriate therefore that this edition focus more on applied and practicing anthropology than in the past. We do so in many of the chapters, particularly in a new set of boxes that highlight how anthropological knowledge has been used to solve problems in the real world.

As always, in updating this book, we go beyond descriptions. We are interested not only in *what* humans were and are like; we are also interested in *why* humans are the way they are, why they got to be that way, and why they vary. When there are alternative explanations, we try to communicate the necessity to evaluate them on logical grounds as well as on the basis of the available evidence. The chapter now titled "Theory and Evidence in Cultural Anthropology" is designed to help students see how explanations can be and have been tested. Throughout the book, we note when the available evidence is still lacking or is not clear. We would be pleased if we succeeded in helping students understand that no idea, including ideas put forward in textbooks, should be accepted simply as authority.



NEW FEATURES

CD-ROM

A CD-ROM accompanies every book. Developed by Object Learning Environment, Inc., ***Anthropology: Culture and Diversity*** has been adapted to coincide with the book's chapters and provides quizzes, exercises, Internet links, and links to portions of the text for definitions.

INTERNET EXERCISES

With the help of Ramesh Krishnamurthy of Oregon State University, Internet exercises have been developed to provide students with Web-based resources on topics covered in each chapter. Students are encouraged to use the Internet addresses (URLs) provided to discover more about the dynamic changes that are occurring in the field of anthropology.

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY BOXES

The new boxes on Applied Anthropology describe how anthropology and applied anthropologists have worked to put anthropological knowledge to use in dealing with practical problems (examples: getting development programs to notice women farmers; analyzing why Bedouin do not readily settle down; finding a way to reforest Haiti; and impact of the world-system—deforestation of the Amazon).



HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CHAPTERS AND WHAT IS NEW IN THIS EDITION

CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?

Chapter 1 introduces the student to anthropology. We discuss what we think is special and distinctive about anthropology in general, and about each of its subfields in particular. We outline how each of the subfields is related to other disciplines such as biology, psychology, and sociology. We direct attention to the increasing importance of applied anthropology by expanding the section on applied anthropology with a revised Figure 1-1 to show how applied anthropology relates to other subfields, and adding a box on an applied anthropologist at work.

CHAPTER 2: EVOLUTION

This chapter discusses evolutionary theory as it applies to all forms of life, including humans. Following an extensive review of natural selection and what it means, we discuss how natural selection may operate on behavioral traits and how cultural evolution differs from biological evolution. We consider the ethical issues posed by the possibility of genetic engineering. The first box examines the evidence suggesting that evolution proceeds abruptly rather than slowly and steadily. The second box discusses whether genetic engineering should be feared.

CHAPTER 3: THE LIVING PRIMATES

This chapter describes the living nonhuman primates and their variable adaptations as background for understanding the evolution of primates in general and humans in particular. After describing the various species, we discuss some possible explanations of how the primates differ—in body and

brain size, size of social group, and female sexuality. The chapter ends with a discussion of the distinctive features of humans in comparison with the other primates. The first box deals with how and why many primates are endangered and how they might be protected. The second box describes a primatologist and some of her work.

CHAPTER 4: PRIMATE EVOLUTION: FROM EARLY PRIMATES TO HOMINIDS

This chapter begins with the emergence of the early primates and ends with what we know or suspect about the Miocene apes, one of whom (known or unknown) was ancestral to bipedal hominids. We describe ways of dating fossils and the molecular clock. To highlight how theory is generated and revised, the first box deals with how a paleoanthropologist has reexamined his own theory of primate origins. The second box describes a giant ape that overlapped with *Homo erectus*, and why the ape became extinct.

CHAPTER 5: EARLY HOMINIDS AND THEIR CULTURES

This chapter starts with the emergence of the first bipedal hominids. Before getting to the available fossil evidence, we first discuss trends in, and possible explanations of, the distinctive developments in the hominid line—bipedalism, the expansion of the brain, and the reduction of the face, teeth, and jaws. We update and discuss the latest fossil finds, including the recent finds of australopithecines and a possible precursor, namely, *Ardipithecus ramidus* from 4.5 million years ago, who may have been mostly or intermittently bipedal. The first box discusses the puzzle posed by similarities between the robust australopithecines and *Homo*. The second box discusses research evaluating the claim that *Homo erectus* should be divided into two species. We discuss how the earliest dating of *Homo erectus* may affect ideas about when hominids first moved out of Africa.

CHAPTER 6: THE EMERGENCE OF *HOMO SAPIENS* AND THEIR CULTURES

This chapter discusses the transition between *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* and the emergence of modern-looking humans. In keeping with our global orientation, we discuss fossil and archaeological evidence from many areas of the world, not just Europe and the Near East. We discuss the new

evidence—preserved wooden spears—indicating that people were hunting big game at least 400,000 years ago. The first box describes the evidence from mitochondrial DNA regarding the “Out of Africa” theory of modern human origins. A second box describes the latest evidence from South America indicating that modern humans moved into the New World south of Canada at least 12,500 years ago.

CHAPTER 7: HUMAN VARIATION

This chapter brings the discussion of human evolution into the present, dealing with biological variation in living human populations and how biological anthropologists study such variation. In a much revised section on race and racism, we discuss why many anthropologists think that the concept of race as applied to humans is not scientifically useful. In this view, human variation is more usefully studied in terms of clinal variation in particular traits. For example, we indicate how differences between populations—in body build, skin color, height, susceptibility to disease, lactase deficiency, etc.—can be explained as adaptations to differences in the physical and cultural environment. We discuss the myths of racism and how race is largely a social category in humans. One of the boxes deals with differences in average I.Q. scores and what they mean. The other box deals with biological factors affecting the capacity to have offspring.

CHAPTER 8: ORIGINS OF FOOD PRODUCTION AND SETTLED LIFE

This chapter deals with the emergence of broad-spectrum collecting and settled life, and the domestication of plants and animals in various parts of the world. Our discussion focuses mainly on the possible causes and consequences of these developments in southeast Asia, Africa, the Andes, and eastern North America, as well as the Near East and Europe. We discuss puzzles such as why much of Native North America switched to a dependence on corn even though the earlier agricultural diet was apparently adequate. The first box discusses the domestication of dogs and cats, and the second box discusses how researchers are finding out about ancient diets from chemical analysis of bones and teeth.

CHAPTER 9: ORIGINS OF CITIES AND STATES

This chapter deals with the rise of civilizations in various areas of the world and the theories that have been offered to explain the development of

state-type political systems. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the decline and collapse of states. For example, environmental degradation may at least partly account for the fall of the Akkadian empire and other civilizations not far away after 2300 A.D. Environmental degradation may be due to events in the natural world, but the behavior of humans may sometimes be responsible. Civilizations may also decline because human behavior has increased the incidence of disease. One box discusses the links between imperialism, colonialism, and the state. The other box discusses the consequences of ancient imperialism for women's status.

CHAPTER 10: THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE

This chapter introduces the concept of culture. We first try to convey a feeling for what culture is before dealing more explicitly with the concept and some assumptions about it. We have added a new section on cultural relativism, putting the concept in its historical context and discussing recent thinking on the subject. We discuss the fact that individual behavior varies in all societies and how such variation may be the beginning of new cultural patterns. The first box, which asks whether Western countries are ethnocentric in their ideas about human rights, has been extensively revised to incorporate the debate within anthropology about cultural relativism. The second box shows how an anthropologist, Dawn Chatty, enabled the government of Oman to evaluate the needs of the Bedouin.

CHAPTER 11: THEORY AND EVIDENCE IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

This chapter now combines what used to be two *separate chapters on schools of thought in cultural anthropology* and explanation and evidence. In combining the two, we focus first on those theoretical orientations that remain popular in cultural anthropology. Then we discuss what it means to explain and what kinds of evidence are needed to evaluate an explanation. We end with a discussion of the major types of study in cultural anthropology—ethnography, ethnohistory, within-culture comparisons, regional comparisons, and worldwide cross-cultural comparisons. The first box uses a research question about the Abelam of New Guinea to illustrate how different theoretical orientations suggest different types of answers. The second box explores the differences between scientific and humanistic understanding and points out that the different ap-

proaches are not really incompatible. In the third box, we have two purposes. One is to give a feeling for the experience of fieldwork; the second is to use the Mead-Freeman controversy to explore the issue of how we can know that an ethnographer is accurate.

In most of the chapters that follow, we try to convey the range of cultural variation with ethnographic examples from all over the world. Wherever we can, we discuss possible explanations of why societies may be similar or different in regard to some aspect of culture. If anthropologists have no explanation as yet for the variation, we say so. But if we have some idea of the conditions that may be related to a particular kind of variation, even if we do not know yet why they are related, we discuss that too. If we are to train students to go beyond what we know now, we have to tell them what we do not know, as well as what we think we know.

CHAPTER 12: COMMUNICATION AND LANGUAGE

We begin by discussing communication in humans and other animals. We have added new information on human nonverbal communication. After discussing the origins of language and how creoles and children's language acquisition may help us understand the origins, we move on to structural linguistics and the processes of linguistic divergence. After discussing the interrelationships between language and other aspects of culture, we end with the ethnography of speaking, including differences in speech by status, gender, and ethnicity.

We have greatly revised the sections on phonology and morphology, including new research on consonant-vowel syllables, and have added a new discussion of research on linguistic relativity. The *first box deals with the problem of language extinction* and what some anthropologists are doing about it. To stimulate thinking about the possible impact of language on thought, we ask in the second box whether the English language promotes sexist thinking, referring to new research on the subject.

CHAPTER 13: GETTING FOOD

Chapter 13 discusses how societies vary in getting their food, how they have changed over time, and how such variation seems to affect other kinds of cultural variation—including variation in economic systems, social stratification, and political life. We include a discussion of "market foragers" to emphasize that most people in a modern market economy are not in fact producers of food. The first box deals

with the change from “Man the Hunter” to “Woman the Gatherer,” and we raise the question of whether either view is accurate. Although it is commonly thought that industrialization is mainly to blame for negative developments in the environment, our second box deals with the negative effects in preindustrial times of irrigation, animal grazing, and overhunting.

CHAPTER 14: ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

Chapter 14 discusses how societies vary in the ways they allocate resources (what is “property” and what ownership may mean), convert or transform resources through labor into usable goods, and distribute and perhaps exchange goods and services. We discuss the effects of political systems (including colonialism) on land ownership and use, and we distinguish between gift and commodity exchanges. We have added a discussion of why children in some foraging societies do more work than in others. The first box addresses the controversy over whether communal ownership leads to economic disaster. After the discussion of commercialization, the second box illustrates the impact of the world-system on local economies, with special reference to the deforestation of the Amazon.

CHAPTER 15: SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

Chapter 15 deals with variation in degree of social stratification and how the various forms of social inequality (rank, class, caste, slavery) may develop. We discuss new research on how egalitarian societies keep leaders from dominating others, and how rank societies might have more inequality than previously thought, judging by research on Ifaluk. The section on class systems has been extensively revised. We now include a community study in Canada that describes differing perceptions of social class by different individuals and how the class system became more open with in-migration. In the first of the boxes in this chapter, we discuss recent changes in the United States, particularly the widening of the gap between rich and poor, and how people feel about the changes. In the second box, we discuss social stratification on the global level—how the gap between rich and poor countries has been widening, and what may account for that trend.

CHAPTER 16: SEX, GENDER, AND CULTURE

In the first part of Chapter 16 we discuss how and why sex and gender differences vary cross-culturally; in the second part we discuss variation in

sexual attitudes and practices. We explain how the concepts of gender do not always involve just two genders. We emphasize all the ways women contribute to work, and how conclusions about contributions by gender depend on how you measure “work.” We have added a discussion of female aggression in an Australian aborigine community. In the first box, we discuss research on why women’s political participation may be increasing in some Coast Salish communities of western Washington State and British Columbia, now that they have elected councils. A second box examines cross-cultural research about why some societies allow women to participate in combat. Finally, we have incorporated new survey results on the United States in the section on variation in sexual attitudes and practices.

CHAPTER 17: MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

After discussing various theories about why marriage might be universal, we move on to discuss variation in how one marries, restrictions on marriage, whom one should marry, and how many one should marry. We close with a discussion of variation in family form. To introduce topics regarding the husband-wife relationship that are only beginning to be investigated, we have added a box on variation in love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy. The box in the section on family organization discusses why one-parent families are on the increase in countries like ours.

CHAPTER 18: MARITAL RESIDENCE AND KINSHIP

In addition to explaining the variation that exists in marital residence, kinship structure, and kinship terminology, this chapter emphasizes how understanding residence is important for understanding social life. One of the boxes discusses the possible relationship between neolocality and adolescent rebellion. The second box is on how variation in residence and kinship affects the lives of women.

CHAPTER 19: ASSOCIATIONS AND INTEREST GROUPS

We discuss the importance of associations in many parts of the world, particularly nonvoluntary associations such as age sets, and the increasing importance of voluntary associations in the modern world. We have added a new section on a special kind of mutual aid association—rotating-credit associations. We discuss how they work to provide lump sums of

money to individuals, how they are especially important to women, and how they become even more important when people move to new places. The first box addresses the question of whether separate women's associations increase women's status and power; the second box discusses why street gangs develop and why they often become violent.

CHAPTER 20: POLITICAL LIFE

We look at how societies have varied in their levels of political organization, the various ways people become leaders, the degree to which they participate in the political process, and the peaceful and violent methods of resolving conflict. We discuss how colonialization has transformed legal systems and ways of making decisions. We have expanded the discussion of peaceful resolution of conflict and now discuss research that casts doubt on the notion that wars are fought over women. The first box deals with how new local courts among the Abelam of New Guinea are allowing women to address sexual grievances. The second box deals with the cross-national and cross-cultural relationship between economic development and democracy.

CHAPTER 21: PSYCHOLOGY AND CULTURE

Chapter 21 discusses some of the universals of psychological development, some psychological differences between societies and what might account for them, how people in different societies conceive of personality differently (e.g., the concept of self), and how knowledge of psychological processes may help us understand cultural variation. We have added a new discussion on research indicating that even the concept of love, as mysterious and as culturally variable as it seems, may be similar in different cultures. We also discuss research showing that schizophrenic individuals in different cultures seem to have the same patterns of distinctive eye movements. The first box in this chapter discusses the idea that women have a different sense of themselves than men have, and therefore a different sense of morality. The second box, which refers to a recent comparison of preschools in Japan, China, and the United States, discusses how schools may consciously and unconsciously teach values.

CHAPTER 22: RELIGION AND MAGIC

After discussing why religion may be culturally universal, we discuss variation in religious belief and practice with extensive examples. We have added a discussion on revitalization movements and a dis-

cussion of how humans tend to anthropomorphize in the face of unpredictable events. The first box discusses research on New England fishermen that suggests how their taboos, or "rituals of avoidance," may be anxiety reducing. The second box discusses the emergence of new religions or cults and points out that nearly all the major churches or religions in the world began as minority sects or cults.

CHAPTER 23: THE ARTS

After discussing how art might be defined, we discuss variation in the visual arts, music, and folklore, and review how some of those variations might be explained. In regard to how the arts change over time, we discuss the myth that the art of "simpler" peoples is timeless, and we have added a section on changes in art as a result of European contact. We address the role of ethnocentrism in studies of art with a section on how Western museums and art critics look at the visual art of less complex cultures. One box discusses how art varies with different kinds of political systems. The second box, dealing with universal symbolism in art, reviews recent research on the emotions displayed in masks.

CHAPTER 24: CULTURE CHANGE

After discussing the ultimate sources of culture change—discovery and innovation—we discuss some of what is known about the conditions under which people are likely to accept innovations. We have added a new section on costs and benefits of innovations. We discuss external and internal pressures for culture change and the likelihood of cultural diversity in the future. One of the boxes examines what has happened in Communist China—what has changed because of government intervention and what has persisted nevertheless. To convey that culture change often has biological consequences, we have added a new box on obesity, hypertension, and diabetes as health consequences of modernization.

CHAPTER 25: APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS

After pointing out that about half of our profession is now engaged in applied and practicing anthropology, the first part of this extensively revised chapter reviews the interaction between basic and applied research, the types of jobs outside of academia, the history and types of applied anthropology in the United States, the ethical issues involved in trying to improve people's lives, the difficulties in evaluating whether a program is beneficial, and ways of imple-

menting planned changes. We point out how applied anthropologists are playing more of a role in planning, rather than as peripheral advisers to change programs already in place. The three boxes show how anthropologists have been able to help in a variety of domains—in business, in medical anthropology, and in reforestation. We have added a section on collaborative applied anthropology in which the target population is involved in planning and carrying out projects. Finally, we discuss how research may suggest possible solutions to various global social problems, including AIDS, disasters, homelessness, crime, family violence, and war. The section on famine pays increased attention to social factors involved in producing famine.

CONTINUING FEATURES

BOXES IN EACH CHAPTER

In addition to the new boxes on applied anthropology, we provide three other kinds of boxes:

CURRENT ISSUES. These boxes deal with topics students may have heard about in the news (examples: the increase in single-parent families; the widening gap between rich and poor in the United States) or topics that are currently the subject of debate in the profession (examples: science versus humanism; human rights and cultural relativity).

RESEARCH FRONTIERS. These boxes look at researchers at work or take an in-depth look at new research or a research controversy (examples: love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy; the universality of emotions expressed in masks).

NEW PERSPECTIVES ON GENDER. These boxes involve issues pertaining to sex and gender, both in anthropology and everyday life (examples: sexism in language; separate women's associations and women's status and power; morality in women versus men).

READABILITY

We derive a lot of pleasure from trying to describe research findings, especially complicated ones, in ways that introductory students can understand. Thus, we try to minimize technical jargon, using only those terms students must know to appreciate the achievements of anthropology and to take advanced courses. We think readability is important, not only because it may enhance the reader's understanding of what we write, but also because it should make learning about

anthropology more enjoyable! When new terms are introduced, which of course must happen sometimes, they are set off in boldface type and defined.

GLOSSARY TERMS

At the end of each chapter we list the new terms that have been introduced; these terms were identified by boldface type and defined in the text. We deliberately do not repeat the definitions at the end of the chapter to allow students to test themselves against the definitions provided in the Glossary at the end of the book.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS

We also provide three or four questions at the end of each chapter that may stimulate thinking about the implications of the chapter. The questions do not ask for repetition of what is in the text. We want students to imagine, to go beyond what we know or think we know.

SUMMARIES AND SUGGESTED READING

In addition to the outline provided at the beginning of each chapter, there is a detailed summary at the end of each chapter that will help the student review the major concepts and findings discussed. Suggested Reading provides general or more extensive references on the subject matter of the chapter.

A COMPLETE GLOSSARY AT THE END OF THE BOOK

As noted above, important glossary terms for each chapter are listed (without definitions) at the end of each chapter, so students can readily check their understanding after they have read the chapter. A complete Glossary is provided at the back of the book to review all terms in the book and serve as a convenient reference for the student.

NOTES AT THE END OF THE BOOK

Because we believe firmly in the importance of documentation, we think it essential to tell our readers, both professional and student, what our conclusions are based on. Usually the basis is published research. References to the relevant studies are provided in complete notes by chapter at the end of the book and an Index to the Notes.

SUPPLEMENTS

The supplement package for this textbook has been carefully crafted to amplify and illuminate materials in the text itself.