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Cultural Anthropology

FIFTEENTH EDITION



CAROL R. EMBER

MELVIN EMBER



Cultural Anthropology

Fifteenth Edition

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Preface

One approach to studying cultural anthropology is to explore a few topics in depth; for example, gender, human use of the environment, or globalization. In *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition, we take a different approach and focus on the unique ways anthropologists look at humans, regardless of the topic. First, our chapters consider the scope of human history. Second, we take seriously the approach that culture needs to be considered in a broader context—this means considering the environments in which people live as well as the biological attributes that human populations possess. Third, anthropology is broadly a comparative and global discipline, paying greater attention than most disciplines to variation in all world regions. Wherever possible, we include research that tests theory across time and with a worldwide scope. Finally, in discussing the constants and variables of human life, we take a holistic approach, considering many facets of life to give as a more contextual picture.

In other words, our textbook is holistic, biocultural, historical, and cross-cultural. This approach and philosophy has characterized all of our editions. The fact that our emphases have not changed over editions does not mean that our content and organization has not improved with each new edition. It has. Indeed, we realized with the help of some very savvy reviewers that streamlining our materials by removing the part sections, eliminating a chapter, and trimming some content will help make the material easier to navigate. With the inclusion of these changes, we hope the organization of this edition is clearer than it may have been previously. And, as in every edition, we update the text with new research. In this edition, we have added nearly 200 new references.

We recognize that some topics are very important at this time—topics for which cultural anthropology provides important insights. In *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition, we not only increased coverage of these topics in the chapter text, but we also used our box features to highlight topics of current importance. Our boxes focus on *diversity*—gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation; *global issues*—including climate change and environmental degradation; *applied anthropology*; as well as *current research* on issues of particular importance to the field.

In contrast to other anthropological textbooks, *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition, is more comparative and cross-cultural. This means that we not only provide a variety of concrete ethnographic examples to give students a vivid picture of cultural variation, but we also integrate the results of more than 800 cross-cultural hypothesis-testing studies to give the broadest possible information about the universality of a trait or the general predictors of variation. We are aided in this endeavor by a new database that the Human Relations Area Files produces called *Explaining Human Culture*. So, for example, in Chapter 9: Sex and Gender, we discuss general patterns

in the division of labor by gender, cross-cultural predictors of the relative contribution of women and men to primary subsistence, and predictors of more restrictive rules about heterosexual and homosexual behavior.

Finally, we have always tried to go beyond descriptions to explain not only what humans are and were like, but also how they became that way, in all their variety. This edition is no different. An important part of updating is finding new explanations and new evidence. We take the effort to provide the most current evidence and explanations because we believe that ideas, including ideas put forward in academic materials, should not be accepted, even tentatively, without supporting tests that could have gone the other way. While we have always taken this approach in *Cultural Anthropology*, we feel our evidence-based approach is particularly important today since students need to be able to discern for themselves what are—and what are not—evidence-based understandings and explanations of both social and physical phenomena.

What's New to This Edition

A Streamlined Organization

In the last edition, we did a close reexamination of the text and added new pedagogy. Users responded very favorably to those changes. For this edition, our reviewers asked that we take a closer look at the overall organization as well as the length. Recognizing how difficult it is to cover all aspects of cultural anthropology in one semester or quarter, we decided to eliminate the global problems chapter and integrate that material into the remaining content. By placing global issues in context, our hope is that instructors will be able to illustrate the anthropological approach to these problems and cover more material in less time. We also eliminated the part structure since many reviewers told us it often made it difficult for them to determine how best to develop their syllabi.

Restructured Boxes Focusing on Issues Relevant in Today's World

While we have always discussed global issues and diversity, in this edition we have highlighted these important topics further with boxes spread throughout the text. Thus, we have added new Perspectives on Diversity and Global Issues boxes to better reflect issues of concern in the world today.

- **Global Issues Boxes.** Global Issues boxes discuss worldwide social problems such as terrorism, the effects of violence on children, global inequality, problems faced by refugees, environmental degradation,

and accelerating climate change and its effects on culture. While some of these boxes are new, many were adapted from material in the global problems chapter of the last edition.

- **Perspectives on Diversity Boxes.** These boxes consider issues pertaining to gender, ethnicity, and the movement of people, both in anthropology and everyday life. Examples include the discussion of migrants working abroad to send money home, sexism in language, arranging marriages in the diaspora, unequal treatment of African Americans in medicine, and women in combat. All have been closely evaluated for this edition.
- **Applied Anthropology Boxes.** These boxes provide students with a better understanding of the vast range of issues to which anthropological knowledge can be usefully applied. Anthropology is not a discipline focused on pure research. Most anthropologists want their work to be actively used to help others. And, in our increasingly interconnected world, it would seem that anthropological knowledge has become increasingly valuable for understanding others. Examples include keeping languages from extinction, how subsistence practices affect the environment, preserving rock art, eating disorders and cultural ideas about beauty, and creating better business cultures.
- **Current Research Boxes.** Current Research boxes focus on pure research. Examples include asking whether communal ownership leads to economic disaster; variation in love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy in the husband–wife relationship; emotion expressed in masks; and whether religion is a force for cooperation and harmony.

Updated Research

The world is constantly changing, so taking a closer look at the references and citations is always essential to a new edition, and we did our best to update wherever possible. The seminal works remain, but we have included current citations and updates to ensure students are receiving the latest information. We have added coverage on issues such as whether language promotes sexist thinking in Chapter 5. There is also new information on environmental and climate change in Chapters 2, 5, and 6 and updated and new content on global inequality in Chapter 8. These are just a few of the many updates you will find in *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition.

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Highlights of the Text

Chapter 1: What Is Anthropology? Chapter 1 introduces the student to anthropology. We discuss what we think is 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 and the importance of understanding others in today's globalized world. To emphasize the importance of research, we include two Current Research boxes on individual researchers (an ethnographer and a physical anthropologist); and, to illustrate how anthropological research can provide insights into current issues, we've added a new Global Issues box on refugees.

Chapter 2: Culture and Culture Change After introducing the concept of culture and some of the controversies surrounding the concept, we emphasize that culture is always changing. Throughout the chapter, we discuss individual variation and how such variation may be the beginning of new cultural patterns. We also discuss attitudes that hinder the study of culture, cultural relativism and the issue of human rights, patterning of culture, culture and adaptation, and mechanisms of culture change, before getting to the emergence of new cultures and the impact of globalization. We have added a new section on the cumulative nature of culture, updated the discussion of acculturation to emphasize its generally coercive nature, and updated our discussion of the Arab Spring in discussing political change. The first box is a Current Research box on how much the Chinese government has been able to change culture. The second Applied Anthropology box, now updated, discusses an applied anthropologist's attempts to accommodate Bedouin needs in designed change programs with the Oman government. The new Global Issues box asks how much accelerating climate change will accelerate culture change.

Chapter 3: Culture and the Individual In this chapter, we discuss some of the universals of psychological development and the processes that contribute to differences in childhood experience and personality formation and have updated the section on children's work. We then turn to how understanding psychological processes may help us understand cultural variation. The chapter closes with a section on the individual as an agent of culture change.

The Current Research box addresses research on apparent cultural differences in emotional expressiveness. The Applied Anthropology box discusses the degree to which schools in different societies teach different values.

Chapter 4: Understanding and Explaining Culture In this chapter, we focus on what it means to explain and what kinds of evidence are needed to evaluate an explanation. We provide a brief introduction to some of the major ideas that have historically guided anthropological explanations in the United States and then turn to the major methods used in cultural anthropology to gather evidence to test explanations. The two boxes focus on evidence and explanation: The first Current Research box evaluates alternative theories; a second Applied Anthropology box illustrates how evidence from anthropology can help international development organizations implement effective policies.

Chapter 5: Communication and Language To place language in perspective, the chapter begins with a broader discussion of communication, including nonverbal human communication and communication in other animals. We discuss how language differs from other forms of communication and ideas about the origins of language. We then turn to some fundamentals of descriptive linguistics and linguistic divergence. We have added new research on tonal languages to the phonology section and in the section on processes of linguistic divergence extensively revised our discussion of the origin of Indo-European languages and the origin and spread of Bantu language families. Toward the end of the chapter, we discuss the postulated relationships between language and other aspects of culture, adding new research on language's effects on culture. Finally, we discuss the ethnography of speaking, writing, and literacy. The updated Applied Anthropology box discusses language extinction and what some anthropologists are doing about it. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box asks why some immigrant groups are more likely to retain their native languages. And, to stimulate thinking about the possible impact of language on thought, we ask in the considerably revised Perspectives on Diversity box whether some languages promote sexist thinking.

Chapter 6: Getting Food This chapter discusses how societies vary in getting their food, how they have changed over time, and how this variation seems to affect other kinds of cultural variation. Our updated Perspectives on Diversity box explores where particular foods came from and how different foods and cuisines spread around the world as people migrated. Our new Global Issues box addresses the effects of climate change on food getting, and our updated Applied Anthropology box deals with the negative environmental effects of irrigation, animal grazing, and overhunting in preindustrial times.

Chapter 7: Economic Systems Not only does this chapter describe variation in traditional economic systems and how much of it has been linked to ways of getting food, but there is also integrated discussion of change brought

about by local and global political and economic forces. This chapter begins with a discussion of how societies vary in the ways they allocate resources, convert or transform resources through labor into usable goods, and distribute and perhaps exchange goods and services. The sharing section and the section on cooperative work organization among pastoralists has been updated. The Current Issues box addresses the controversy over whether communal ownership leads to economic disaster. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box discusses the impact of working abroad and sending money home. The completely reworked Global Issues box illustrates the impact of the world system on local economies, with special reference to the deforestation of the Amazon.

Chapter 8: Social Stratification: Class, Ethnicity, and Racism This extensively revised chapter explores the variation in degree of social stratification and how the various forms of social inequality may develop. We point out concepts of how "race," racism, and ethnicity often relate to the inequitable distribution of resources. A new Global Issues box addresses the worldwide problem of inadequate housing and homelessness. The second Global Issues box that addresses the degree of global inequality and why the gap between rich and poor countries may have widened has been extensively revised. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses why there are disparities in death by disease between African Americans and European Americans.

Chapter 9: Sex and Gender This chapter opens with a section on culturally varying gender concepts, including diversity in what genders are recognized. After discussing universals and differences in gender roles in subsistence and leadership, we turn to theories about why men dominate political leadership and what may explain variation in relative status of women and men. We have updated how much housework women do compared to men and the seclusion of women in certain cultures and its influence on women's ability to work. The chapter continues with a discussion of the variation in attitudes and practices regarding various types of sexuality. The homosexuality section has been revised in light of different gender concepts in different societies. In the updated Perspectives on Diversity box, we examine why some societies allow women to participate in combat. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses 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. The Applied Anthropology box examines the impact of economic development on women's status.

Chapter 10: Marriage and the Family After discussing various theories and evidence 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 updated the section on couples choosing to live together, added a section on other types of marriage transaction, and updated the section on parallel cousin marriage. We close with a discussion of

variation in family form and customs of adoption. To better prepare students for understanding kinship charts in the chapter that follows, we have a diagram explaining different types of family structures. Our first Perspectives on Diversity box discusses arranged marriage and how it has changed among South Asian immigrants in England and the United States. The updated Current Research box discusses variation in love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy. The Global Issues box discusses why one-parent families are on the increase in countries like ours.

Chapter 11: Marital Residence and Kinship Rather than jumping right into principles of kinship, we broadly discuss the different functions of kinship, the consequences of different kinship systems, and how the importance of kin changes with economic fortunes. In addition to describing the variation that exists in marital residence, kinship structure, and kinship terminology, this chapter discusses theory and research that try to explain that variation. We now discuss alternative theories about what may explain variation in marital residence. The Perspectives on Diversity box explores how variation in residence and kinship affects the lives of women. The Applied Anthropology box, now updated, discusses how cross-cultural research on the floor area of residences in matrilineal versus patrilineal societies can be used to help archaeologists make inferences about the past. The Current Research box discusses the possible relationship between neolocality and adolescent rebellion.

Chapter 12: Associations and Interest Groups We distinguish associations by whether they are nonvoluntary (common in more egalitarian societies) or voluntary, and whether they are based on universally ascribed characteristics (like age and sex), variably ascribed characteristics (like ethnicity), or achieved characteristics. New data on the impact of social media has been added. The Current Research box discusses why street gangs may develop and why they often become violent. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box addresses the question of whether separate women's associations increase women's status and power and the updated Global Issues box looks at the importance of non-governmental organizations in bringing about change at the local and international levels.

Chapter 13: Political Life: Social Order and Disorder In this extensively revised chapter, 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 emphasize change, including what may explain shifts from one type of organization to another, such as how colonialization and other outside forces have transformed legal systems and ways of making decisions. We then discuss the concepts of nation-states, nationalism, and political identity. We have expanded discussion of becoming a leader in egalitarian societies, added research on state terrorism, and expanded the section on explaining warfare. We added new sections

on leadership in complex societies, a culture of violence, and what a culture of peace would look like. The first Global Issues box is on the cross-national and cross-cultural relationship between economic development and democracy. We also added two new Global Issues boxes—one on terrorism and one on ethnic conflicts. The Perspectives on Diversity box deals with how new local courts among the Abenak of New Guinea are allowing women to address sexual grievances.

Chapter 14: Religion and Magic The chapter opens with a discussion of how the concepts of the supernatural and natural have varied over time and space and then turns to theories about why religion is universal. We go on to discuss variation in the types, nature, and structure of gods, spirits, and forces; human/god interactions, concepts of life after death; ways to interact with the supernatural; and the number and types of religious practitioners. A major portion of the chapter deals with religious change, religious conversion and revitalization, and fundamentalist movements. We have updated our discussion of religion among hunter-gatherers and our discussion of gods and their role in moral behavior. The revised Current Research box raises the question of whether, and to what degree, religion promotes moral behavior, cooperation, and harmony. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses the role of colonialism in religious change.

Chapter 15: The Arts After discussing how art might be defined and the appearance of the earliest art (now updated), 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 as well as how arts have changed as a result of European contact. We address the role of ethnocentrism in studies of art in a section on how Western museums and art critics look at the visual art of less complex cultures. Similarly, we discuss the problematic and fuzzy distinctions made in labeling some art negatively as "tourist" art versus more positively as "fine" art. The thoroughly revised Applied Anthropology box explores ancient and more recent rock art and the methods that can be used to help preserve it. We updated and reworked material into a Global Issues box that discusses the global spread of popular music. The Current Research box deals with universal symbolism in art, particularly research on the emotions displayed in masks.

Chapter 16: Health and Illness This extensively revised chapter examines cultural understandings of health and illness, the treatment of illness (particularly from a biocultural rather than just a biomedical point of view), varying medical practitioners, and political and economic influences on health. To give a better understanding of what medical anthropologists do, we focus on AIDS, mental and emotional disorders (particularly *susto* and depression), and malnutrition, including both obesity and undernutrition. We discuss alternative forms of medicine in the United States, include sections on placebos and nocebos, more thoroughly

discuss the controversy about culture-bound syndromes, and in the section on depression include additional research on links for economic deprivation and inequality. We have updated the section on political and economic influences on health, updated the section on HIV, and reoriented and expanded the discussion of undernutrition and obesity as forms of malnutrition. The Current Research box discusses an anthropologist's attempt to evaluate why an applied medical project didn't work, a new Global Issues box addresses the impact of violence on children's mental health and well-being, and the updated Applied Anthropology box explores eating disorders, biology, and the cultural construction of beauty.

Chapter 17: Practicing and Applying Anthropology In this extensively updated chapter, an introductory section discusses specializations in practicing and applied anthropology. We move on to evaluating the effects of planned change and difficulties in bringing about change. Since most of the examples in the first part of the chapter have to do with development, the remainder of the chapter gives an introduction to a number of other applied specialties, including environmental anthropology, business and organizational anthropology, museum anthropology, cultural resource management, and forensic anthropology. We have updated our discussion of collaborative anthropology, revised our section on ethics, and updated the cultural resources section as well as the forensic anthropology section. The extensively revised Perspectives on Diversity box considers how women were and are treated by development programs. The new Global Issues box addresses the effects of worldwide sea-level rise on the viability of some societies. The extensively revised Applied Anthropology box is a case study of anthropologists who worked with General Motors to develop a better business culture.

Student-Friendly Pedagogy

Readability. We derive great pleasure from attempting to describe research findings in ways that introductory students can understand. We do our best 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 will enhance the reader's understanding but because it should make learning about anthropology more enjoyable. When new terms are introduced, they are set off in boldface type and defined in the text, set off in the margins for emphasis, and of course they also appear in the glossary at the end of the book.

Learning Objectives. Each chapter begins with learning objectives that indicate what students should know after reading the material. The learning objectives are tied to each major heading within the chapter and are reinforced at the end of each chapter in the summaries. The learning objectives also signal to students what topics they might have to reread to comprehend the material presented.

"Think on it" Critical Assessment Questions. Each chapter concludes with thought-provoking questions that ask students to take concepts presented in the chapter and move beyond rote answers. The questions engage students at a metacognitive level asking them to think critically about the questions posed to formulate their own responses.

Key Terms and Glossary. Important terms and concepts appearing in boldface type within the text are defined in the margins where they first appear. All key terms and their definitions are repeated in the glossary at the end of the book.

End-of-Chapter Summaries. In addition to the previously mentioned learning objectives, each chapter ends with a detailed summary organized in terms of the learning objectives that will help students review the major concepts and findings discussed.

End-of-Book Notes. Because we strongly believe in the importance of documentation, we think it essential to tell our readers, both professionals and students, upon what our conclusions are based. Usually, the basis is published research. The abbreviated notes in this edition provide information to find the complete citation in the bibliography at the end of the book.

Supplements

This textbook is part of a complete teaching and learning package that has been carefully created to enhance the topics discussed in the text.

Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Banks. For each chapter in the text, this valuable resource provides a detailed outline, list of objectives, discussion questions, and classroom activities. In addition, test questions in multiple-choice and short-answer formats are available for each chapter; the answers to all questions are referenced to the text.

MyTest. This computerized software allows instructors to create their own personalized exams, to edit any or all of the existing test questions, and to add new questions. Other special features of this program include random generation of test questions, creation of alternate versions of the same test, scrambling question sequence, and test preview before printing.

PowerPoint™ Presentation Slides. These PowerPoint slides combine text and graphics for each chapter to help instructors convey anthropological principles in a clear and engaging way.

Strategies in Teaching Anthropology, Sixth Edition (0-205-71123-5). Unique in focus and content, this book concentrates on the "how" of teaching anthropology across all four fields and provides a wide array of associated learning outcomes and student activities. It is a valuable single-source compendium of strategies and teaching "tricks of the trade" from a group of seasoned teaching anthropologists, working in a variety of teaching settings, who share their pedagogical techniques, knowledge, and observations.

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Thank you all, named and unnamed, who gave us advice.

*Carol R. Ember and
Melvin Ember*

About the Authors

CAROL R. EMBER began her career as a chemistry major at Antioch College. She began taking social science courses because some were required, but she soon found herself intrigued. There were lots of questions without answers, and she became excited about the possibility of a research career in social science. She spent a year in graduate school at Cornell studying sociology before continuing on to Harvard, where she studied anthropology, primarily with John and Beatrice Whiting. For her PhD dissertation, she worked among the Luo of Kenya and studied the possible effects of task assignment on the social behavior of children. For most of her career, she has conducted cross-cultural research on topics such as variation in marriage, family, descent groups, and war and peace, mainly in collaboration with Melvin Ember, whom she married in 1970. All of these cross-cultural studies tested theories on data for worldwide samples of societies. Her recent research funded by the National Science Foundation focuses on possible effects of climate-related hazards on cultural institutions and practices.

From 1970 to 1996, she taught at Hunter College of the City University of New York. She has served as president of the Society of Cross-Cultural Research and was one of the directors of the Summer Institutes in Comparative Anthropological Research, which were funded by the National Science Foundation. She has recently served as President of the Society for Anthropological Sciences. Since 1996, she has been at the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency at Yale University, first serving as Executive Director and, since 2010, as President of that organization.

MELVIN EMBER majored in anthropology at Columbia College and went to Yale University for his PhD. His mentor at Yale was George Peter Murdock, an anthropologist who was instrumental in promoting cross-cultural research and building a full-text database on the cultures of the world to facilitate cross-cultural hypothesis testing. This database came to be known as the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) because it was originally sponsored by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale. Growing in annual installments and now distributed online as *eHRAF World Cultures* and *eHRAF Archaeology*, the HRAF databases currently cover more than 400 cultures and traditions, past and present, all over the world.

Melvin Ember did fieldwork for his dissertation in American Samoa, where he conducted a comparison of three villages to study the effects of commercialization on political life. In addition, he did research on descent groups and how they changed with the increase of buying and selling. His cross-cultural studies focused originally on variation in marital residence and descent groups. He has also done cross-cultural research on the relationship between economic and political development, the origin and extension of the incest taboo, the causes of polygyny, and how archaeological correlates of social customs can help us draw inferences about the past.

After four years of research at the National Institute of Mental Health, he taught at Antioch College and then Hunter College of the City University of New York. He served as president of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. From 1987 until his death in September 2009, he was president of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency at Yale University.

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Chapter 1

What Is Anthropology?



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Learning Objectives

- 1.1** Explain the general definition and purpose of anthropology.
- 1.2** Describe the scope of anthropology.
- 1.3** Explain the holistic approach.
- 1.4** Explain anthropology's distinctive curiosity.
- 1.5** Differentiate among the five major fields of anthropology.
- 1.6** Explain the ways in which anthropologists specialize within their fields of study.
- 1.7** Communicate the relevance of anthropology.

What Is Anthropology?

1.1 Explain the general definition and purpose of anthropology.

Anthropology

A discipline that studies humans, focusing on the study of differences and similarities, both biological and cultural, in human populations. Anthropology is concerned with typical biological and cultural characteristics of human populations in all periods and in all parts of the world.

Anthropology, by definition, is a discipline of infinite curiosity about human beings. The term comes from the Greek *anthropos* for “man, human” and *logos* for “study.” Anthropologists seek answers to an enormous variety of questions about humans. They are interested in both universals and differences in human populations. They want to discover when, where, and why humans appeared on the earth, how and why they have changed, and how and why the biological and cultural features of modern human populations vary. Anthropology has a practical side too. Applied and practicing anthropologists put anthropological methods, information, and results to use in efforts to solve practical problems.

The study of human beings is not an adequate definition of anthropology, however, since it would appear to incorporate a whole catalog of disciplines: sociology, psychology, political science, economics, history, human biology, and perhaps even the humanistic disciplines of philosophy and literature. Most of the disciplines concerned with human beings have existed longer than anthropology, and each has its distinctive focus. There must, then, be something unique about anthropology—a reason for its having developed and grown as a separate discipline for more than a century.

The Scope of Anthropology

1.2 Describe the scope of anthropology.

Anthropologists are generally thought of as individuals who travel to little-known corners of the world to study exotic peoples or dig deep into the earth to uncover the fossil remains, tools, and pots of people who lived long ago. Though stereotypical, this view does suggest how anthropology differs from other disciplines concerned with humans. Anthropology is broader in scope, both geographically and historically. Anthropology is concerned explicitly and directly with all varieties of people throughout the world, not just those close at hand or within a limited area. Anthropologists are also interested in people of all periods. Beginning with the immediate ancestors of humans, who lived a few million years ago, anthropology traces the development of humans until the present. Every part of the world that has ever contained a human population is of interest to anthropologists.

Anthropologists have not always been as global and comprehensive in their concerns as they are today. Traditionally, they concentrated on non-Western cultures and left the study of Western civilization and similarly complex societies, with their recorded histories, to other disciplines. In recent years, however, this division of labor among the disciplines has begun to disappear. Today anthropologists work in their own and other complex societies.

What induces anthropologists to choose so broad a subject for study? In part, they are motivated by the belief that any suggested generalization about human beings, any possible explanation of some characteristic of human culture or biology, should be shown to apply to many times and places of human existence. If a generalization or explanation does not prove to apply widely, anthropologists are entitled or even obliged to be skeptical about it. The skeptical attitude, in the absence of persuasive evidence, is our best protection against accepting invalid ideas about humans.

Because anthropologists are acquainted with human life in an enormous variety of geographic and historical settings, they are also often able to correct mistaken beliefs about different groups of people.

For example, when American educators discovered in the 1960s that African American schoolchildren rarely drank milk, they assumed that lack of money or education was the cause. But evidence from anthropology suggested a different explanation. Anthropologists had known for years that people do not drink fresh milk in many parts of the world where milking animals are kept; rather, they sour it before they drink it, or they make it into cheese. Why they do so is now clear. Many people lack the enzyme lactase that is

necessary for breaking down lactose, the sugar in milk. When such people drink regular milk, it actually interferes with digestion. Not only is the lactose in milk not digested, but other nutrients are less likely to be digested. In many cases, drinking milk will cause cramps, stomach gas, diarrhea, and nausea. Studies indicate that milk intolerance is found in many parts of the world.¹ The condition is common in adulthood among Asians, southern Europeans, Arabs and Jews, West Africans, Inuit (Eskimos), and North and South American native peoples, as well as African Americans.

The Holistic Approach

1.3 Explain the holistic approach.

In addition to its worldwide and historical scope, anthropology has the distinguishing feature of having a **holistic** approach to the study of human beings. Anthropologists study the many aspects of human experience as an integrated whole. For example, an anthropologist's description of a group of people is likely to encompass their physical environment, a history of the area, how their family life is organized, general features of their language, their settlement patterns, their political and economic systems, their religion, and their styles of art and dress. The goal is not only to understand these aspects of physical and social life separately but to glean connections among them. Throughout this book, you will see that these seemingly separate factors in a culture regularly co-occur; that is, they form patterns of traits. Anthropologists want not only to identify those patterns but to explain them.

Holistic

Refers to an approach that studies many aspects of a multifaceted system.

Anthropological Curiosity

1.4 Explain anthropology's distinctive curiosity.

Thus far, we have described anthropology as broader in scope, both historically and geographically, and more holistic in approach than other disciplines concerned with human beings. But this statement again implies that anthropology is the all-inclusive human science. How, then, is anthropology really different from the other disciplines? We suggest that anthropology's distinctiveness lies principally in the kind of curiosity it arouses.

Anthropologists tend to focus on the typical characteristics of the human populations they study rather than on individual variation or variation in small groups. Why do some populations have lighter skin than others? Why do some societies practice polygamy whereas others prohibit it? Where and when did people first start to farm rather than collect and hunt wild resources? Anthropologists want to know why the characteristics that others might take for granted exist. Whereas economists take a monetary system for granted and study how it operates, anthropologists ask how frequently monetary systems occur, why they vary, and why only some societies have had them during the last few thousand years. It is not that anthropologists do not concern themselves with individuals. For instance, in studying political systems, anthropologists might want to know why certain people tend to be leaders. But when they study individual traits of leaders to answer the question, it may be because they want to better understand the political process in a larger social group, such as a society. Or, anthropologists might ask an even broader question, such as whether certain qualities of leaders are universally preferred.

Because anthropologists view human groups holistically, their curiosity may lead them to find patterns of relationships between seemingly unrelated characteristics. So, for example, the presence of the ability to digest lactose (a physical trait) in a population seems to be found in societies that depend heavily on dairying. In recent times, as more anthropologists work in larger and more complex societies, the focus of inquiry has shifted from looking at a whole society to smaller entities such as neighborhoods, communities, organizations, or social networks. But the focus on the whole entity is still strong.

Fields of Anthropology

Biological (physical) anthropology

The study of humans as biological organisms, dealing with the emergence and evolution of humans and with contemporary biological variations among human populations.

Cultural anthropology

The study of cultural variation and universals in the past and present.

Applied (practicing) anthropology

The branch of anthropology that concerns itself with applying anthropological knowledge to achieve practical goals.

Human paleontology

The study of the emergence of humans and their later physical evolution. Also called **paleoanthropology**.

1.5 Differentiate among the five major fields of anthropology.

In the past, an anthropologist covered as many subjects as possible. Today, as in many other disciplines, so much information has accumulated that anthropologists tend to specialize in one topic or area (see Figure 1.1). Some are concerned primarily with the biological *or* physical characteristics of human populations; others are interested principally in what we call cultural characteristics. Hence, there are two broad classifications of subject matter in anthropology: **biological (physical) anthropology** and **cultural anthropology**. While biological anthropology is one major field of anthropology, cultural anthropology is divided into three subfields—archaeology, linguistics, and ethnology. Ethnology, the study of recent cultures, is now usually referred to by the parent name, cultural anthropology. Crosscutting these four fields is a fifth, **applied or practicing anthropology**.

Biological Anthropology

Biological (physical) anthropology seeks to answer two distinct sets of questions. **Human paleontology** or **paleoanthropology** poses questions about the emergence of humans and their later evolution. A focus on **human variation** includes questions about how and why contemporary human populations vary biologically.

To reconstruct evolution, human paleontologists search for and study the buried, hardened remains or impressions—known as **fossils**—of humans, prehumans, and related animals. Paleontologists working in East Africa, for instance, have excavated the fossil remains of humanlike beings that lived more than 4 million years ago. These findings have suggested the approximate dates when our ancestors began to develop two-legged walking, very flexible hands, and a larger brain.

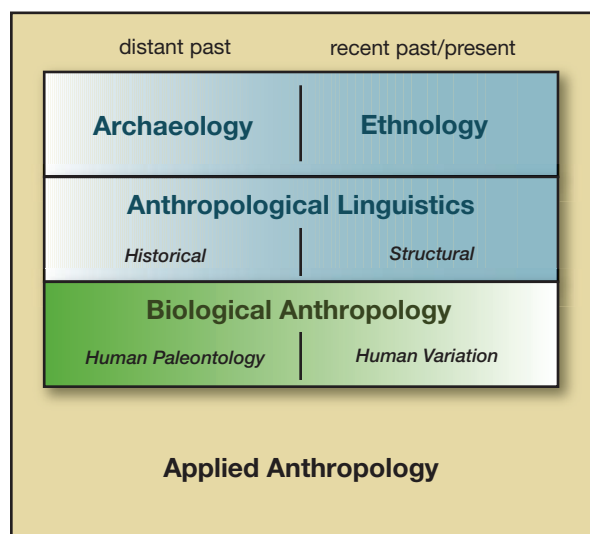
In attempting to clarify evolutionary relationships, human paleontologists may use not only the fossil record but also geological information on the succession of climates, environments, and plant and animal populations. Moreover, when reconstructing the past of humans, paleontologists are interested in the behavior and evolution of our closest relatives among the mammals—the prosimians, monkeys, and apes—which, like ourselves, are members of the order of **Primates**. Anthropologists, psychologists, and biologists who specialize in the study of primates are called **primatologists**. The various species of primates are observed in the wild and in the laboratory. One especially popular subject of study is the chimpanzee, which bears a close resemblance to humans in behavior and physical appearance, has similar blood chemistry, and is susceptible to many of the same diseases. Indeed, chimpanzees share up to 99 percent of their genes with humans.²

From primate studies, biological anthropologists try to discover characteristics that are distinctly human, as opposed to those that might be part of the primate heritage. With this information, they may be able to infer what our prehistoric ancestors were like. The inferences from primate studies are checked against the fossil record. The evidence from the earth, collected in bits and pieces, is correlated with scientific observations of our closest living relatives. In short, biological anthropologists piece together bits of information obtained from different sources. They construct theories that explain the changes observed in the fossil record and then attempt to evaluate their theories by checking one kind of evidence against another. Human paleontology thus overlaps such disciplines as geology, general vertebrate (particularly primate) paleontology, comparative anatomy, and the study of comparative primate behavior.

The second major focus of biological anthropology, the study of human variation, investigates how and why contemporary human populations differ in biological or physical characteristics.

Figure 1.1 The Four Fields of Anthropology

The subdisciplines of anthropology (in bold letters) may be classified according to the period with which each is concerned (distant past or recent past and present) or by subject matter. Traditionally, the three fields shown in blue are classified as cultural anthropology, as distinct from biological (or physical) anthropology, shown in green. Found in all four fields is a fifth subfield, applied anthropology.



All living people belong to one species, *Homo sapiens*. Yet much varies among human populations. Investigators of human variation ask such questions as: Why are some peoples generally taller than others? How have human populations adapted physically to their environmental conditions? Are some peoples, such as Inuit (Eskimos), better equipped than other peoples to endure cold? Does darker skin pigmentation offer special protection against the tropical sun?

To better understand the biological variations among contemporary human populations, biological anthropologists use the principles, concepts, and techniques of at least three other disciplines: human genetics (the study of inherited human traits); population biology (the study of environmental effects on, and interaction with, population characteristics); and epidemiology (the study of how and why diseases affect different populations in different ways). Although research on human variation overlaps research in other fields, biological anthropologists remain primarily concerned with human populations and how they vary biologically.

Cultural Anthropology

Cultural anthropology is the study of how and why cultures in the past and present vary or are similar. But what is culture? The concept of culture is so central to anthropology that we will devote an entire chapter to it. Briefly, the term culture refers to the customary ways that a particular population or society thinks and behaves. The culture of a social group includes many things—from the language people speak, childrearing, and the roles assigned to males and females to religious beliefs and practices and preferences in music. Anthropologists are interested in all of these and other learned behaviors and ideas that have come to be widely shared or customary in the group.

ARCHAEOLOGY **Archaeology** is the study of past cultures, primarily through their material remains. Archaeologists seek not only to reconstruct the daily life and customs of peoples who lived in the past but also to trace cultural changes and to offer possible explanations for those changes. While their subject matter is similar to that of historians, archaeologists reach much farther back in time. Historians deal only with societies that left written records, which limits their scope to the last 5,000 years of human history and to the small proportion of societies that developed writing. Human societies have existed for nearly two million years, however, and archaeologists serve as historians for all those past societies that lacked a written record. With scant or no written records to study, archaeologists must try to reconstruct history from the remains of human cultures. Some of these remains are as grand as the Mayan temples discovered at Chichén Itzá in Yucatán, Mexico. More often, what remains is as ordinary as bits of broken pottery, stone tools, and garbage heaps.

Most archaeologists deal with **prehistory**, the time before written records. But a specialty within archaeology, called **historical archaeology**, studies the remains of recent peoples who left written records. This specialty, as its name implies, employs the methods of both archaeologists and historians to study recent societies.

To understand how and why ways of life have changed through time in different parts of the world, archaeologists collect materials from sites of human occupation. Usually, these sites must be unearthed. On the basis of materials they have excavated and otherwise collected, they then ask a variety of questions: Where, when, and why did the distinctive human characteristic of toolmaking first emerge? Where, when, and why did agriculture first develop? Where, when, and why did people first begin to live in cities?

To collect the data they need to suggest answers to these and other questions, archaeologists use techniques and findings borrowed from other disciplines as well as what they can infer from anthropological studies of recent and contemporary cultures. For example, to guess where to dig for evidence of early toolmaking, archaeologists rely on geology to tell them where sites of early human occupation are likely to be found due to erosion and uplifting near the earth's surface. More recently, archaeologists have employed aerial photography and even radar imaging via satellite (a technique developed by NASA) to pinpoint sites. To infer when agriculture first developed, archaeologists date the relevant excavated materials by a process originally developed by chemical scientists. Information from the present and recent past can also help illuminate the distant

Human variation

The study of how and why contemporary human populations vary biologically.

Fossils

The hardened remains or impressions of plants and animals that lived in the past.

Primate

A member of the mammalian order Primates, divided into the two suborders of prosimians and anthropoids.

Primatologists

People who study primates.

Homo sapiens

All living people belong to one biological species, *Homo sapiens*, which means that all human populations on earth can successfully interbreed. The first *Homo sapiens* may have emerged about 200,000 years ago.

Archaeology

The branch of anthropology that seeks to reconstruct the daily life and customs of peoples who lived in the past and to trace and explain cultural changes. Often lacking written records for study, archaeologists must try to reconstruct history from the material remains of human cultures. See also **Historical archaeology**.

Prehistory

The time before written records.

Historical archaeology

A specialty within archaeology that studies the material remains of recent peoples who left written records.

Current Research

Researcher at Work: Alyssa Crittenden

When an anthropologist's best-laid plans meet the "facts on the ground," the results can be unexpected. For Alyssa Crittenden, an anthropology professor at the University of Nevada, fieldwork also brought some delightful revelations.

In 2004, Crittenden began working with the Hadza, a hunter-gatherer people in Tanzania. (Because hunter-gatherers subsist by foraging for their food, they represent the basic economy and way of life that has characterized most of human history. Therefore, such few remaining peoples are valued subjects for anthropological study.) As a biological anthropologist, Crittenden was especially interested in what Hadza culture might reveal about the evolution of the human diet. She chose the diets of women for study and measured the relationship between their reproductive capacity and the amount and nutritional value of the food they foraged. Yet that data told only part of the previously untold story of Hadza women.

"I quickly realized," Crittenden says, "that I could not study the women's diet in isolation. These women belonged to a community of people, a support system of kin and neighbors. To understand women's contributions to the Hadza economy, I had to be an ethnographer, as well as a biological anthropologist." Thus, after 10 years of fieldwork among the Hadza, Crittenden characterizes herself as a biocultural anthropologist.

One surprising discovery Crittenden made was that Hadza children were hunters and gatherers in their own right. They were helping their mothers indirectly by providing their own food and thus contributing to their economy. This evidence contradicted what was known about the children of other hunter-gatherer groups, such as the San of the Kalahari Desert, whose children were observed to help process mongongo nuts but otherwise do little else but play. The difference may partly be due to the environment. The Kalahari has less variable terrain, less water, and more predators than southwestern Tanzania.

For Hadza children, foraging for their own food becomes an extension of play. Children 5 years old and younger can contribute up to 50 percent of their caloric needs by foraging for their own food. By the time they turn 6, children can contribute up to 75 percent of their own food. While girls collect water



Alyssa Crittenden interacting with Hadza children.

Source: Firestick Productions-UNLV

and plant foods, boys also hunt, using a bow and arrow like their elders. Indeed, at age 3, Hadza boys receive their own child-sized bow and arrow and begin to hunt for the birds, rodents, bush babies, and lizards that make up their meat diet. Moreover, children learn to process and cook their own food. Crittenden observed children as young as 4 years old building their own miniature fires with embers from camp to cook their foraged meals.

Hadza children spend their days together in groups, seemingly unsupervised, though there is usually an older child nearby keeping an eye on them. Toddlers join a group of children as soon as they are weaned—that is, when their mothers can no longer carry them, usually between 1 1/2 and 3 years of age.

"Observing Hadza children, you can't help but wonder how the long, dependent childhood most of us experience evolved," says Crittenden.

Based on Crittenden 2013.

past. For example, to try to understand why cities first emerged, archaeologists may use information from historians, geographers, and political scientists about how recent and contemporary cities are related economically and politically to their hinterlands. By discovering what recent and contemporary cities have in common, archaeologists can speculate about why cities developed originally.

Anthropological linguistics

The anthropological study of languages.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL LINGUISTICS Anthropological linguistics is the anthropological study of language. Linguistics, or the study of languages, is an older discipline than anthropology, but the early linguists concentrated on the study of languages that had been written for a long time—languages such as English, which existed in written form for nearly a thousand years. Anthropological linguists began to do fieldwork in places where the language was not yet written. This meant that anthropologists could

not consult a dictionary or grammar to help them learn the language. Instead, they first had to construct a dictionary and grammar. Then they could study the structure and history of the language.

Like biological anthropologists, linguists study changes that have taken place over time as well as contemporary variation. **Historical linguistics** is the study of how languages change over time and how they may be related. **Descriptive or structural linguistics** is the study of how contemporary languages differ, especially in their construction. **Sociolinguistics** is the study of cultural and subcultural patterns of speaking in different social contexts.

In contrast with human paleontologists and archaeologists, who have physical remains to help them reconstruct change over time, historical linguists deal only with languages—and usually unwritten ones. (Remember that writing is only about 5,000 years old, and only a few languages have been written.) Because unwritten languages are transmitted orally, the historical evidence dies with the speakers. Linguists interested in reconstructing the history of unwritten languages must begin in the present, with comparisons of contemporary languages. On the basis of these comparisons, they draw inferences about the kinds of change in language that may have occurred in the past and that may account for similarities and differences observed in the present. Historical linguists might typically ask, for example, whether two or more contemporary languages diverged from a common ancestral language. And if so, how far back in time they began to differ?

Unlike historical linguists, descriptive (structural) linguists are concerned with discovering and recording the principles that determine how sounds and words are put together in speech. For example, a structural description of a particular language might tell us that the sounds *t* and *k* are interchangeable in a word without causing a difference in meaning. In American Samoa, one could say *Tutuila* or *Kukuila* to name the largest island, and everyone, except perhaps newly arrived anthropologists who knew little about the Samoan language, would understand that the same island was meant.

Sociolinguists are interested in the social aspects of language, including what people speak about, how they interact conversationally, their attitudes toward speakers of other dialects or languages, and how they speak differently in different contexts. In English, for example, we do not address everyone we meet in the same way. “Hi, Sandy” may be the customary way a person greets a friend. But we would probably feel uncomfortable addressing a doctor by her or his first name; instead, we would probably say, “Good morning, Dr. Brown.” Such variations in language use, which are determined by the social status of the people being addressed, are significant for sociolinguists.

ETHNOLOGY (CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY) The subfield of **ethnology**, now commonly called cultural anthropology, seeks to understand how and why peoples today and in the recent past differ or are similar in their customary ways of thinking and acting. They ask how and why cultures develop and change and how one aspect of culture affects others. Cultural anthropologists seek answers to a variety of questions, such as: Why is the custom of marriage nearly universal in all cultures? Why do families live with or near their kin in some societies but not in others? What changes result from the introduction of money to a previously non-monetary economy? How are relationships impacted when family members move far away to work? What happens to a society that suffers severe stress because of natural disasters or violent conflicts? Although the aim of ethnologists is largely the same as that of archaeologists, ethnologists generally use data collected through observation and interviews of living peoples.



Archaeologists try to reconstruct the cultures of past societies like those who created this “Cliff Palace” in what is today Mesa Verde National Park.

Source: Darla Hallmark/Fotolia

Historical linguistics

The study of how languages change over time.

Descriptive (structural) linguistics

The study of how languages are constructed.

Sociolinguistics

Examines how language is used in social contexts.

Ethnology

The study of how and why recent cultures differ and are similar.

Ethnographer

A person who spends some time living with, interviewing, and observing a group of people to describe their customs.

Ethnography

A description of a society's customary behaviors and ideas.

Ethnohistorian

An ethnologist who uses historical documents to study how a particular culture has changed over time.

One type of ethnologist, the **ethnographer**, usually spends a year or so living with, interviewing, and observing the people whose customs are being studied. This fieldwork provides the data for a detailed description (**ethnography**) of customary behavior and thought. Earlier ethnographers tended to strive for holistic coverage of a people's way of life. In part because those earlier ethnographies already exist for many cultures, recent ethnographers have tended to specialize or focus on narrower realms such as ritual healing or curing, interaction with the environment, effects of modernization or globalization, or gender issues. Ethnographies often go beyond description; they may address current anthropological issues or try to explain some aspect of culture.

Because many cultures have undergone extensive change in the recent past, an accurate view of them may depend on understanding what their life was like before the changes came about. **Ethnohistorians** study how the way of life of a culture has changed over time. They examine such written documents as missionary accounts, reports by traders and explorers, and government records to identify the cultural changes that have occurred. Unlike ethnographers, who rely mostly on their own observations and interviewing, ethnohistorians rely on the reports of others. They often must piece together and make sense of widely scattered, and even apparently contradictory, information.

Current Research

Researcher at Work: Timothy Bromage

When Timothy Bromage was young, his parents took him to hear a lecture by the legendary paleoanthropologist Louis Leakey. He was not sure why they had driven so far and paid so much to hear the lecture nor why they had dragged him along, but he knows that visit started him on the way to becoming a paleoanthropologist himself. Decades later, Bromage's lectures have undoubtedly inspired other young people to study the life histories of our ancient ancestors. He hopes future paleoanthropologists will also think outside the box of their discipline when they begin their research. That approach has led Bromage to major breakthroughs in his study of ancient teeth and facial bones.

In graduate school, Bromage was struck by the fact that fossils were treated as static, as if age did not make a difference. Yet humans—ancient and modern—change physically during their lives. Working with new methods and a scanning electron microscope at the University College London, Bromage found that it is possible to determine how ancient faces change as an organism matures. Different individuals die at different ages, but, in examining fossils, Bromage and his colleagues saw distinctive patterns of bone tissue forming and dissolving across the period of development. Working with specimens that were about 2 million years old, Bromage found that the hominins commonly referred to as australopithecines grew to adulthood in an apelike manner. The front parts of the skull built up tissue that grew into forward-jutting faces and jaws. Bromage found that a later group of hominins, the paranthropoids, had a pattern of facial growth that resulted in a flatter face, more like the face of a modern human than that of the australopithecines.

Bromage has also looked at patterns of enamel deposition in ancient fossil teeth using similar techniques. Early hominin teeth are important specimens in paleoanthropology because they tend to survive well-preserved, which means they can be analyzed in much the same way as the teeth of recent humans. It has been known for some time that when children grow, tooth enamel is put down daily, but every 8 or 9 days there are substantial changes



Sources: Timothy G. Bromage, New York University College of Dentistry, and Friedemann Schrenk, Senckenberg Research Institute, at their camp discussing the jaw fragment, UR 501, the oldest fossil representative of the genus *Homo*, which they recovered from Late Pliocene sediments in northern Malawi. Photo by Thomas Emsting.

in tooth enamel formation. Why this happens was not well understood. But Bromage and his colleagues have discovered that these rhythmic cycles may be a kind of systemic growth spurt. Bone and tissue (muscle and organs) grow at the same time, and heart and respiration rates increase, suggesting that our bodies have a metabolic clock that makes sure that cells divide and bones grow in time to accommodate growing organs. Smaller animals have shorter cycles. Comparisons with other primates have enabled Bromage to infer some life history differences in fossil forms. Such research shows the promise of the integrative approach Bromage favors. Working across disciplines and collaboratively adds to our knowledge of human evolution as well as to health research today.

Based on Bromage 2002; Lacruz, Rossi, and Bromage 2005, 2006.

Ethnographic and ethnohistorical research are both very time-consuming, and it is rare for one person to study more than a few cultures. It is the role of the **cross-cultural researcher** (who may be a cultural anthropologist or some other kind of social scientist) to discover general patterns across cultures—that is, what characteristics are universal, which traits vary and why, and what the consequences of the variability might be. They may ask such questions as: Why is there more gender inequality in some societies than in others? Is family violence related to aggression in other areas of life? What are the effects of living in a very unpredictable environment? In testing possible answers to such questions, cross-cultural researchers use data from samples of cultures (usually described initially by ethnographers) to try to arrive at explanations or relationships that hold across cultures. Archaeologists may find the results of cross-cultural research useful for making inferences about the past, particularly if they can discover material indicators of cultural variation.

Because ethnologists may be interested in many aspects of customary behavior and thought—from economic behavior to political behavior to styles of art, music, and religion—ethnology overlaps with disciplines that concentrate on some particular aspect of human existence such as sociology, psychology, economics, political science, art, music, and comparative religion. But the distinctive feature of cultural anthropology is its interest in how all these aspects of human existence vary from society to society, in all historical periods, and in all parts of the world.

Applied (Practicing) Anthropology

All knowledge may turn out to be useful. In the physical and biological sciences, it is well understood that technological breakthroughs like DNA splicing, spacecraft docking in outer space, and the development of miniscule computer chips could not have taken place without an enormous amount of basic research to uncover the laws of nature in the physical and biological worlds. If we did not understand fundamental principles, the technological achievements we are so proud of would not be possible. Researchers are often driven simply by curiosity, with no thought to where the research might lead, which is why such research is sometimes called basic research. The same is true of the social sciences. If a researcher finds out that societies with combative sports tend to have more wars, it may lead to other inquiries about the relationships between one kind of aggression and another. The knowledge acquired may ultimately lead to discovering ways to correct social problems such as family violence and war.

For much of anthropology's history as a profession, anthropologists generally worked in academic institutions. But more and more, anthropologists are increasingly working outside academia—today, probably more anthropologists work outside academia than in it.³ Applied or practicing anthropology is explicitly intended to make anthropological knowledge useful.⁴ Practicing anthropologists, as practitioners of the subdiscipline increasingly call themselves, may be trained in any or all of the fields of anthropology. In contrast to basic researchers, who are almost always employed in colleges, universities, and museums, applied anthropologists are commonly employed in settings outside traditional academia, including government agencies, international development agencies, private consulting firms, businesses, public health organizations, medical schools, law offices, community development agencies, and charitable foundations.

Biological anthropologists may be called upon to give forensic evidence in court, or they may work in public health or design clothes and equipment to fit human anatomy. Archaeologists may be involved in preserving and exhibiting artifacts for museums and in doing contract work to find and preserve cultural sites that might be damaged by construction or excavation. Linguists may work in bilingual educational training programs or on ways to improve communication. Ethnologists may work in a wide variety of applied projects ranging from community development, urban planning, health care, and agricultural improvement to personnel and organizational management and assessment of the impact of change programs on people's lives.⁵

In the past two decades, the speed of globalization has created great changes in applied or practicing anthropology. Whereas the field used to be largely the province of Western—and often colonizing—nations, it has since grown into a vital localized discipline all over

Cross-cultural researcher

An ethnologist who uses ethnographic data about many societies to test possible explanations of cultural variation to discover general patterns about cultural traits—what is universal, what is variable, why traits vary, and what the consequences of the variability might be.