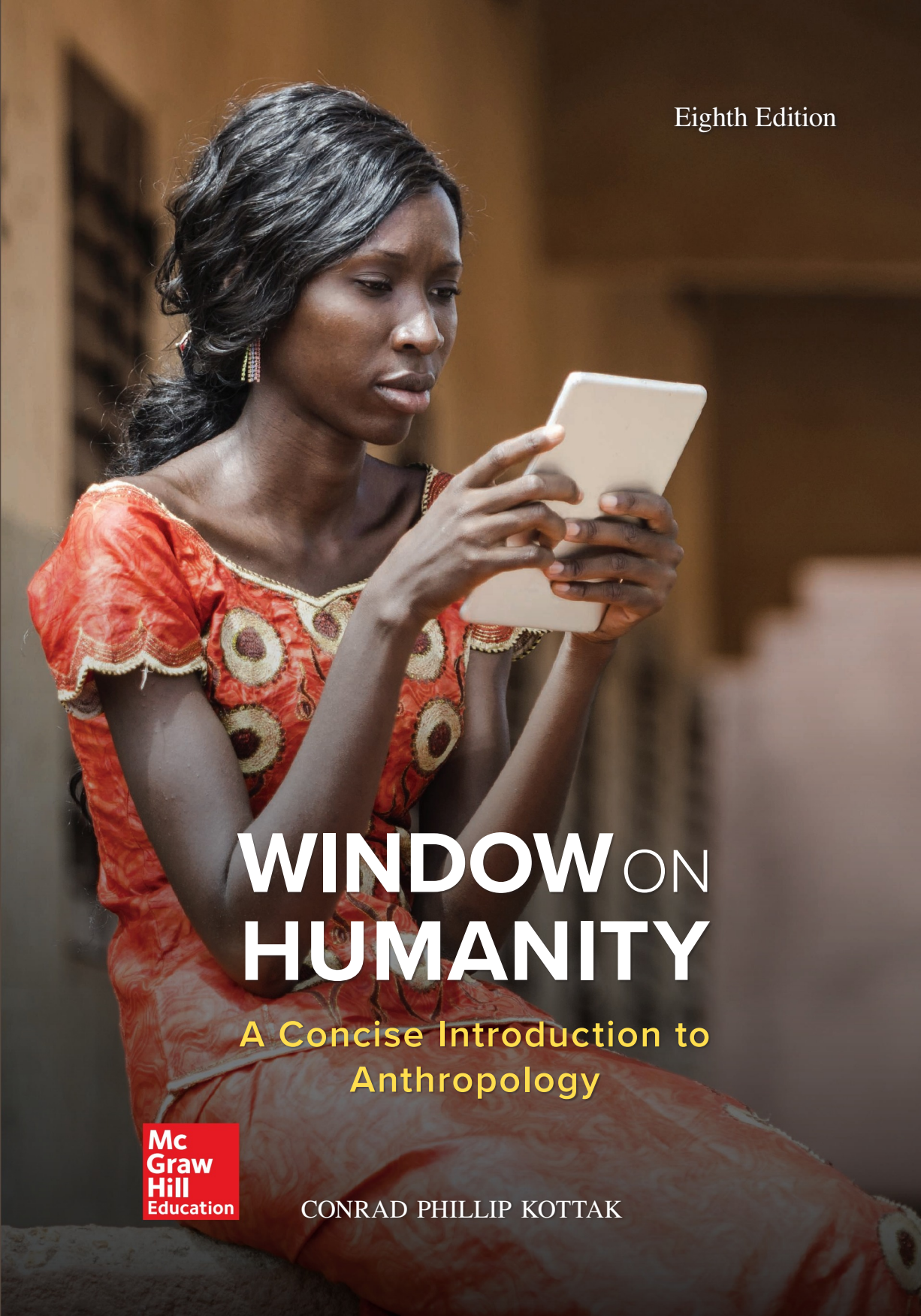
Eighth Edition
WINDOW ON HUMANITY
A Concise Introduction to Anthropology
Mc Graw Hill Education
CONRAD PHILLIP KOTTAK

Window on Humanity

A Concise Introduction to Anthropology

Eighth Edition

Conrad Phillip Kottak
University of Michigan

Mc Graw Hill Education

WINDOW ON HUMANITY: A CONCISE INTRODUCTION TO ANTHROPOLOGY, EIGHTH EDITION

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To my wife,
Isabel Wagley Kottak

Also available from McGraw-Hill by Conrad Phillip Kottak:

Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology, 11th ed. (2018)

Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity, 17th ed. (2017)

Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity, 17th ed. (2017)

CULTURE, 2nd ed. (2014) (Lisa Gezon and Conrad Phillip Kottak)

On Being Different: Diversity and Multiculturalism in the North American Mainstream, 4th ed. (2012) (with Kathryn A. Kozaitis)

Assault on Paradise: The Globalization of a Little Community in Brazil, 4th ed. (2006)

Brief Contents

Contents

Anthropology Today Boxes

Preface

Window on Humanity is intended to provide a concise, readable, introduction to general (four-field) anthropology. The shorter length increases the instructor's options for assigning additional reading—case studies, readers, and other supplements—in a semester course. *Window* also can work well in a quarter system, for which traditional texts may be too long.

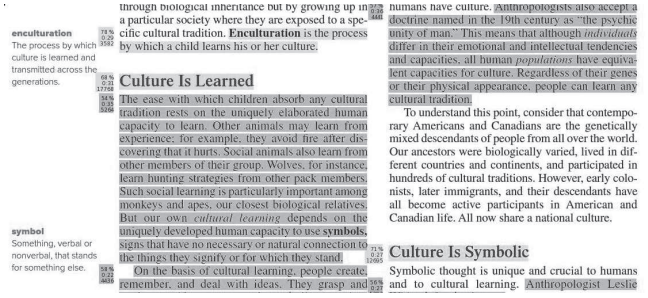
Just as anthropology is a dynamic discipline that encourages new discoveries and explores the profound changes now affecting people and societies, this edition of *Window on Humanity* makes a concerted effort to keep pace with changes in the way students read and learn core content today. Our digital program, **Connect Anthropology,** includes assignable and assessable quizzes, exercises, and interactive activities, organized around course-specific learning objectives. Furthermore, **Connect** includes an adaptive testing program in **LearnSmart,** as well as **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 8th edition has benefited from feedback from over 2,000 students who worked with these tools and programs while using the 7th edition of *Window* or one of my other recent texts. We were able to respond to specific areas of difficulty that students encountered, chapter by chapter. I used this extensive feedback to revise, rethink, and clarify my writing in almost every chapter. In preparing this edition, I benefited tremendously from both students' and professors' reactions to my book.

As I work on each new edition, it becomes ever more apparent to me that 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 substantial content changes as well as specific features relevant to our changing world. One of my primary goals is to help students make connections between what they read and their own lives. Accordingly, the "Anthropology Today" boxes placed near the end of each chapter examine recent developments in anthropology as well as contemporary topics and issues that are clearly related to anthropology's subject matter. I have written ten new "Anthropology Today" boxes highlighting important recent fossil finds as well as recent world events and issues in the news. Each chapter also contains a new feature that I call "Think Like an Anthropologist," which attempts to get students to do just that—to apply their critical thinking skills as an anthropologist might.

I realize that 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 understanding and appreciation of human diversity and of anthropology as a field. 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.

Updates and Revisions—Informed by Student Data

Revisions to this 8th edition of *Window on Humanity* were extensively informed by student data, collected anonymously by McGraw-Hill's LearnSmart adaptive learning system. Using this data, we were able to identify content areas with which students struggle. I relied on this data, which provided feedback at the paragraph and even sentence level (see the screen capture below), in making decisions about material to revise, update, and improve.

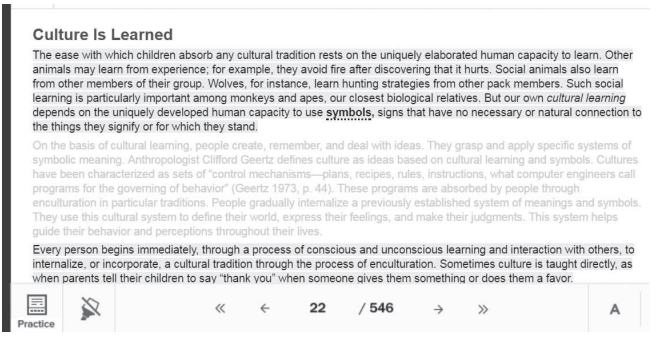


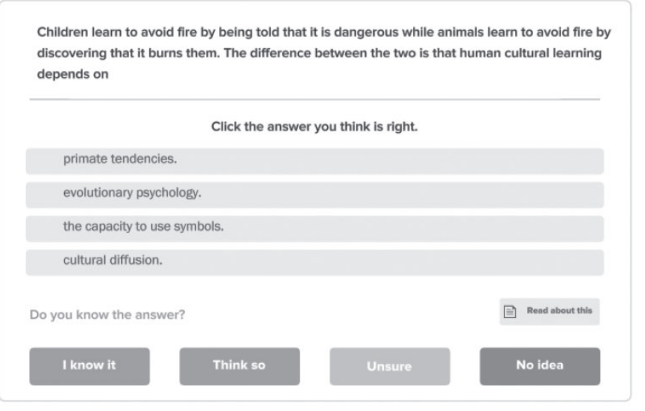
McGraw-Hill Connect Anthropology

Connect Anthropology is a premier digital teaching and learning tool that allows instructors to assign and assess course material. Connect Anthropology includes assignable and assessable quizzes, exercises, and interactive activities, organized around course-specific learning objectives. New to this edition, **NewsFlash** activities bring in articles on current events relevant to anthropology with accompanying assessment. In addition, Connect Anthropology includes LearnSmart, an adaptive testing program, and SmartBook, the first and only adaptive reading experience.

The system is praised by users—faculty and students alike—for helping to make both teaching and learning more efficient, saving time and keeping class time and independent study time focused on what is most important and only those things that still need reinforcing, and shifting the teaching/learning process away from memorization and cramming. The result is better grades, better concept retention, more students staying in class and passing, and less time spent preparing classes or studying for tests.

SMARTBOOK™ **SmartBook:** SmartBook makes study time as productive and efficient as possible. It identifies and closes knowledge gaps through a continually adapting reading experience that provides personalized learning resources at the precise moment of need. This ensures that every minute spent with SmartBook is returned to the student as the most value-added minute possible. The result? More confidence, better grades, and greater success.





Connect Insight: Connect Insight is Connect's one-of-a-kind visual analytics dashboard—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 ability to take a just-in-time approach to teaching and learning.

Chapter-by-Chapter Changes

Updates were also informed by the many excellent reviews provided by faculty at 2- and 4-year schools across the country. In addition to the new "Think Like an Anthropologist" feature, as well as revisions and updates in nearly every section of the book, the following are this edition's major changes:

Chapter 1: What Is Anthropology?

- "The Subdivisions of Anthropology" features a thoroughly revised sub-section on "Biological Anthropology."

- The "Anthropology and Other Academic Fields" section has been fully revised and includes a new sub-section on "Cultural Anthropology and Sociology."
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "School of Hope," has been added.

Chapter 2: Culture

- The opening section, "What Is Culture?," has been fully revised, with a new introduction differentiating more clearly between society and culture, as well as new definitions of enculturation and popular culture.
- The "Mechanisms of Cultural Change" section includes a new discussion of pidgin languages.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Preserving Cultural Heritage," has been added.

Chapter 3: Doing Anthropology

- The "Dating the Past" section includes a fully revised section on "Molecular Anthropology."
- The "Ethnography: Anthropology's Distinctive Strategy" section (formerly "Ethnographic Techniques") features a new introduction with a clarified definition of ethnography, as well as a fully revised and expanded sub-section on "Problem-Oriented Ethnography."
- The "Doing Anthropology Right and Wrong: Ethical Issues" section includes a revised discussion of "Ownership Issues," with updated discussion of the "Kennewick Man" bones and their return to the Colville reservation in 2016.

Chapter 4: Evolution, Genetics, and Human Variation

- The "Evolution" section (previously "The Origin of Species") features a new introduction and an expanded and reworked sub-section, "Evolution: Theory and Fact."
- The "Population Genetics and Mechanisms of Genetic Evolution" section (formerly "Mechanisms of Genetic Evolution") features a new introduction and expanded and revised sub-sections, "Mutation" and "Random Genetic Drift."
- The "Race: A Discredited Concept" section features clarified discussions on "Races Are Not Biologically Distinct" and "Genetic Markers Don't Correlate with Phenotype."
- The "Human Biological Adaptation" section includes a new introduction, a new sub-section "Explaining Skin Color," and a rewritten sub-section, "Genes and Disease."
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Disease Evolution: A Case Study," has been added.

Chapter 5: The Primates

- The "Our Place Among the Primates" section features a new introduction and includes updated taxonomic categories.
- The "Primate Adaptations" section (formerly "Primate Tendencies") has been reworked and expanded to include discussion of sensory shifts.
- "The Primate Suborders" section (formerly "Prosimians") has been rewritten and expanded to incorporate discussion of the split between haplorrhines and strepsirrhines.
- The "Monkeys" section and "Orangutans" sub-sections have been reworked.

- The "Early Primates" section has been extensively revised and expanded to include discussion of the spread of angiosperms (flowering plants) during the Cenozoic era, and evolutionary splits in the early primate groups.
- The "Miocene Hominoids" section has been revised.

Chapter 6: Early Hominins

- The discussion throughout the chapter has been revised to reflect contemporary consensus on terminology (*Paranthropus* rather than *Australopithecus robustus* and *Au. boisei;* "australopith" rather than "australopithecine").
- The "Who Were the Earliest Hominins?" section has been extensively revised to include the most recent findings.
- "The Varied Australopiths" section has been thoroughly revised to include new data and measurements, and expanded discussion of anatomical features.
- The "Early Stone Tools" section (previously "Oldowan Tools") has been extensively revised and expanded to incorporate recent archaeological discoveries.

Chapter 7: The Genus *Homo*

- The "Early *Homo*" section features a new introduction, a brand new sub-section, "2015 Discoveries,"and extensively revised sub-sections on "*H. rudolfensis*" and "*H. habilis* and *H. erectus*."
- The "Middle Pleistocene Hominins" section (formerly "Archaic *H. Sapiens*") has been revised to incorporate clearer terminology and a much expanded discussion of "*H. heidelbergensis.*"
- "The Neandertals" section has been revised and expanded to incorporate more coverage of Neandertal DNA.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "The Rising Stars of a South African Cave," highlights the recent *Homo naledi* discoveries.

Chapter 8: The First Farmers

- A new major subhead, "Broad-Spectrum Economies," features a new introduction and reworked sub-sections, "The Mesolithic in Europe" and "Developments in Asia, Including Early Pottery."
- "The First Farmers and Herders in the Middle East" section includes a new sub-section, "The Coevolution of Farming and Property Rights," as well as an expanded sub-section on "Where and Why Did Food Production Begin?," with new discussion about the productivity of early farmers.
- The "Other Old World Farmers" section includes heavily revised sub-sections on "The Neolithic in Africa" (with expanded discussion of Nabta Playa), "The Neolithic in Europe" (with new discussion of DNA changes), and "The Neolithic in Asia" (with new material on Southern Chinese farming).
- "The First American Farmers" section has been revised and expanded to include Piperno's experiments growing teosinte under prehistoric conditions.
- The "Costs and Benefits" section includes new coverage of the public health, income inequality, and environmental costs of food production.

Chapter 9: The First Cities and States

- The "State Formation" section (previously "The Origin of the State") has been extensively revised and includes a new introduction clarifying the difference between chiefdoms and states.
- The "State Formation in the Middle East" section has been fully revised and includes a new sub-section "An Early Ritual Center" (which discusses the important early site of Göbekli Tepe in southeastern Turkey) and a rewritten and clarified sub-section "Social Ranking and Chiefdom."
- The "State Formation in Mesoamerica" section has been heavily revised and includes new material on trade between the Olmec and Oaxaca regions and warfare in the Zapotec state.

Chapter 10: Language and Communication

- The "Nonverbal Communication" section includes a new sub-section, "Personal Space and Displays of Affection" (adapted from the previous edition's Chapter 2 "Anthropology Today" box).
- The "Sociolinguistics" section contains a new sub-section, "Linguistic Diversity in California" (adapted from the previous edition's Chapter 10 "Anthropology Today" box), as well as expanded discussion of regional speech patterns and examples of linguistic diversity within India.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Words of the Year," has been added.

Chapter 11: Making a Living

- A new introduction to the "Adaptive Strategies" section better distinguishes the concept of food production.
- The "Foraging" section includes a clarified definition of foraging, as well as expanded discussion of the distribution of modern foragers, the Basarwa San, and social distinctions in egalitarian foraging societies.
- The "Adaptive Strategies Based on Food Production" section has been revised to clarify the discussions of horticulture, shifting cultivation, and slash-and-burn horticulture.
- The "Distribution, Exchange" section features revised discussions of redistribution, reciprocity, and potlatching.

Chapter 12: Political Systems

- The "What Is 'The Political'?" section features a revised introduction clarifying the difference between power and authority.
- The "Social Control" section has been thoroughly revised to clarify the concepts of public resistance, hidden transcripts, and shame and gossip.
- The "State Systems" section includes expanded discussion of the relative value of state systems.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "The Illegality Industry: A Failed System of Border Control," has been added.

Chapter 13: Families, Kinship, and Marriage

- The "Families" section has been extensively revised to include expanded discussion of the zadruga family system, industrialism and family organization, and changes in North American kinship, as well as new material on expanded family households and matrifocal households.
- The "Descent" section has been revised to foreground the concept of descent groups and clarify the discussion of demonstrated and stipulated descent.
- The "Same-Sex Marriage" has been thoroughly revised to include revised statistics regarding same-sex marriage worldwide and new material on the 2015 Supreme Court decision legalizing same-sex marriage in the United States.
- The "Divorce" section provides new discussion of divorce among foragers.
- The "Plural Marriages" section features a new introduction clarifying the difference between polygamy, polygyny, and polyandry, as well as expanded discussion of polygyny.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "What Anthropologists Could Teach the Supreme Court about the Definition of Marriage," has been added.

Chapter 14: Gender

- The "Sex and Gender" section features a new introduction foregrounding the concepts of nature and nurture.
- The "Recurrent Gender Patterns" has been simplified for greater clarity.
- The "Gender Roles and Gender Stratification" section provides expanded discussion of patriarchy and violence (with new examples, including the Boko Haram kidnappings) as well as resistance to it (with the case of Pakistani Nobel Prize winner Malala Yousafzai's work).
- The "Gender in Industrialized Societies" section has been heavily revised, with a new introduction. Its sub-section "Changes in Gendered Work" contains new statistics and new material on the effects of automation and education on women's professional employment. A new sub-section "Work and Family: Reality and Stereotypes" examines the changing roles of women and men regarding work and family responsibilities, as well as persisting stereotypes. The sub-sections on "The Feminization of Poverty" and "Work and Happiness" have been thoroughly reworked.
- The "Beyond Male and Female" section has been revised to clarify the difference between intersex and transgender, and expanded to discuss the increased visibility of, and legal challenges faced by, transgender individuals in the United States.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Gender, Ethnicity, and a Gold Medal for Fiji," has been added.

Chapter 15: Religion

- The "Social Control" section features a new discussion of accusations of witchcraft as a means of religiously-based social control.
- The "World Religions" section has been fully revised to incorporate the latest statistics.

- The "Religion and Cultural Globalization" section has been extensively revised and includes expanded discussion of the relationship between antimodernism and religious fundamentalism in Christianity and Islam, as well as a new sub-section "Religious Radicalism Today" focusing on Scott Atran's research into militant groups like al Qaeda and ISIS.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Newtime Religion," has been added.

Chapter 16: Ethnicity and Race

- The "Ethnic Groups and Ethnicity" section has been substantially revised, including a new introduction and statistics, as well as an expanded "Status and Identity" section (previously "Shifting Status") clarifying the definition of status as well as the difference between ascribed and achieved status.
- The "Race and Ethnicity" section provides clarification about the difficulty in defining both terms.
- "The Social Construction of Race" section includes clarified discussion of racial attitudes in Japan.
- The "Ethnic Groups, Nations, and Nationalities" section provides a revised discussion of nationalism.
- The "Ethnic Tolerance and Accommodation" section includes updated discussions of assimilation and multiculturalism.
- The "Changing Demographics" section provides updated demographic statistics as well as a new sub-section "The Backlash to Multiculturalism," which explores the growth of the Tea Party movement during the Obama presidency and ethnonationalism during and since the Trump presidential campaign and presidency.
- The "Ethnic Conflict" section (previously "Roots of Ethnic Conflict") has new coverage of sectarian violence in Iraq and Syria and of the Black Lives Matter movement, as well as updated discussions of anti-ethnic discrimination and violence in Darfur, Syria, and Ukraine, and new material on the backlash against undocumented immigrants in the United States.

Chapter 17: Applying Anthropology

- "The Role of the Applied Anthropologist" section has been heavily revised, with an expanded sub-section on "Early Applications" and an updated section on "Applied Anthropology Today."
- The "Development Anthropology" section has been thoroughly revised, particularly the "Equity" and "Negative Equity Impact" sub-sections.
- The "Strategies for Innovation" section includes an expanded and revised discussion of overinnovation.
- The "Urban Anthropology" section has updated statistics.
- The "Medical Anthropology" section has been rewritten and reorganized and features three new sub-head sections to clarify the discussion: "Disease Theory Systems," "Scientific Medicine versus Western Medicine," and "Industrialization, Globalization, and Health."

- The "Anthropology and Business" section now includes expanded discussion and numerous examples of how anthropologists can contribute to market research and applied ethnography in business settings,

Chapter 18: The World System, Colonialism, and Inequality

- "The World System" section features a new introduction foregrounding the concept of the modern world system, as well as revised sub-sections on "World System Theory" and "The Emergence of the World System."
- "The Persistence of Inequality" section (previously "Socioeconomic Effects of Inequality") has been thoroughly revised to incorporate new statistics and extensive new discussion of the water crisis in Flint, Michigan.
- The "Colonialism and Imperialism" section (previously "Colonialism") has been heavily revised and includes clarified discussion of the difference between colonialism and imperialism, as well as a new sub-section "The First Phase of European Colonialism: Spain and Portugal."
- The "Communism, Socialism, and Postsocialism" section (previously "The Second World") provides expanded discussion of postsocial transitions.

Chapter 19: Anthropology's Role in a Globalizing World

- The "Globalization: Its Meanings and Its Nature" section has been clarified and simplified.
- The "Energy Consumption and Industrial Degradation" section has been heavily updated to incorporate new statistics and coverage of recent global developments, such as the Ebola and Zika virus crises, cyber attacks, and climate change.
- The "Global Climate Change" section has been fully revised to incorporate the latest statistics and an expanded discussion of the greenhouse effect.
- The "Environmental Anthropology" section includes an updated sub-section on "Emerging Diseases," especially zoonotic diseases.
- The "Interethnic Contact" section features a new introduction focused on shifting cultural patterns and a revised sub-section "A Global Culture of Consumption."
- The "Indigenous Peoples" section features updated statistics and new coverage of the United Nations' commitment to the rights of indigenous peoples.
- A new "Anthropology Today" box, "Diversity under Siege: Global Forces and Indigenous Peoples," has been added.

Content and Organization

No single or monolithic theoretical perspective orients this book. My e-mail, along with reviewers' comments, confirms that instructors with a very wide range of views and approaches have been pleased with *Window* as a teaching tool.

- In Chapter 1, anthropology is introduced as an integrated four-field discipline, with academic and applied dimensions, that examines human biological and cultural diversity in time and space. Anthropology is discussed as a comparative and holistic

science, featuring biological, social, cultural, linguistic, humanistic, and historical approaches. Chapter 2 examines the central anthropological concept of culture, including its symbolic and adaptive features. Chapter 3 is about doing anthropology—the methods and ethics of research in anthropology's subfields.

- The chapters focusing on biological anthropology and archaeology (4–9) offer up-to-date answers to several key questions: When did humans originate, and how did we become what we are? What role do genes, the environment, society, and culture play in human variation and diversity? What can we tell about our origins and nature from the study of our nearest relatives—nonhuman primates? When and how did the primates originate? What key features of their early adaptations are still basic to our abilities, behavior, and perceptions? How did hominids develop from our primate ancestors? When, where, and how did the first hominins emerge and expand? What about the earliest real humans? How do we explain biological diversity in our own species, *Homo sapiens?* What major transitions have taken place since the emergence of *Homo sapiens?*
- Chapters 8 and 9 discuss the Neolithic, especially the domestication of plants and animals, as a major adaptive change, with profound implications for human lifeways. The spread and intensification of farming and herding are tied to the appearance of the first towns, cities, and states, as well as the emergence of social stratification and major social inequalities.
- The chapters on linguistic and sociocultural anthropology (10–19) are organized to place related content close together—although they are sufficiently independent to be assigned in any order the instructor might select. Thus, "Political Systems" (Chapter 12) logically follows "Making a Living" (Chapter 11). Chapters 13 and 14 ("Families, Kinship, and Marriage" and "Gender," respectively) also form a coherent unit. The chapter on religion (15) covers not just traditional religious practices but also contemporary world religions and religious movements. It is followed by four chapters (16–19) that form a natural unit exploring sociocultural transformations and expressions in today's world.
- Those last four chapters address several important questions: How are race and ethnicity socially constructed and handled in different societies, and how do they generate prejudice, discrimination, and conflict? How and why did the modern world system emerge and expand? How has world capitalism affected patterns of stratification and inequality within and among nations? What were colonialism, imperialism, and Communism, and what are their legacies? How do people today actively interpret and confront the world system and the products of globalization? What factors threaten continued human diversity? How can anthropologists work to ensure the preservation of that diversity?
- Let me also single out two chapters present in *Window on Humanity* but not found consistently in other anthropology texts: "Ethnicity and Race" (Chapter 16) and "Gender" (Chapter 14). I believe that systematic consideration of race, ethnicity, and gender is vital in an introductory anthropology text. Anthropology's distinctive four-field approach can shed special light on these topics. We see this not only in Chapter 16 ("Ethnicity and Race") but also in Chapter 4 ("Evolution, Genetics, and Human

Variation"), in which race is discussed as a problematic concept in biology. Race and gender studies are fields in which anthropology always has taken the lead. I'm convinced that anthropology's special contributions to understanding the biological, social, cultural, and linguistic dimensions of race, ethnicity, and gender should be highlighted in any introductory text.

Teaching Resources

The following instructor resources can be accessed through the Library tab in **Connect Anthropology:**

- Instructor's manual
- PowerPoint lecture slides
- Computerized Test Bank
- Word version of the test bank

Create

Design your ideal course materials with McGraw-Hill Education's Create: http://www.create.mheducation.com

Rearrange or omit chapters, combine materials from other sources, and/or upload any other content you have written to make the perfect resource for your students. You can even personalize your book's appearance by selecting the cover and adding your name, school, and course information. When you order a Create book, you receive a complimentary review copy. Get a printed copy in three to five business days or an electronic copy (eComp) via e-mail in about an hour. Register today at http://www.create.mheducation.com and craft your course resources to match the way you teach.

Acknowledgments

I'm grateful to many colleagues at McGraw-Hill. I offer particular thanks to Product Developer Emily Pecora, who synthesized and summarized the prepublication reviews, helped me plan and implement this revision, and worked with me to complete and submit the manuscript ahead of schedule. I have always appreciated Emily's keen editorial eye for style, language, and presentation, as well as content. She has helped guide me through several revisions. I also thank Bruce Cantley for his work as product developer as *Window on Humanity* moved toward publication. Thanks also to Gina Boedeker, McGraw-Hill's former Managing Director for anthropology, and to Rhona Robbin, former Lead Product Developer, for their help and support over many years and editions, including the start of this revision. I am privileged to be working now with Claire Brantley, Executive Portfolio Manager, and Dawn Groundwater, Lead Product Developer. Thanks as well to McGraw-Hill's entire team of sales reps and regional managers for the work they do in helping professors and students gain access to my books. I also acknowledge Michael Ryan, Vice President for Portfolio and Learning Content.

As usual, Rick Hecker has done a great job as Content Project Manager, guiding the manuscript through production and keeping everything moving on schedule. Laura Fuller, Buyer, worked with the printer to make sure everything came out right. Thanks, too, to Charlotte Goldman, freelance photo researcher, and to Scott Lukas, Lake Tahoe Community College, who created the content for the Connect products for this book. I also thank Amy Marks for copyediting, Marlena Pechan for proofreading, and Egzon Shaqiri for executing the design.

Lori Slattery also deserves thanks as Content Licensing Specialist.

The names and schools of the reviewers contracted by McGraw-Hill to review the 7th edition of *Window on Humanity,* in preparation for the 8th edition, or the 10th edition of *Mirror for Humanity,* in preparation for the 11th edition, are as follows:

Jenna Andrews-Swann
Georgia Gwinnett College
Margaret Bruchez
Blinn College
Jessica H. Craig
Central New Mexico Community College
Anna R. Dixon
University of South Florida, St. Petersburg
Shasta Gaughen
California State University, San Marcos
Fred Heifner
Cumberland University
Joshua A. Irizarry
Bridgewater State University
Lily Malekfar
Triton College
Scotty Moore
Houston Community College
Elizabeth Scharf
University of North Dakota
Marjorie M. Snipes
University of West Georgia
Julie Vazquez
College of the Canyons
Jessica Worden-Jones
Schoolcraft College
Catherine Wright
Jacksonville State Community College

I'm grateful to all these reviewers and professors for their enthusiasm and their suggestions for changes, additions, and deletions (sometimes in very different directions!). Very, very special thanks as well to the more than 2,000 students whose responses in LearnSmart helped me pinpoint content and writing that needed clarification. Never have so many voices contributed to a revision as to this one. My readers also share their insights about Window via e-mail. Anyone—student or instructor—can reach me at the following e-mail address: ckottak@bellsouth.net.

As usual, my family provides me with understanding, support, and inspiration in my writing projects. Dr. Nicholas Kottak and Dr. Juliet Kottak Mavromatis regularly share their insights with me, as does Isabel Wagley Kottak, my long-term companion in the field and in life, to whom this book is dedicated.

During my long academic career, I've benefited from the knowledge, help, and advice of so many friends, colleagues, teaching assistants (graduate student instructors—GSIs), and students that I can no longer fit their names into a short preface. I hope they know who they are and accept my thanks. I do especially thank my co-authors of other books: Lara Descartes (*Media and Middle Class Moms*), Lisa Gezon (*Culture*), and Kathryn Kozaitis (*On Being Different*). Kathryn (with whom I have worked on four editions), Lisa (two editions), and Lara are prized former students of mine. Today they all are accomplished anthropologists in their own right, and they continue to share their wisdom with me.

I'm very grateful to my Michigan colleagues who've offered insights and suggested ways of making my books better. Thanks especially to a 101 team that has included Tom Fricke, Stuart Kirsch, Holly Peters-Golden, and Andrew Shryock. Special thanks as well to Joyce Marcus and Kent Flannery for continuing to nurture the archaeologist in me.

Feedback from students and from my fellow anthropologists keeps me up-to-date on the interests, needs, and views of the people for whom *Window* is written, as does my ongoing participation in workshops on the teaching of anthropology. I continue to believe that effective textbooks are based in the enjoyment of teaching and respect for students. I hope this product of my experience will continue to be helpful to others.

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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 media, including new media and social media.

Kottak's popular case study *Assault on Paradise: The Globalization of a Little Community in Brazil* (2006) 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* (1980), *Researching American Culture: A Guide for Student Anthropologists* (1982), *Madagascar: Society and History* (1986), and *Media and Middle Class Moms: Images and Realities of Work and Family* (with Lara Descartes, 2009). The most recent editions (17th) of his texts *Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity* and *Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity* were published by McGraw-Hill in 2017. He also is the author of *Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (11th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2018) and of this book—*Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Anthropology* (8th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2018).

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Anthropological Research, American Ethnologist, Ethnology, Human Organization, and *Luso-Brazilian Review.* He also has written for more popular journals, including *Transaction/SOCIETY, Natural History, Psychology Today,* and *General Anthropology.*

In other research projects, Professor Kottak and his colleagues have investigated ecological awareness in Brazil, biodiversity conservation in Madagascar, and media use by modern American families. Professor Kottak currently is collaborating with Professor Richard Pace 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," a project supported by the National Science Foundation.

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

Chapter 1

What Is Anthropology?

The Cross-Cultural Perspective

"That's just human nature." "People are pretty much the same all over the world." Such opinions, which we hear in conversations, in the mass media, and in a dozen scenes in daily life, promote the erroneous idea that people in other countries have the same desires, feelings, values, and aspirations that we do. Such statements proclaim that because people are essentially the same, they are eager to receive the ideas, beliefs, values, institutions, practices, and products of an expansive North American culture. Often this assumption turns out to be wrong.

Anthropology offers a broader view—a distinctive comparative, cross-cultural perspective. Most people think that anthropologists study nonindustrial societies, and they do. My research has taken me to remote villages in Brazil and Madagascar, a large island off the southeast coast of Africa. In Brazil I sailed with fishers in simple sailboats on Atlantic waters. Among Madagascar's Betsileo people, I worked in rice fields and took part in ceremonies in which I entered tombs to rewrap the corpses of decaying ancestors.

However, anthropology is much more than the study of nonindustrial peoples. It is a comparative science that examines all societies, ancient and modern, simple and complex. Most of the other social sciences tend to focus on a single society, usually an

industrial nation such as the United States or Canada. Anthropology offers a unique cross-cultural perspective, constantly comparing the customs of one society with those of others.

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? That is a radical question, but one that should make you think about the basis for statements about what humans are like, individually or as a group. 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 culture simply cannot tell us everything we need to know about what it means to be human. We need to compare and contrast.

To become a cultural anthropologist, one typically does *ethnography* (the firsthand, personal study of local settings). Ethnographic fieldwork usually entails spending a year or more in another society, living with the local people and learning about their way of life. No matter how much the ethnographer discovers about that society, he or she remains an alien there. That experience of alienation has a profound impact. Having learned to respect other customs and beliefs, anthropologists can never forget that there is a wider world. There are normal ways of thinking and acting other than our own.

Human Adaptability

Anthropologists study human beings wherever and whenever they find them—in a Turkish café, a Mesopotamian tomb, or a North American shopping mall. Anthropology is the exploration of human diversity in time and space. Anthropology studies the whole of the human condition: past, present, and future; biology, society, language, and culture. 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. Tribes in the Australian desert worship animals and discuss philosophy. People survive malaria in the tropics. Men have walked on the moon. The model of the *Star Trek* starship *Enterprise* in Washington's Smithsonian Institution is a symbol of the *Star Trek* mission "to seek out new life and new 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.

People share **society**—organized life in groups—with other animals, including baboons, 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 tell right from 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 had at least some of the biological capacities on which culture depends. These abilities are to learn, to think symbolically, to use language, and to employ tools and other products in organizing their lives and adapting to their environments.

Anthropology confronts and ponders major questions of human existence as it explores human biological and cultural diversity in time and space. By examining ancient bones and tools, we unravel the mysteries of human origins. When did our ancestors separate from those remote great-aunts and great-uncles whose descendants are the apes? Where and when did *Homo sapiens* originate? How has our species changed? What are we now, and where are we going? How have changes in culture and society influenced biological change? Our genus, *Homo,* has been changing for more than 2 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, such as those posed by climate and *topography* or terrains, also called landforms. How do organisms change to fit their environments, such as dry climates or high mountain altitudes? Like other animals, humans use biological means of adaptation. But humans are unique in also having cultural means of adaptation. Table 1.1 summarizes the cultural and biological means that humans use to adapt to high altitudes.

TABLE 1.1 Forms of Cultural and Biological Adaptation (to High Altitude)

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

Mountainous terrains pose particular challenges, those associated with high 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 short-term 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 long-term 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. All these varied adaptive responses—cultural and biological—achieve a single goal: maintaining an adequate supply 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 a wide range of environments. The rate of cultural adaptation and change has accelerated, particularly during the past 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 and the forces of globalization have 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. People must cope with forces generated by progressively larger systems—region, nation, and world. The study of such contemporary adaptations generates 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).

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.) 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.

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 Brazil rarely sends female swimmers or runners to the Olympics. One reason why Brazilian women avoid competitive swimming in particular may be that 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, and the former Soviet Union, where this body type isn't as stigmatized as it is in Latin countries. For women, Brazilian culture prefers ample hips and buttocks to a muscled upper body. Many young female swimmers in Brazil choose to abandon the sport rather than their culture's "feminine" body ideal.

When 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

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/Corbis via Getty Images

participate in this particular activity? 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 as readily recognize 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 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.

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, the shorter term *cultural anthropology* will be used as a synonym for *sociocultural anthropology*.) Of the subfields, cultural anthropology has the largest membership. Most departments of anthropology teach courses in all four subfields.

Early American anthropology was especially concerned with the history and cultures of Native North Americans. Ely S. Parker, or Ha-sa-no-an-da, was a Seneca Indian who made important contributions to early anthropology. Parker also served as commissioner of Indian affairs for the United States. Source: National Archives and Records Administration

There are historical reasons for the inclusion of four subfields in a single discipline. The origin of anthropology as a scientific field, and of American anthropology in particular, can be traced to the 19th century. Early American anthropologists were concerned especially with the history and cultures of the native peoples of North America. Interest in the origins and diversity of Native Americans 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 Asia? (Note that a unified four-field anthropology did not develop in Europe, where the subfields tend to exist separately.)

There also are logical reasons for the unity of American anthropology. Each subfield considers variation in time and space (that is, in different geographic areas). Cultural anthropologists and

anthropological archaeologists study changes in social life and customs (among many other topics). Archaeologists use studies of living societies to imagine what life might have been like in the past. Biological anthropologists examine evolutionary changes in human biology. Linguistic anthropologists may reconstruct the basics of ancient languages by studying modern ones.

The subfields influence each other as anthropologists talk to each other, read books and journals, and meet in professional organizations. 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 sound conclusions about "human nature" cannot be derived from studying a single population, nation, society, or cultural tradition. A comparative, cross-cultural approach is essential.

The Subdisciplines of Anthropology

Cultural Anthropology

Cultural anthropology is the study of human society and culture. This subfield 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 culture, society, or community. During ethnographic fieldwork, the ethnographer gathers data that he or she organizes, analyzes, and interprets to develop that account, which may be in the form of a book, an article, or a film. Traditionally, ethnographers have lived in small communities and studied local behavior, beliefs, customs, social life, economic activities, politics, and religion (see Okely 2012; Wolcott 2008).

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 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. As noted by Franz Boas (1940/1966) many years ago, contact between neighboring tribes always has 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 education, the mass media, migration, and modern transportation. (The "Anthropology Today" box at the end of this chapter examines the role of a residential school in eastern India in bridging barriers between cultures.) City and nation increasingly invade local communities with the arrival of teachers, tourists, development agents, government and religious officials, and political candidates. Such linkages

TABLE 1.2 Ethnography and Ethnology—Two Dimensions of Cultural Anthropology

Ethnography	Ethnology
Requires fieldwork to collect data	Uses data collected by a series of researchers
Is often descriptive	Is usually synthetic
Is specific to a group or community	Is comparative and cross-cultural

are prominent components of regional, national, and international 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, compares, analyzes, and interprets the results of ethnography—the data gathered in different societies. Ethnologists use such data to compare, contrast, and generalize about society and culture. Looking beyond the particular to the more general, they 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. Ethnology gets its data for comparison not only from ethnography but also from the other subfields, particularly from anthropological archaeology, which reconstructs social systems of the past. (Table 1.2 summarizes the main contrasts between ethnography and ethnology.)

Anthropological Archaeology

Anthropological archaeology (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 ancient garbage tell stories about consumption and activities. Wild and domesticated grains have different characteristics, which allow archaeologists to distinguish between gathering and cultivation. Examination of animal bones reveals the ages of slaughtered animals and provides 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.

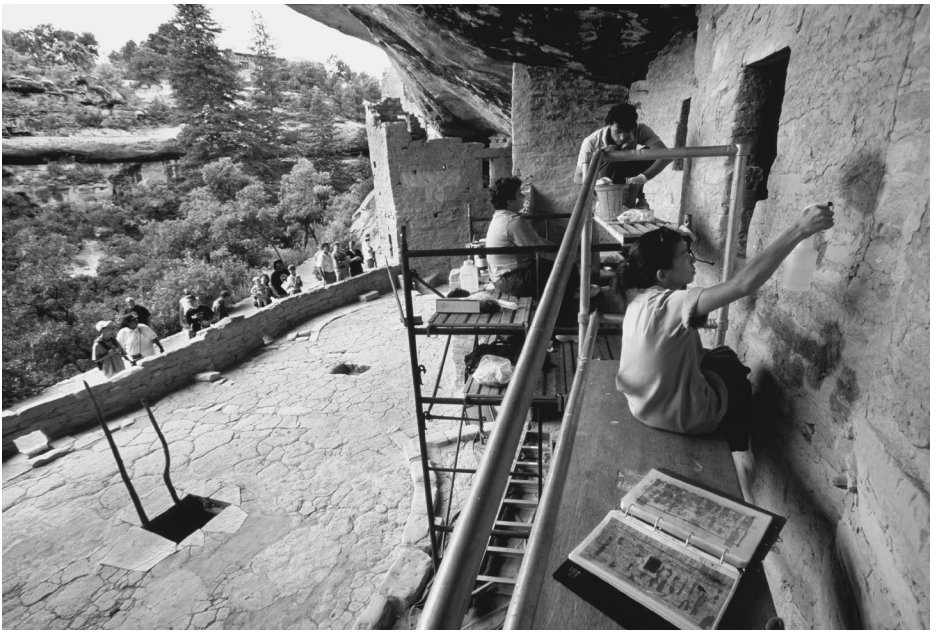
Archaeologists have spent considerable time studying potsherds, fragments of earthenware. Potsherds are more durable than many other artifacts, such as textiles and wood. The quantity of pottery fragments allows estimates of population size and density. The discovery that potters used materials that were not available locally suggests systems of trade. Similarities in manufacture and decoration at different sites may be proof of cultural connections. Groups with similar pots may share a common history. They might

have common cultural ancestors. Perhaps they traded with each other or belonged to the same political system.

Many archaeologists examine paleoecology. *Ecology* is the study of interrelations among living things in an environment. The organisms and environment together constitute an *ecosystem,* a patterned arrangement of energy flows and exchanges. Human ecology studies ecosystems that include people, focusing on the ways in which human use "of nature influences and is influenced by social organization and cultural values" (Bennett 1969, pp. 10–11). *Paleoecology* looks at the ecosystems of the past.

In addition to reconstructing ecological patterns, archaeologists may infer cultural transformations, for example, by observing changes in the size and type of sites and the distance between them. A city develops in a region where only towns, villages, and hamlets existed a few centuries earlier. The number of settlement levels (city, town, village, hamlet) in a society is a measure of social complexity. Buildings offer clues about political and religious features. Temples and pyramids suggest that an ancient society had an authority structure capable of marshaling the labor needed to build such monuments. The presence or absence of certain structures, like the pyramids of ancient Egypt and Mexico, reveals differences in function between settlements. For example, some towns were places where people went to attend ceremonies. Others were burial sites; still others were farming communities.

Archaeologists also reconstruct behavior patterns and lifestyles of the past by excavating. This involves digging through a succession of levels at a particular site. In a



Anthropological archaeologists from the University of Pennsylvania work to stabilize the original plaster at an Anasazi (Native American) site in Colorado's Mesa Verde National Park. ©George H.H. Huey/Alamy Stock Photo