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# anthropology APPRECIATING HUMAN DIVERSITY

**NINETEENTH EDITION** 

Conrad Phillip Kottak
University of Michigan





### ANTHROPOLOGY

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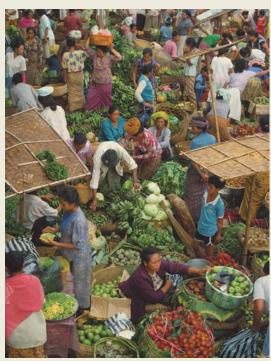
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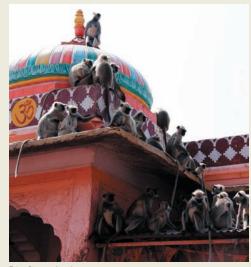
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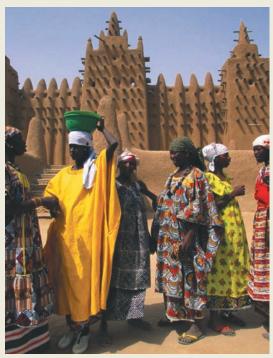
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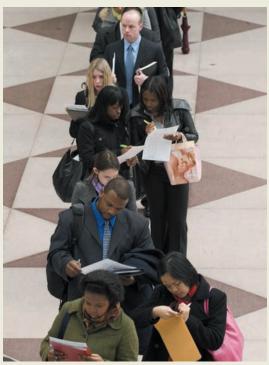
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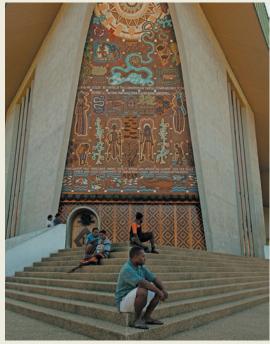
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## about the author



Conrad Phillip Kottak
The author at Bayon temple, Angkor Thom,
Cambodia in February 2018.
Courtesy Isabel Wagley Kottak

Conrad Phillip Kottak (A.B. Columbia College, Ph.D. Columbia University) is the Julian H. Steward Collegiate Professor Emeritus of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, where he served as anthropology department chair from 1996 to 2006. He has been honored for his undergraduate teaching by the University and the state of Michigan and by the American Anthropological Association. He is an elected member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and

the National Academy of Sciences, where he chaired Section 51, Anthropology from 2010 to 2013.

Professor Kottak has done ethnographic fieldwork in Brazil, Madagascar, and the United States. His general interests are in the processes by which local cultures are incorporated—and resist incorporation—into larger systems. This interest links his earlier work on ecology and state formation in Africa and Madagascar to his more recent research on globalization, national and international culture, and the mass media, including new media and social media.

Kottak's popular case study Assault on Paradise: The Globalization of a Little Community in Brazil (4th ed., Waveland Press, 2018) describes his long-term and continuing fieldwork in Arembepe, Bahia, Brazil. His book Prime-Time Society: An Anthropological Analysis of Television and Culture (2009) is a comparative study of the nature and impact of television in Brazil and the United States.

Kottak's other books include *The Past in the*Present: History, Ecology and Cultural Variation in
Highland Madagascar; Researching American Culture:
A Guide for Student Anthropologists; and Madagascar:

Society and History. The most recent editions (19th) of his texts Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity (this book) and Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity are published by McGraw-Hill. He also is the author of Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology (12th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2020) and Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Anthropology (9th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2020). With Kathryn A. Kozaitis, he wrote On Being Different: Diversity and Multiculturalism in the North American Mainstream (4th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2012).

Conrad Kottak's articles have appeared in academic journals, including *American Anthropologist*, *Journal of Anthropological Research, American Ethnologist, Ethnology, Human Organization*, and *Luso-Brazilian Review*. He also has written for popular journals, including *Transaction/SOCIETY, Natural History, Psychology Today*, and *General Anthropology*.

Kottak and his colleagues have researched media impact in Brazil, environmental risk perception in Brazil, deforestation and biodiversity conservation in Madagascar, and economic development planning in northeastern Brazil. More recently, Kottak and his colleague Lara Descartes investigated how middle-class American families use various media in planning, managing, and evaluating the competing demands of work and family. That research is the basis of their book Media and Middle Class Moms: Images and Realities of Work and Family (Descartes and Kottak 2009). Professor Kottak currently is collaborating with Professor Richard Pace of Middle Tennessee State University and several graduate students on research investigating "The Evolution of Media Impact: A Longitudinal and Multi-Site Study of Television and New Electronic/Digital Media in Brazil."

Conrad Kottak appreciates comments about his books from professors and students. He can be reached by e-mail at the following address: **ckottak@bellsouth.net.** 

## a letter from the author

#### Welcome to the 19th Edition of Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity!

I wrote the first edition of this book during a time of rapid change in my favorite academic discipline—anthropology. My colleagues and I were excited about new discoveries and directions in all four of anthropology's subfields—biological anthropology, anthropological archaeology, sociocultural anthropology, and linguistic anthropology. My goal was to write a book that would capture that excitement, addressing key changes, while also providing a solid foundation of core concepts and the basics.

As I prepare each new edition, I benefit from both professors' and students' reactions to my book. Just as anthropology is a dynamic discipline that encourages new discoveries and explores the profound changes now affecting people and societies, this edition of *Anthropology* makes a concerted effort to keep pace with changes in the way students read and learn core content today. Our digital program, **Connect Anthropology**, includes assignable and assessable quizzes, exercises, and interactive activities, organized around course-specific learning objectives. Furthermore, **Connect** includes an interactive eBook; **LearnSmart**, which is an adaptive testing program; and **SmartBook**, the first and only truly adaptive reading experience. The tools and resources provided in **Connect Anthropology** are designed to engage students and enable them to improve their performance in the course. This 19th edition has benefited from feedback from thousands of students who have worked with these tools and programs while using previous editions of *Anthropology*. We have been able to flag and respond to specific areas of difficulty that students have encountered, chapter by chapter. I have used this extensive feedback to revise, rethink, and clarify my writing in almost every chapter and to review and, when necessary, rewrite the questions in the LearnSmart probes.

While any competent and useful text must present anthropology's core, that text also must demonstrate anthropology's relevance to the 21st-century world we inhabit. Accordingly, each new edition contains thorough updating and substantial content changes as well as a series of features that examine our changing world. For example, several "Focus on Globalization" essays in this book examine topics as diverse as travel and tourism in the ancient and modern worlds, naming a disease pandemic, world sports events, and the expansion of international finance and branding. Several chapters contain discussions of new media, including social media. Many of the boxes titled "Appreciating Anthropology" and "Appreciating Diversity" also present new discoveries and topics.

Each chapter begins with a discussion titled "Understanding Ourselves." These introductions, along with examples from popular culture throughout the book, show how anthropology relates to students' everyday lives. My overarching goal is to help students appreciate the field of anthropology and the various kinds of diversity it studies. How do anthropologists think and work? Where do we go, and how do we interpret what we see? How do we step back, compare, and analyze? How does anthropology contribute to our understanding of the world? The "Appreciating Anthropology" boxes focus on the value and usefulness of anthropological research and approaches while the "Appreciating Diversity" boxes focus on various forms and expressions of human biological and cultural diversity.

Most students who read this book will not go on to become anthropologists, or even anthropology majors. For those who do, this book should provide a solid foundation to build on. For those who don't—that is, for most of my readers—my goal is to instill a sense of appreciation: of human diversity, of anthropology as a field, and of how anthropology can build on, and help make sense of, the experience that students bring to the classroom. May this course and this text help students think differently about, and achieve greater understanding of, their own culture and its place within our globalizing world.

**Conrad Phillip Kottak** 

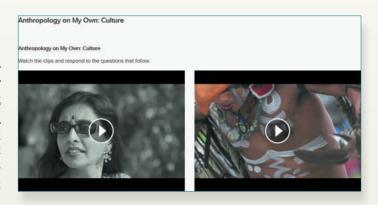
## preface

For over 40 years, students have found Conrad Kottak's Introductions to Anthropology and Cultural Anthropology thoughtful guides to the ever-changing discipline. His books are classics in the field, offering undergraduates a comprehensive and robust set of materials that support and expand on the instruction they receive in the classroom or online. Students engage with rich content with an effective, efficient, and easy-to-use platform in Connect.

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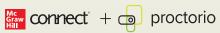
New to this edition, Newsflash activities bring in articles on current events relevant to anthropology with accompanying assessment. Topics include "Why Racism is Not Backed by Science" and "What Each of Facebook's 51 New Gender Options Means."



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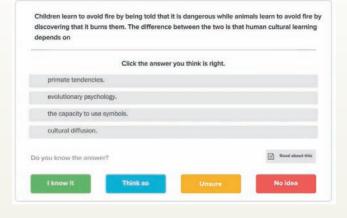
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New to this edition, SmartBook is now optimized for phones and tablets and accessible for students with disabilities using interactive features.





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dashboard—now available for both instructors and students—that provides at-a-glance information regarding student performance, which is immediately actionable. By presenting assignment, assessment, and topical performance results together with a time metric that is easily visible for aggregate or individual results, Connect Insight gives the user the capability to take a just-in-time approach to teaching and learning, which was never before available. Connect Insight presents data that empowers students and helps instructors improve class performance in a way that is efficient and effective.



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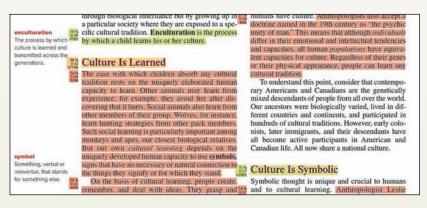
vices, including eBooks, test banks, PowerPoint slides, animations, and learning objects—from any Learning Management System (LMS), at no additional cost to an institution. Users also have single sign-on access to McGraw-Hill digital platforms, including Connect, Create, and Tegrity, a fully automated lecture caption solution.

### **Instructor Resources**

Instructor resources available through Connect for *Anthropology* include an Instructor's Manual, Test Bank, and PowerPoint presentation for each chapter.

### Updates and Revisions—Informed by Student Data

Revisions for this 19th edition of *Anthropology* were informed by student data, collected anonymously by McGraw-Hill Education's SmartBook. Using this data, we were able to graphically illustrate "hot spots," indicating content area students struggle with (see image below). This data provided feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level. Conrad Kottak relied on this data when making decisions about material to revise, update, and improve. Professor Kottak also reviewed and, when necessary, revised probes to make SmartBook an even more efficient and effective study tool. This revision has also been informed by reviews provided by faculty at 2- and 4-year schools across the country.



In addition to updated source research and statistical data, new photographs and illustrations, the following chapter-by-chapter changes have been made for the 19th edition:

#### **CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?**

 The chapter has been updated throughout, and the writing has been simplified in the section on the scientific method.

#### **CHAPTER 2: CULTURE**

- Recent studies of tool making by capuchin monkeys in Brazil and chimps in Guinea are discussed.
- President Trump's January 2020 threat to bomb Iranian cultural sites is used to frame the updated discussion of why heritage should be preserved and protected.
- There is new information on transnational communication in the section on globalization.

#### **CHAPTER 3: APPLYING ANTHROPOLOGY**

The section on Urban Anthropology has been revised and updated.

### CHAPTER 4: DOING ARCHAEOLOGY AND BIOLOGICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- A new discussion and graphic explaining LIDAR and its usefulness has been added.
- There is a new "Appreciating Diversity" box describing "A Workshop in Genomics for Indigenous Peoples."
- The discussion of cultural resource management (CRM) has been revised.

### **CHAPTER 5: EVOLUTION AND GENETICS**

 A new "Appreciating Diversity" box is titled "How Seriously Should We Take Commercial DNA-Testing Sites?"  The section on "Population Genetics and Mechanisms of Genetic Evolution" has been revised to clarify four mechanisms (natural selection, mutation, drift, and gene flow) and types of natural selection (directional, sexual, and stabilizing).

### CHAPTER 6: HUMAN VARIATION AND ADAPTATION

 Both major sections, "Race: A Discredited Concept in Biology" and "Human Biological Adaptation," have been rewritten to clarify and update references and concepts.

#### **CHAPTER 7: THE PRIMATES**

- I added a new discussion of successful conservation efforts to curb population decline among mountain gorillas.
- There is new information on chimpanzees as an endangered species.
- I added a new discussion of the Great Apes Conservation Fund and its efforts in Africa and Asia.
- I restructured and streamlined the section on "Miocene Hominoids: The Proto- Apes."

#### **CHAPTER 8: EARLY HOMININS**

 To enhance clarity, the section on bipedalism has been reorganized under two new subheads: "Why Bipedalism" and "Pre-Hominin Bipedalism." The latter reports on a new fossil discovery (*Danuvius guggenmosi*) from Bavaria, Germany.
 Danuvius, which lived 11.6 million years ago,

- was a proto-ape with the dual locomotory ability to climb in the trees and to move bipedally on the ground.
- Added to the discussion of *Australopithecus* anamensis (previously known only from Kenya) is a newly reported skull from Ethiopia. Its date of 3.8 m.y.a. indicates that *Au. anamensis* and *Au. afarensis* overlapped in time.
- I report on Oldowan tools recently found in Algeria (farthest north ever discovered) and dated to 2.4 m.y.a.
- I restructured the section on "Gracile and Robust Australopiths," adding subheads ("South African Finds" and "Paranthropus,") for clarity.

#### **CHAPTER 9: THE GENUS HOMO**

- There is a new discussion of whether hominins could have started spreading beyond Africa before H. erectus. If newly described (2019) chipped rocks excavated from a river valley in northern Jordan are indeed rudimentary stone tools, they may provide evidence for the early presence of Homo outside Africa.
- New evidence for early fire making has been added.
- An updated and expanded Recap 9.1 summarizes data on Homo fossil groups.
- A rewritten and expanded section on the Denisovans includes a discussion of the latest find, a jawbone from the Tibetan plateau—the first Denisovan found outside Siberia.

- The completely rewritten and simplified section "Neandertals, Denisovans, and Anatomically Modern Humans" contains a new Recap 9.2 summarizing evidence for hominins migrating outside Africa.
- A new section, "Asian Island Anomalies," updates discussion of Homo floresiensis and adds a new discussion of the recently discovered Homo luzonensis (Luzon, Philippines).

### CHAPTER 10: THE ORIGIN AND SPREAD OF MODERN HUMANS

- There is a new discussion of Apidima 1, the earliest anatomically modern human (AMH) fossil (a partial skull) yet found in Eurasia (Greece), dated to 210,000 years ago.
- A new Figure 10.1 shows how mitochondrial DNA (mtDNA) is passed on through matrilines.
- I have streamlined the writing in the sections on "The Advent of Behavioral Modernity" and "Advances in Technology."
- The section on "The Settling of the Americas"
  has been rewritten with updates on recent
  finds, including (1) ancient Beringians,
  and (2) tools found in western Idaho dated
  to 16,000 B.P., suggesting that ancient
  humans may have reached the United
  States via the Pacific coastal route earlier
  than via the ice-free corridor through
  interior Canada.

#### **CHAPTER 11: THE FIRST FARMERS**

- I've added three clarifying subheads to the section "Developments in Asia, Including Early Pottery." Those subheads are "Japan's Jomon Culture," "Earlier in China, Later in the Middle East," and a new discussion of "Ancient Clay Baby Bottles."
- I've also added three clarifying subheads to the section "Steps toward Food Production" (formerly "Where and Why Did Food Production Begin.") Those subheads are "Natufian Sedentism," "The Earliest Bread Making" (new content), and "Beyond the Optimal Zone."
- New information on rice domestication has been added to the section "The Neolithic in Asia."
- There is a new "Appreciating Diversity" box on "Dietary Diversity and Climate Change."

### CHAPTER 12: THE FIRST CITIES AND STATES

- I've added new info on the recent bioarcheological analysis of 742 human remains from the important Turkish site of Çatalhöyük.
- I wrote a new "Appreciating Diversity" box on "The Inka Khipu System," a unique form of record keeping and information transfer
- The discussion of Maya civilization has been expanded and updated, based on information

- from the recent LiDAR survey of northern Guatemala.
- The "Appreciating Anthropology" box on "The Fantastic Claims of Pseudo-Archaeology" has been revised.

### CHAPTER 13: METHOD AND THEORY IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

 This chapter has been extensively updated, with revisions in writing to enhance clarity.

### CHAPTER 14: LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

- The major section on "Sociolinguistics" has been reorganized, with new subheads added for clarity.
- The "Appreciating Diversity" box, "Words of the Year," has been updated and rewritten to reflect how the personal expression of gender identity (as in [my] pronouns and singular they) has become an increasing part of our shared discourse.
- A new "Focus on Globalization" box, "Naming a Pandemic: Do Geographic Names Stigmatize?" examines the naming of diseases, including the COVID-19 coronavirus.
- I streamlined the section on African American Vernacular English (AAVE).

#### **CHAPTER 15: ETHNICITY AND RACE**

- This chapter has been significantly updated, reorganized, and revised, with much new material. Specifics include:
- To the section "American Ethnic Groups," I have added the most recent changes in composition of racial and ethnic groups/categories in the United States.
- I have updated the section "Minority Groups and Stratification, with new data on the relation between poverty, income, and minority status.
- An updated discussion of "Race in the Census" describes the 2020 census form and its detailed questions on ethnicity, race, and national origins.
- A new discussion of biracial Japanese has been added.
- Recent election results now inform the "Backlash to Multiculturalism" section.
- The section "Ethnic Groups, Nations, and Nationalities" incorporates new data on ethnic diversity by country.
- Material formerly in the "Focus on Globalization" box on "The Gray and the Brown" has been moved into the text, as part of a new discussion of demographic projections for the United States through 2060, including significant growth in the dependency ratio.
- There are expanded discussions of the Bosnian and Rwandan genocides in the section on "Ethnic Conflict."

#### **CHAPTER 16: MAKING A LIVING**

- I updated the "Focus on Globalization" box, "Our Global Economy."
- A new "Appreciating Anthropology" box "To Give Is Good: Reciprocity and Human Survival" describes ongoing research by the Human Generosity Project, with a focus on recent fieldwork among the Ik of Uganda.
- I moved the old "Appreciating Anthropology" box on deindustrialization to Chapter 23.

#### **CHAPTER 17: POLITICAL SYSTEMS**

- To enhance clarity, I revised the discussions of bands, nomadic politics, and chiefdoms, offering clearer or more familiar examples.
- I updated the "Appreciating Anthropology" box, "The Illegality Industry: A Failed System of Border Control."

#### **CHAPTER 18: GENDER**

- I wrote a new "Appreciating Anthropology" box, "Patriarchy Today: Case Studies in Fundamentalist Communities," to replace the old one, which was dated. This one highlights Maxine Margolis's recent comparative study of female status in three fundamentalist religious communities.
- The section "Changes in Gendered Work" includes a revised and thoroughly updated discussion of labor force participation by gender.
- The section "Work and Happiness" contains an updated and expanded discussion of workforce participation and national feelings of wellbeing.
- The section titled "The Feminization of Poverty" has updated information on the relation between wealth and family structure.
- The "Beyond Male and Female" section has been revised substantially to clarify American gender categories in flux.

### CHAPTER 19: FAMILIES, KINSHIP, AND DESCENT

- The section "Changes in North American Kinship" contains a revised and updated discussion of changing characteristics of American families, households, and children's living arrangements.
- There is a new discussion of "Relationships Queried in the 2020 Census."

#### **CHAPTER 20: MARRIAGE**

- · I streamlined the section on "Divorce."
- The section on "The Online Marriage Market" has been substantially revised and updated.

#### **CHAPTER 21: RELIGION**

- I wrote a new "Appreciating Anthropology" box, "Rituals in a Pandemic's Shadow."
- In the section "Religion and Change," I added a new subsection on "Religious Change in the

United States," informed by 2019 surveys and focusing on the shift to nonaffiliation.

#### **CHAPTER 22: ARTS, MEDIA, AND SPORTS**

- This chapter has been updated and streamlined throughout.
- There is a retitled, reorganized, and substantially rewritten section on "Online Access and Connectivity" in the major section "Media and Culture"

### CHAPTER 23: THE WORLD SYSTEM, COLONIALISM, AND INEQUALITY

 The section "Wealth Distribution in the United States" has been revised and incorporates the

- latest available statistics on inequality, and its relation to political mobilization.
- Thoroughly revised and updated section on "Neoliberalism and NAFTA's Economic Refugees," including discussion of the USMCA trade pact revision.
- A new box for this chapter, "When the Mills Shut Down: An Anthropologist Looks at Deindustrialization," was moved here from Chapter 16.

### CHAPTER 24: ANTHROPOLOGY'S ROLE IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

• Two major sections: "Energy Consumption and Industrial Degradation" and "Global Climate

- Change" have been thoroughly revised, updated, and reorganized, including an updated Table 24.1, "Energy Consumption for the Top 12 Countries, 2018."
- In the section on "Emerging Diseases," there
  is a new discussion of the 2020 coronavirus,
  as well as a report on the Trump administration's termination of the USAID-supported
  PREDICT program, which searched for, identified, and catalogued potentially lethal zoonotic
  pathogens.

### Acknowledgments

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I'm also indebted to the reviewers who have evaluated this book and its companion text, *Cultural Anthropology,* and, through their comments, helped guide its development.

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Over my many years of teaching anthropology, feedback from students has kept me up to date on the interests and needs of my readers, as does my ongoing participation in workshops on the teaching of anthropology. I hope this product of my experience will be helpful to others.

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Cultural
Anthropology:
Appreciating Cultural
Diversity,

Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology,

Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Anthropology,

Culture, 2nd ed. (2014, with Lisa L. Gezon)

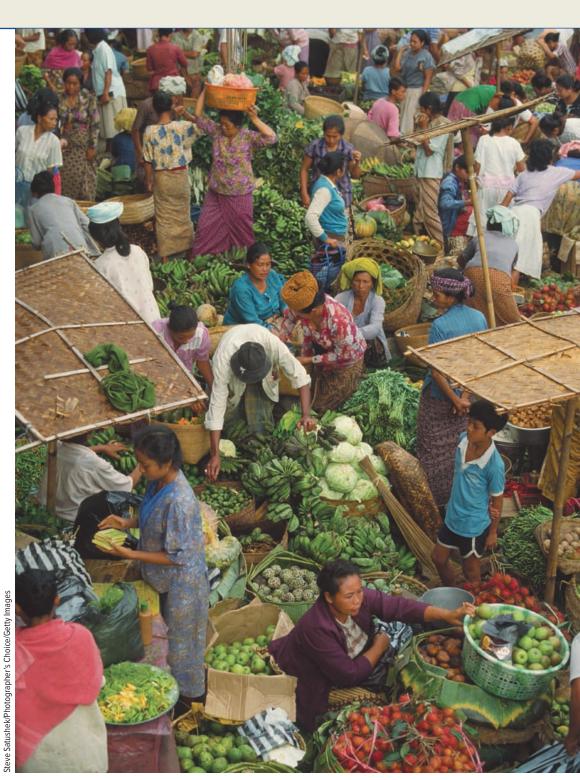
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## What Is Anthropology?

- What distinguishes anthropology from other fields that study human beings?
- How do anthropologists study human diversity in time and space?
- Why is anthropology both scientific and humanistic?



A produce market in Ubud, Bali, Indonesia.

### **HUMAN DIVERSITY**

Adaptation, Variation, and Change

Cultural Forces Shape Human Biology

**GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY** 

### THE SUBDISCIPLINES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Cultural Anthropology Anthropological Archaeology Biological Anthropology Linguistic Anthropology

#### **APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY**

### ANTHROPOLOGY AND OTHER ACADEMIC FIELDS

Cultural Anthropology and Sociology

Anthropology and Psychology

#### THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

Theories, Associations, and Explanations Case Study: Explaining the Postpartum Taboo

The Value, and Limitations, of Science

## understanding OURSELVES

hen you grew up, which sport did you appreciate the most—soccer, swimming, football, baseball, tennis, golf, or some other sport (or perhaps none at all)? Is this because of "who you are" or because of the opportunities you had as a child to practice and participate in this particular activity? Think about the phrases and sentences you would use to describe yourself in a personal ad or on a networking site—your likes and dislikes, hobbies, and habits. How many of these descriptors would be the same if you had been born in a different place or time?

When you were young, your parents might have told you that drinking milk and eating vegetables would help you grow up "big and strong." They probably didn't recognize as readily the role that culture plays in shaping bodies, personalities, and personal health. If nutrition matters in growth, so, too, do cultural guidelines. What is proper behavior for boys and girls? What kinds of work should men and women do? Where should people live? What are proper uses of their leisure time? What role should religion play? How should people relate to their family, friends, and neighbors? Although our genetic attributes provide a foundation for our growth and development, human biology is fairly plastic-that is, it is malleable. Culture is an environmental force that affects our development as much as do nutrition, heat, cold, and altitude. Culture also guides our emotional and cognitive growth and helps determine the kinds of personalities we have as adults.

Among scholarly disciplines, anthropology stands out as the field that provides the cross-cultural test. How much would we know about human behavior, thought, and feeling if we studied only our own kind? What if our entire understanding of human behavior were based on analysis of questionnaires filled out by college students in Oregon? Get in the habit of asking this question: What is the basis of any statement or generalization you may read or hear concerning what humans are like, individually or collectively? A primary reason anthropology can uncover so much about what it means to be human is that the discipline is based on the cross-cultural perspective. A single nation or culture simply cannot tell us everything we need to know about what it means to be human. We need to compare and contrast. Often culture is "invisible" (assumed to be normal, or just the way things are) until it is placed in comparison to another culture. For example, to appreciate how people use media, and the effects of such use, we need to consider not just contemporary North America but other places—and perhaps even other times. Right now, for example, I am part of a research team that is studying the evolution of media (including broadcast and streaming TV as well as social media) and its use in Brazil from the 1980s through the present. We will eventually compare this evolution with changes in media use and effects in the United States over a comparable period of time. The cross-cultural test is fundamental to the anthropological approach, which orients this textbook.

### **HUMAN DIVERSITY**

Anthropologists study human beings and their products wherever and whenever they find them—in rural Kenya, a Turkish café, a Mesopotamian tomb, or a North American shopping center. Anthropology explores human diversity across time and space, seeking to understand as much as possible about the human condition. Of particular interest is the diversity that comes through human adaptability.

Humans are among the world's most adaptable animals. In the Andes of South America, people wake up in villages 16,000 feet above sea level and then trek 1,500 feet higher to work in tin mines. In the Australian outback, people worship animals and discuss philosophy. Humans survive malaria in the tropics. A dozen men have walked on the moon. The model of the USS Enterprise in Washington's Smithsonian Institution symbolizes the desire to "seek out new life and civilizations, to boldly go where no one has gone before." Wishes to know the unknown, control the uncontrollable, and create order out of chaos find expression among all peoples. Creativity, adaptability, and flexibility are basic human attributes, and human diversity is the subject matter of anthropology.

Students often are surprised by the breadth of **anthropology**, which is the study of humans around the world and through time. Anthropology is a uniquely comparative and **holistic** science. *Holism* refers to the study of the whole of the human condition: past, present, and future; biology, society, language, and culture. Most people think that anthropologists study fossils and nonindustrial, non-Western cultures, and many of them do. But anthropology is much more than the study of nonindustrial peoples: It is a comparative field that examines all societies, ancient and modern,

simple and complex, local and global. The other social sciences tend to focus on a single society, usually their own nation, such as the United States or Canada. Anthropology, however, offers a unique cross-cultural perspective by constantly comparing the customs of one society with those of others.

People share society—organized life in groups with other animals, including monkeys, apes, wolves, mole rats, and even ants. Culture, however, is more distinctly human. Cultures are traditions and customs, transmitted through learning, that form and guide the beliefs and behavior of the people exposed to them. Children learn such a tradition by growing up in a particular society, through a process called enculturation. Cultural traditions include customs and opinions, developed over the generations, about proper and improper behavior. These traditions answer such questions as: How should we do things? How do we make sense of the world? How do we distinguish between what is right, and what is wrong? A culture produces a degree of consistency in behavior and thought among the people who live in a particular society.

The most critical element of cultural traditions is their transmission through learning rather than through biological inheritance. Culture is not itself biological, but it rests on certain features of human biology. For more than a million years, humans have possessed at least some of the biological capacities on which culture depends. These abilities are to learn, to think symbolically, to use language, and to make and use tools.

Anthropology confronts and ponders major questions about past and present human existence. By examining ancient bones and tools, we unravel the mysteries of human origins. When did our ancestors separate from those of the apes? Where and when did *Homo sapiens* originate?

#### society

Organized life in groups; shared with humans by monkeys, apes, wolves, mole rats, and ants, among other animals.

#### culture

Traditions and customs transmitted through learning.

#### anthropology

The study of the humans around the world and through time.

#### holistic

Encompassing past, present, and future; biology, society, language, and culture.





Today's anthropologists work in varied roles and settings. Nory Condor Alarcon (left photo) is an anthropologist who works for the Forensic Laboratory of the Public Ministry of Ayacucho, Peru. Here she comforts a young woman as she confirms that the lab's forensic team has identified the remains of several of her close relatives. In the photo on the right, a group of experts including anthropologist Mac Chapin (left), hold a press conference at UN Headquarters in New York introducing a new high-tech map of Indigenous Peoples of Central America.

(left): Robin Hammond/IDRC/Panos Pictures/Redux Pictures; (right): EDUARDO MUNOZ ALVAREZ/Stringer/Getty Images

FORM OF ADAPTATION	TYPE OF ADAPTATION	EXAMPLE
Technology	Cultural	Pressurized airplane cabin with oxygen masks
Genetic adaptation (occurs over generations)	Biological	Larger "barrel chests" of native highlanders
Long-term physiological adaptation (occurs during growth and development of the individual organism)	Biological	More efficient respiratory system, to extract oxygen from "thin air"
Short-term physiological adaptation (occurs spontaneously when the individual organism enters a new environment)	Biological	Increased heart rate, hyperventilation

How has our species changed? What are we now, and where are we going? How have social and cultural changes influenced biological change? Our genus, *Homo*, has been changing for more than one million years. Humans continue to adapt and change both biologically and culturally.

### Adaptation, Variation, and Change

Adaptation refers to the processes by which organisms cope with environmental forces and stresses. How do organisms change to fit their environments, such as dry climates or high mountain altitudes? Like other animals, humans have biological means of adaptation. But humans also habitually rely on cultural means of adaptation. Recap 1.1 summarizes some of the cultural and biological ways in which humans adapt to high altitudes.

Mountainous terrains pose particular challenges, those associated with altitude and oxygen deprivation. Consider four ways (one cultural and three biological) in which humans may cope with low oxygen pressure at high altitudes. Illustrating cultural (technological) adaptation would be a pressurized airplane cabin equipped with oxygen masks. There are three ways of adapting biologically to high altitudes: genetic adaptation, long-term physiological adaptation, and shortterm physiological adaptation. First, native populations of high-altitude areas, such as the Andes of Peru and the Himalayas of Tibet and Nepal, seem to have acquired certain genetic advantages for life at very high altitudes. The Andean tendency to develop a voluminous chest and lungs probably has a genetic basis. Second, regardless of their genes, people who grow up at a high altitude become physiologically more efficient there than genetically similar people who have grown up at sea level would be. This illustrates longterm physiological adaptation during the body's growth and development. Third, humans also have the capacity for short-term or immediate physiological adaptation. Thus, when lowlanders arrive in the highlands, they immediately increase their breathing and heart rates. Hyperventilation increases the oxygen in their lungs and arteries. As the pulse also increases, blood reaches their tissues more rapidly. These varied adaptive responses—cultural and biological—all fulfill the need to supply an adequate amount of oxygen to the body.

As human history has unfolded, the social and cultural means of adaptation have become increasingly important. In this process, humans have devised diverse ways of coping with the range of environments they have occupied in time and space. The rate of cultural adaptation and change has accelerated, particularly during the last 10,000 years. For millions of years, hunting and gathering of nature's bounty-foraging-was the sole basis of human subsistence. However, it took only a few thousand years for food production (the cultivation of plants and domestication of animals), which originated some 12,000-10,000 years ago, to replace foraging in most areas. Between 6000 and 5000 B.P. (before the present), the first civilizations arose. These were large, powerful, and complex societies, such as ancient Egypt, that conquered and governed large geographic areas.

Much more recently, the spread of industrial production has profoundly affected human life. Throughout human history, major innovations have spread at the expense of earlier ones. Each economic revolution has had social and cultural repercussions. Today's global economy and communications link all contemporary people, directly or indirectly, in the modern world system. Nowadays, even remote villagers experience world forces and events (see "Focus on Globalization"). The study of how local people adapt to global forces poses new challenges for anthropology: "The cultures of world peoples need to be constantly rediscovered as these people reinvent them in changing historical circumstances" (Marcus and Fischer 1986, p. 24).

#### food production

An economy based on plant cultivation and/or animal domestication.



### **World Events**

eople everywhere—even remote villagers—now participate in world events, especially through the mass media. The study of global—local linkages is a prominent part of modern anthropology. What kinds of events generate global interest? Disasters provide one example. Think of missing airplanes, nuclear plant meltdowns, and the earthquakes and tsunamis that have ravaged Thailand, Indonesia, and Japan. In July 2018, the world was riveted to the plight of Thai kids trapped in a cave and their daring rescue. Think, too, of space—the final frontier: As many as 600 million people may have watched the first (Apollo 11) moon landing in 1969—a huge audience in the early days of global television.

Consider, too, the British royal family, especially the photogenic ones. The wedding of Prince William and Catherine Middleton attracted 161 million viewers—twice the population of the United Kingdom. A generation earlier, millions of people had watched Lady Diana Spencer marry England's Prince Charles. Her funeral also attracted a global audience. In 2020, Prince Harry and his wife Meghan Markle, Duke and Duchess of Sussex, fled with their son Archie to Canada. To escape global media attention, the Sussexes were willing to give up their royal duties and titles.

And, of course, think of sports: Billions of people watched at least some of the last Summer Olympics. Consider the FIFA World Cup (soccer), also held every four years. In 2006, an estimated 320 million people tuned in to the tournament's final game. This figure almost tripled to 909 million in 2010, and more than one billion viewers saw Germany defeat Argentina in the 2014 final. Four years later, more than 3.5 billion people, half the world's population, watched at

least some of the 2018 World Cup. Once again, more than a billion people (1.12) tuned in the for the final, in which France beat Croatia 4-2. The World Cup generates huge global interest because it truly is a "world series," with 32 countries and five continents competing. Similarly, the Cricket World Cup, held every four years (most recently in 2019), is the world's third most watched event: Only the Summer Olympics and the FIFA World Cup exceed it. Live coverage of the 2019 Cricket World Cup attracted a cumulative audience of 1.6 billion people in over 200 countries.

It's rather arrogant to call American baseball's ultimate championship "The World Series" when only one non-U.S. team, the Toronto Blue Jays, can play in it. (The title dates back to 1903, a time of less globalization and more American provincialism.) Baseball is popular in the United States (including Puerto Rico), Canada, Japan, Cuba, Mexico, Venezuela, and the Dominican Republic. South Korea, Taiwan, and China have professional leagues. Elsewhere the sport has little mass appeal (see Gmelch and Nathan 2017).

Even so, when we focus on the players in American baseball we see a multiethnic world in miniature. With its prominent Latino and Asian players, American baseball is more ethnically diverse than American football or basketball. Consider the finalists for the major MLB (Major League Baseball) awards (Most Valuable Player, Cy Young, Rookie of the Year) for the years 2018 and 2019. Those finalists included players from Canada, Cuba, the Dominican Republic, Japan, Puerto Rico, South Korea, the United States, and Venezuela. Can you think of a sport as ethnically diverse as baseball? What's the last world event that drew your attention?

## **Cultural Forces Shape Human Biology**

Anthropology's comparative, biocultural perspective recognizes that cultural forces constantly mold human biology. (Biocultural refers to using and combining both biological and cultural perspectives and approaches to analyze and understand a particular issue or problem.) As we saw in "Understanding Ourselves," culture is a key environmental force in determining how human bodies grow and develop. Cultural traditions promote certain activities and abilities, discourage others, and set standards of physical well-being and attractiveness. Consider how this works in sports. North American girls are encouraged to pursue, and therefore do well in, competition involving figure skating, gymnastics, track and field, swimming, diving, and many other sports. Brazilian girls, although excelling in the team sports of basketball and volleyball, haven't fared nearly as

well in individual sports as have their American and Canadian counterparts. Why are people encouraged to excel as athletes in some nations but not others? Why do people in some countries invest so much time and effort in competitive sports that their bodies change significantly as a result? Why do Americans engage in combat sports such as football, which can cause irreversible damage to brains and bodies.

Cultural standards of attractiveness and propriety influence participation and achievement in sports. Americans run or swim not just to compete but also to keep trim and fit. Brazil's beauty standards traditionally have accepted more fat, especially in female buttocks and hips. Brazilian men have had significant international success in swimming and running, but it is less common to see Brazilian women excelling in those sports. One reason why Brazilian women are underrepresented in competitive swimming may be that

### biocultural

Combining biological and cultural approaches to a given problem.



Athletes primed for the start of the 10 kilometer women's marathon swim at the 2016 Summer Olympics in Rio de Janeiro. Years of swimming sculpt a distinctive physique—an enlarged upper torso and neck, and powerful shoulders and back

Tim de Waele/Getty Images

sport's effects on the body. Years of swimming sculpt a distinctive physique: an enlarged upper torso, a massive neck, and powerful shoulders and back. Successful female swimmers tend to be big, strong, and bulky. The countries that have produced them most consistently are the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, the Scandinavian nations, the Netherlands, the former Soviet Union, and (more recently) China, where this body type isn't as stigmatized as it is in Latin countries. For women, Brazilian culture prefers more ample hips and buttocks to a more muscled upper body. Many young female swimmers in Brazil choose to abandon the sport rather than their culture's "feminine" body ideal.

#### general anthropology

Anthropology as a whole: cultural, archaeological, biological, and linguistic anthropology.

### **GENERAL ANTHROPOLOGY**

The academic discipline of anthropology, also known as general anthropology or "four-field" anthropology, includes four main subdisciplines or subfields. They are sociocultural anthropology, anthropological archaeology,

biological anthropology, and linguistic anthropology. (From here on, I'll use the shorter term cultural anthropol-

ogy as a synonym for "sociocultural anthropology.") Cultural anthropology focuses on societies of the present and recent past. Anthropological archaeology reconstructs lifeways of ancient and more recent societies through analysis of material remains. Biological anthropology studies human biological variation through time and across geographic

space. Linguistic anthropology examines language in its social and cultural contexts. Of the four subfields, cultural anthropology has the largest membership. Most departments of anthropology teach courses in all four subfields. (Note that general anthropology did not develop as a comparable field of study in most European countries, where the subdisciplines tend to exist separately.)



Early American anthropology was especially concerned with the history and cultures of Native North Americans. Ely S. Parker, or Ha-sanoan-da, was a Seneca Indian who made important contributions to early anthropology. Parker also served as commissioner of Indian affairs for the United States. National Archives and Records Administration

There are historical reasons for the inclusion of the four subfields in a single discipline in North America. The origin of anthropology as a scientific field, and of American anthropology in particular, can be traced back to the 19th century. Early American anthropologists were concerned especially with the history and cultures of the indigenous peoples of North America. Interest in the origins and diversity of Native Americans (called First Nations in Canada) brought together studies of customs, social life, language, and physical traits. Anthropologists still are pondering such questions as these: Where did Native Americans come from? How many waves of migration brought them to the New World? What are the linguistic, cultural, and biological links among Native Americans and between them and Asians?

There also are logical reasons for including anthropology's four subfields in the same academic discipline. Answers to key questions in anthropology often require an understanding of both human biology and culture and of both the past and the present. Each subfield considers variation in time and space (that is, in different geographic areas). Cultural anthropologists and anthropological archaeologists study (among many other topics) changes in social life and customs. Archaeologists have used studies of living societies and behavior patterns to imagine what life might have been like in the past. Biological anthropologists examine evolutionary changes in physical form, for example, anatomical changes that might have been associated with the origin of tool use or language. Linguistic anthropologists may reconstruct the basics of ancient languages by studying modern ones.

The subdisciplines influence each other as members of the different subfields talk to each other, share books and journals, and associate in departments and at professional meetings. General anthropology explores the basics of human biology, society, and culture and considers their interrelations. Anthropologists share certain key assumptions. Perhaps the most fundamental is the idea that we cannot reach sound conclusions about "human nature" by studying a single nation, society, or cultural tradition. A comparative, crosscultural approach is essential.

## THE SUBDISCIPLINES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

### **Cultural Anthropology**

Cultural anthropology, the study of human society and culture, is the subfield that describes, analyzes, interprets, and explains social and cultural similarities and differences. To study and interpret cultural diversity, cultural

anthropologists engage in two kinds of activity: ethnography (based on fieldwork) and ethnology (based on cross-cultural comparison). Ethnography provides an account of a particular group, community, society, or culture. During ethnographic fieldwork, the ethnographer gathers data that he or she organizes, describes, analyzes, and interprets to build and present that account, which may be in the form of a book, an article, or a film. Traditionally, ethnographers lived in small communities, where they studied local behavior, beliefs, customs, social life, economic activities, politics, and religion. Today, any ethnographer will recognize that external forces and events have an increasing influence on such settings.

An anthropological perspective derived from ethnographic fieldwork often differs radically from that of economics or political science. Those fields focus on national and official organizations and policies and often on elites. However, the groups that anthropologists traditionally have studied usually have been relatively poor and powerless. Ethnographers often observe discriminatory practices directed toward such people, who experience food and water shortages, dietary deficiencies, and other aspects of poverty. Political scientists tend to study programs that national planners develop, whereas anthropologists discover how these programs work on the local level.

Communities and cultures are less isolated today than ever before. In fact, as the anthropologist Franz Boas (1940/1966) noted many years ago, contact between neighboring tribes has always existed and has extended over enormous areas. "Human populations construct their cultures in interaction with one another, and not in isolation" (Wolf 1982, p. ix). Villagers increasingly participate in regional, national, and world events. Exposure to external forces comes through the mass media, migration, and modern transportation. (This chapter's "Appreciating Anthropology" box examines the role of a residential school in eastern India in bridging barriers between cultures.) City, nation, and world increasingly invade local communities with the arrival of tourists, development agents, government and religious officials, and political candidates. Such linkages are prominent components of regional, national, and global systems of politics, economics, and information. These larger systems increasingly affect the people and places anthropology traditionally has studied. The study of such linkages and systems is part of the subject matter of modern anthropology.

Ethnology examines, interprets, and analyzes the results of ethnography—the data gathered in different societies. It uses such data to compare and contrast and to generalize about society and culture. Looking beyond the particular to the

### cultural anthropology

The comparative, crosscultural study of human society and culture.

#### ethnography

Fieldwork in a particular cultural setting.

### ethnology

The study of sociocultural differences and similarities.



## appreciating ANTHROPOLOGY

### **School of Hope**

A school is one kind of community in which culture is transmitted—a process known as enculturation. A boarding school where students reside for several years is fully comparable as a enculturative setting to a village or other local community. You've all heard of Hogwarts. Although fictional, is it not a setting in which enculturation takes place?

Often, schools serve as intermediaries between one cultural tradition and another. As students are exposed to outsiders, they inevitably change. In today's world, opportunities to become bilingual and bicultural—that is, to learn more than one language and to participate in more than one cultural tradition—are greater than ever before.

The Kalinga Institute of Social Sciences (KISS) is a boarding school in Bhubaneswar, India, whose mission is to instill in indigenous students a "capacity to aspire" to a better life (Finnan 2016). KISS is the world's largest residential school for tribal children. Located in Odisha, one of India's poorest states, KISS supports 25,000 students from first grade through graduate training. Its students represent 62 of India's tribal groups. Children as young as age 6 travel to KISS by bus or train, sometimes from hundreds of miles away. They leave their families for up to 10 months at a time, returning to their villages only during the summer.



KISS students at an assembly for visiting foreign dignitaries. KISS officials use such events not only to showcase the school to visitors but also to help build solidarity among students. Courtesy Christine Finnan

During six months of research at KISS in 2014–2015, anthropologist Christine Finnan gathered stories and personal accounts about the school and its effects. Working with three Indian research partners, she interviewed 160 people: students, former students, parents, staff, teachers, administrators, and visitors. Her team observed

classes, meals, celebrations, and athletic competitions. They also visited several tribal villages to find out why parents send their children so far away to school. Finnan wanted to determine what children gained and lost from growing up at KISS. (For a fuller account of the research described here, see Finnan [2016] at www.sapiens.org.)

more general, ethnologists attempt to identify and explain cultural differences and similarities, to test hypotheses, and to build theory to enhance our understanding of how social and cultural systems work. (See the section "The Scientific Method" later in this chapter.) Ethnology gets its data for comparison not just from ethnography but also from the other subfields, particularly from archaeology, which reconstructs social systems of the past. (Recap 1.2 summarizes the main contrasts between ethnography and ethnology.)

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Ethnography and Ethnology—Two Dimensions of Cultural Anthropology

ETHNOGRAPHY	ETHNOLOGY
Requires fieldwork to collect data	Uses data collected by a series of researchers
Often descriptive	Usually synthetic
Group/community specific	Comparative/cross-cultural

Acceptance to KISS is based on need, so that the poorest of the poor are chosen to attend. The school offers cost-free room and board, classes, medical care, and vocational and athletic training to all its students. The value system at KISS encourages responsibility, orderliness, and respect. Children learn those behaviors not only from KISS employees but also from each other—especially from older students. Students are repeatedly reminded that they are special, that they can rise out of poverty and become change agents for their communities. Many students hope to return to their villages as teachers, doctors, or nurses.

KISS receives no government support. Most of its funding comes from its profitable sister institution, the Kalinga Institute of Industrial Technology (KIIT), a respected private university. By targeting indigenous children, KISS meets an educational need that is unmet by the government. In India's tribal villages, the presence of teachers is unreliable, even when there are village schools. At KISS, in sharp contrast, teachers don't just instruct; they also serve in loco parentis, living in the dormitories or in nearby housing, and viewing many of their students as family members.

During her fieldwork, Finnan found attitudes about KISS among all parties to be

overwhelmingly positive. Students contrasted their KISS education with the poor quality of their village schools. Teachers mentioned their shared commitment to poverty reduction. Parents were eager for their children to be admitted. Although KISS encourages students to take pride in their native language and culture, both students and parents understand that change is inevitable. Students will adopt new beliefs, values, and behaviors, and they will learn Odia, the state language used at KISS. They will become bilingual and bicultural.

When Finnan began her research, she was aware of the now-notorious boarding schools for indigenous students that were established during the 19th and 20th centuries in the United States, Canada, and Australia. Children were forcibly removed from their families, required to speak English and accept Christianity, and taught that their own cultures were inferior. The educational style was authoritarian, and its goal was forced assimilation. Finnan found KISS's positive educational philosophy and respect for indigenous cultures to be very different from those archaic institutions.

To fully evaluate KISS's success in meeting its goals, Finnan has retained her connection with KISS. In 2018 she received data indicating that their promise of improved employment

opportunities is being realized. A survey of 10,023 former students indicates that approximately 85 percent have jobs that are likely a result of their KISS education. In addition, while over 80 percent of tribal students drop out of district schools before completing tenth grade, only about 20 percent of KISS students do so. Those who stay at KISS score higher than the state average on state-mandated tests, and considerably higher than averages for tribal children. KISS also can point to a series of successful scholars, ambassadors, and athletes among its graduates. Each year, 5 percent of its graduating class is admitted tuition-free to KIIT. At that highly selective university, students can study engineering, medicine, and law, among other subjects.

Later in this chapter, we examine applied anthropology—how anthropological data, perspectives, theory, and methods can be used to identify, assess, and solve contemporary social problems. Think about whether Finnan's research is academic or applied, and whether there is a sharp distinction between these two dimensions of anthropology. Even if Finnan did not intend her work to be applied anthropology, her findings certainly suggest educational lessons that can be applied beyond this case. What are some of those lessons?

### **Anthropological Archaeology**

Anthropological archaeology (or, more simply, archaeology) reconstructs, describes, and interprets human behavior and cultural patterns through material remains. At sites where people live or have lived, archaeologists find artifacts, material items that humans have made, used, or modified, such as tools, weapons, campsites, buildings, and garbage. Plant and animal remains and garbage tell stories about consumption and activities. Wild and domesticated grains have different characteristics, which allow archaeologists to distinguish between the gathering and the cultivation of plants. Animal bones reveal the age and sex of slaughtered animals, providing other information useful in determining whether species were wild or domesticated.

Analyzing such data, archaeologists answer several questions about ancient economies. Did the group get its meat from hunting, or did it domesticate and breed animals, killing only those of a certain age and sex? Did plant food come from wild plants or from sowing, tending, and harvesting crops? Did the residents make, trade for, or buy particular items? Were raw materials available locally? If not, where did they come from? From such information, archaeologists reconstruct patterns of production, trade, and consumption.

Archaeologists have spent much time studying *potsherds*, fragments of earthenware. Potsherds are more durable than many other artifacts, such as textiles and wood. The quantity of pottery fragments allows estimates of population size and

### anthropological archaeology

The study of human behavior through material remains.