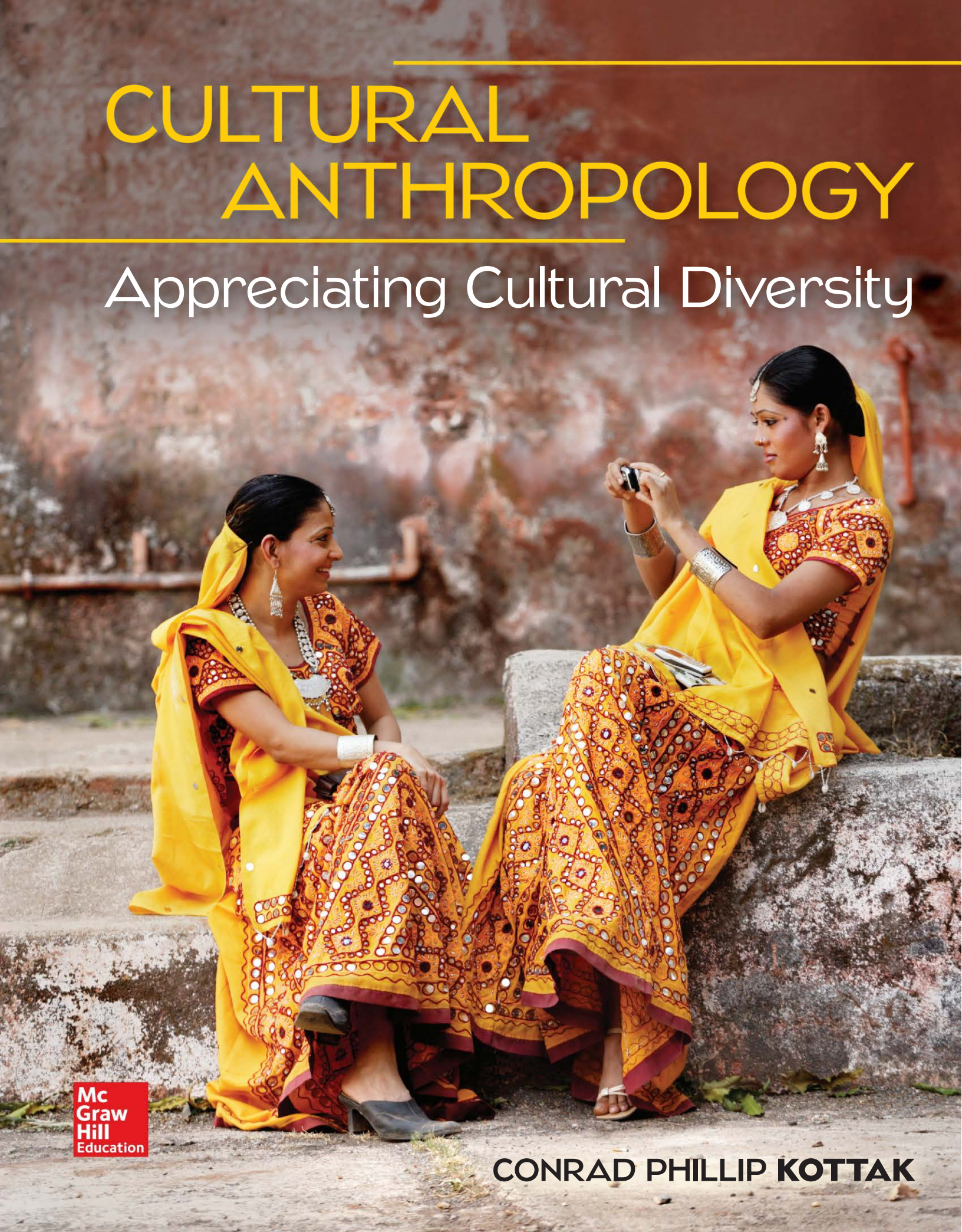
CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Appreciating Cultural Diversity



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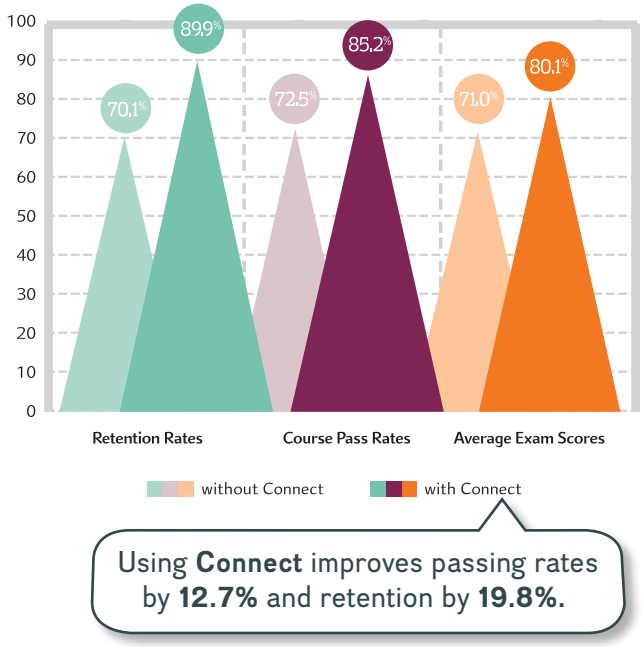

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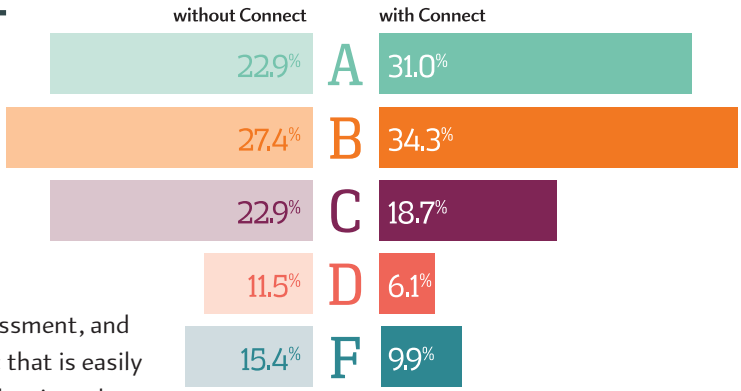

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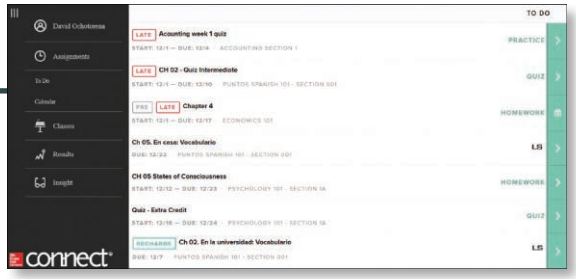

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cultural anthropology

APPRECIATING CULTURAL DIVERSITY

SEVENTEENTH EDITION

Conrad Phillip Kottak
University of Michigan

Mc Graw Hill Education

To my mother, Mariana Kottak Roberts

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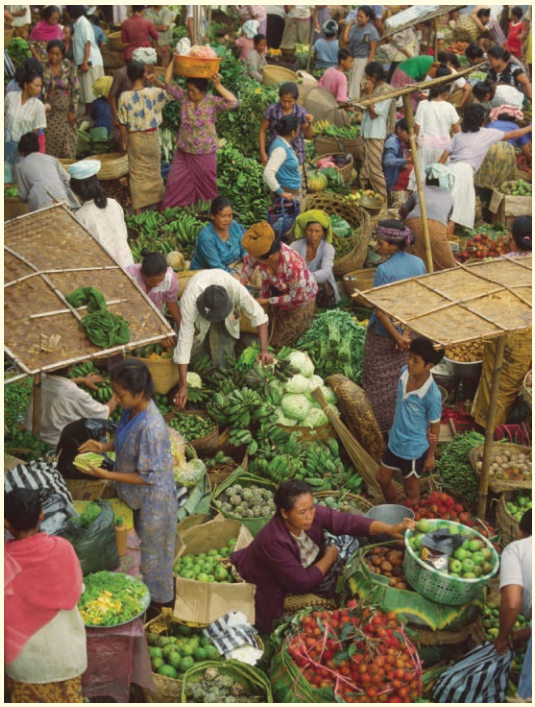

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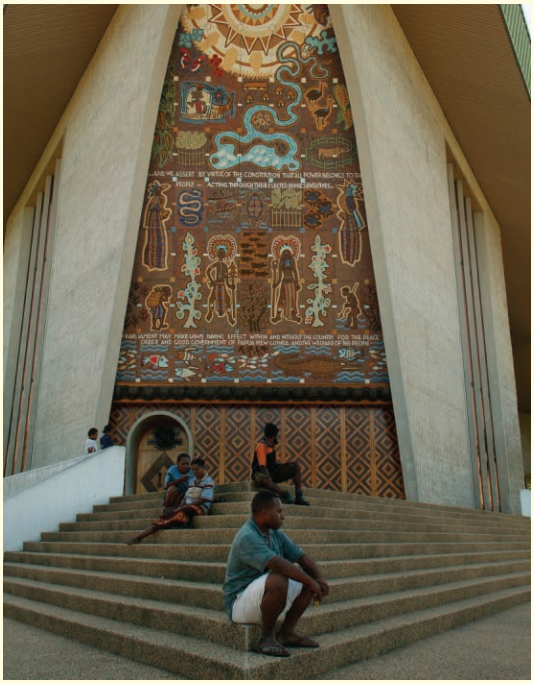

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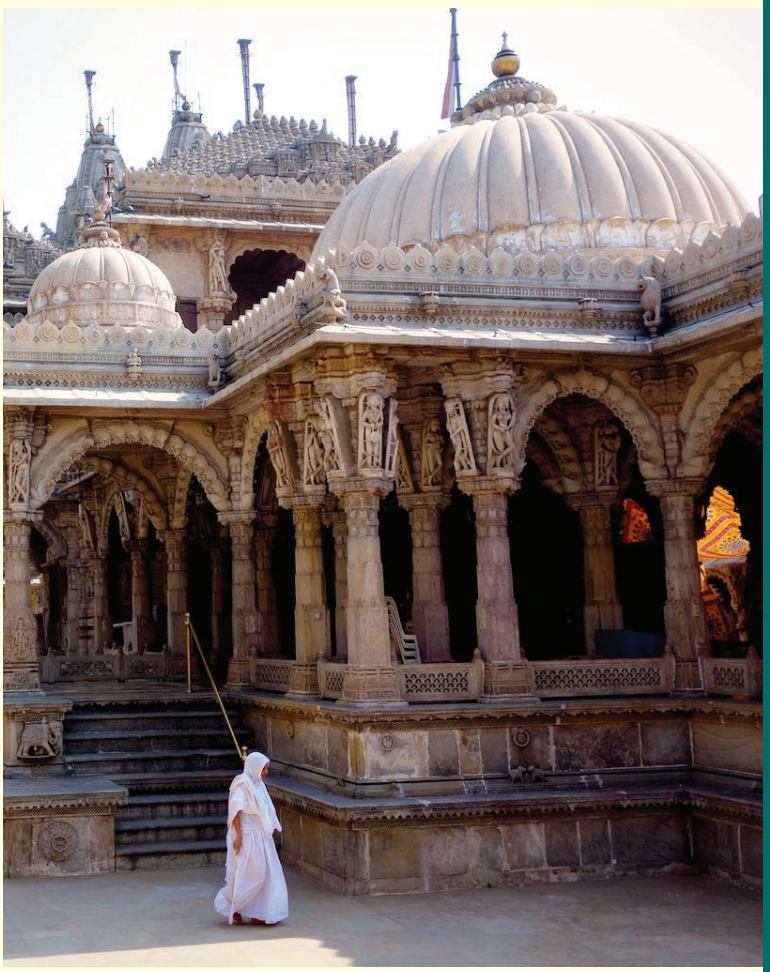

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about the author

Conrad Phillip 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* (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; Researching American Culture: A Guide for Student Anthropologists;* and *Madagascar: Society and History*. The most recent editions (17th) of his texts *Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity* (this book) and *Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity* were published by McGraw-Hill in 2017. He also is the author of *Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (10th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2016) and *Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Anthropology* (7th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2016). 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 television's 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 17th Edition of *Cultural Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural 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.

Just as anthropology is a dynamic discipline that encourages new discoveries and explores the profound changes now affecting people and societies, this edition of *Cultural 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 17th edition has benefited from feedback from about 2,000 students who worked with these tools and programs while using the 16th edition of *Cultural Anthropology*. We were able to flag and 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 a series of features that examine our changing world. For example, several "Focus on Globalization" essays in this book examine topics as diverse as world sports events, disease pandemics, the global gender gap, and the political role of new media. Several chapters contain discussions of new media, including social media. Many of the boxes titled "Appreciating Anthropology" and "Appreciating Diversity" (at least one per chapter) also present new discoveries and topics.

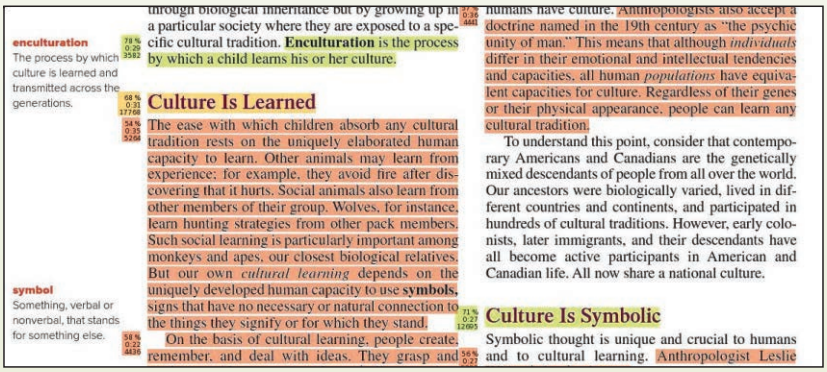
Each chapter begins with a discussion titled "Understanding Ourselves." These introductions, along with examples from popular culture throughout the book, show how anthropology relates to students' everyday lives. My overarching goal is to help students appreciate the field of cultural anthropology and 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 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

Updates and Revisions—Informed by Student Data

Revisions to the 17th edition of *Cultural Anthropology* were extensively informed by student data, collected anonymously by McGraw-Hill's LearnSmart adaptive learning system. 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. Updates were also informed by the many excellent reviews provided by faculty at 2- and 4-year schools across the country.


through biological inheritance but by growing up in a particular society where they are exposed to a specific cultural tradition. **Enculturation** is the process by which a child learns his or her culture.

enculturation
The process by which culture is learned and transmitted across the generations.

Culture Is Learned

The ease with which children absorb any cultural tradition rests on the uniquely elaborated human capacity to learn. Other animals may learn from experience: for example, they avoid fire after discovering that it hurts. Social animals also learn from other members of their group. Wolves, for instance, learn hunting strategies from other pack members. Such social learning is particularly important among monkeys and apes, our closest biological relatives. But our own *cultural learning* depends on the uniquely developed human capacity to use **symbols**, signs that have no necessary or natural connection to the things they signify or for which they stand.

On the basis of cultural learning, people create, remember, and deal with ideas. They grasp and

symbol
Something, verbal or nonverbal, that stands for something else.

humans have culture. Anthropologists also accept a doctrine named in the 19th century as "the psychic unity of man." This means that although *individuals* differ in their emotional and intellectual tendencies and capacities, all human *populations* have equivalent capacities for culture. Regardless of their genes or their physical appearance, people can learn any cultural tradition.

To understand this point, consider that contemporary Americans and Canadians are the genetically mixed descendants of people from all over the world. Our ancestors were biologically varied, lived in different countries and continents, and participated in hundreds of cultural traditions. However, early colonists, later immigrants, and their descendants have all become active participants in American and Canadian life. All now share a national culture.

Culture Is Symbolic

Symbolic thought is unique and crucial to humans and to cultural learning. Anthropologist Leslie

CHAPTER 1: WHAT IS ANTHROPOLOGY?

- Streamlined organization with clearer focus on core content
- Revised sections:
  - Biological Anthropology
  - Cultural Anthropology and Sociology
  - Theories, Associations, and Explanations, including a new Recap to emphasize key terms

CHAPTER 2: CULTURE

- Updated discussion on Makah whaling, including the latest available information on the dispute

CHAPTER 3: METHOD AND THEORY IN CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

- Revised section on "Problem-Oriented Ethnography"
- Significant rewriting and reorganizing in the theory sections
- Updates throughout, referencing the latest sources

CHAPTER 4: APPLYING ANTHROPOLOGY

- Coverage of "Early Applications" completely rewritten
- Key sections of "Development Anthropology" revised, including the discussions of equity impact and overinnovation
- "Medical Anthropology" section rewritten and reorganized, with the addition of three new subheads to group and organize content
- Updated coverage of all of the following:
  - Pros and cons of Western medicine
  - Health problems spawned by industrialization and globalization
  - The author's contention that Western systems would benefit from a more personal treatment of illness

CHAPTER 5: LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

- New "Appreciating Diversity" box, "Words of the Year"
- New discussion of "the language of food"
- Updates throughout

CHAPTER 6: ETHNICITY AND RACE

- This chapter has been almost completely rewritten. Changes include the following:
  - New section on the backlash to multiculturalism
  - New section on the Black Lives Matter movement
  - New discussion of the ongoing conflicts in Iraq and Syria
  - Updated statistics throughout, with the latest available figures on income, wealth, minority group poverty rates, and growth in ethnic diversity in the United States

CHAPTER 7: MAKING A LIVING

- Clarified discussion of the following topics:
  - The definition of foragers and the distribution of modern foragers
  - The relocation of the Basarwa San
  - Social distinctions in egalitarian foraging societies
  - The terms *horticulture, shifting cultivation,* and *slash-and-burn horticulture*
  - How agriculture affects society and the environment
  - The terms *redistribution* and *reciprocity*
  - The Potlatch

CHAPTER 8: POLITICAL SYSTEMS

- Revised treatment of the following topics:
  - The differences between contemporary and Stone Age hunter-gatherers
  - Changes in how anthropologists view foragers
  - The range of political systems associated with pastoralism and the status of pastoralism within modern nation-states.
  - How states enforce laws, how states intervene in disputes, and the significance of fiscal systems in states
  - Factors that curb and factors that enable public resistance
  - The concepts of *public* and *hidden transcripts*
  - How shame and gossip can function as effective processes of social control

CHAPTER 9: GENDER

- The chapter was heavily revised, including the following changes:
  - New information on deadly aspects of gender inequality in the contemporary world, including a discussion of the case of the Pakistani girl Malala, the teenage winner of the 2014 Nobel prize
  - New discussion of the increasing professionalization of the female labor force in the United States

- New section titled "Work and Family: Reality and Stereotypes," which examines how contemporary families are balancing work and family responsibilities, how men have increased their contribution to housework and childcare, lingering stereotypes about male and female work, and the need for employers to offer more flexible work arrangements
- Substantial updates to the section "Work and Happiness"
- Updated discussion of transgender identity
- Updated statistics throughout

CHAPTER 10: FAMILIES, KINSHIP, AND DESCENT

- Updated figures and statistics with data from 2014 and 2015
- Revised discussion of the following:
  - Descent groups
  - Expanded family households
  - How geographic mobility affects North American kinship
  - The zadruga family system
  - Stipulated descent
  - Ambilineal descent
  - Kinship calculation
  - Kin terms
  - Bifurcate merging kinship terminology and the kinds of societies that have it
  - Generational kinship terminology
  - Bifurcate collateral kinship terminology

CHAPTER 11: MARRIAGE

- New "Appreciating Anthropology" box, "What Anthropologists Could Teach the Supreme Court about the Definition of Marriage"
- Revised discussions of why marriage is difficult to define cross-culturally, and of the factors that promote or discourage polygyny.
- Updated section on "Same-Sex Marriage"
- New map showing countries now allowing same-sex marriage and the date of legalization

CHAPTER 12: RELIGION

- New "Appreciating Diversity" box, "This New-Time Religion," on changes in religious affiliation in the United States between 2007 and 2014
- Revised discussion of the following:
  - Durkheim's approach to religion
  - Anthony Wallace's definition of religion
  - The growth of Evangelical Protestantism
  - The relationship between antimodernism and religious fundamentalism in Christianity and Islam

CHAPTER 13: ARTS, MEDIA, AND SPORTS

- New "Appreciating Diversity" box, "Asian American Musicians: Internet Stars, Mainstream Wannabes," discussing successful Asian-American YouTube stars
- Revised discussions of:
  - The limitations of dictionary definitions of art
  - The varied forms of expressive culture included within the anthropological study of art
  - What the Kalabari case study reveals about art, aesthetics, and religion
  - The interplay between the individual and the social in artistic production in non-Western and Western societies
- Updated and reworked section "Networking and Sociability On- and Offline"
- Clarified connections among the arts, media, and sports
- Amplified discussion of criticism of the arts in contemporary societies

CHAPTER 14: THE WORLD SYSTEM, COLONIALISM, AND INEQUALITY

- Updated throughout, especially in the section "The Persistence of Inequality," which has an entirely new subsection titled "Environmental Risks on the American Periphery"
- Clarified discussion of the following topics:
  - World-system theory
  - The Industrial Revolution
  - The domestic system of production
  - Reasons the Industrial Revolution began in England
  - Cultural and religious factors in England's industrialization
  - Ways in which the Industrial Revolution changed societies
  - The colonies of Spain and Portugal
  - The British Empire
  - The impact of NAFTA on the Mexican economy
- New illustrations of changes in U.S. household income and the distribution of wealth in the United States

CHAPTER 15: ANTHROPOLOGY'S ROLE IN A GLOBALIZING WORLD

- New "Appreciating Diversity" box, "Diversity under Siege: Global Forces and Indigenous Peoples"
- Inclusion of 2015 American Anthropological Association (AAA) "Statement on Humanity and Climate Change"
- Revised discussions of:
  - The globalization of risk
  - The meaning of globalization
  - Emerging and zoonotic diseases
  - Why development projects and conservation efforts must pay attention to the needs and wishes of local people
  - Acculturation
  - Finance as a global force
  - Examples of a global culture of consumption

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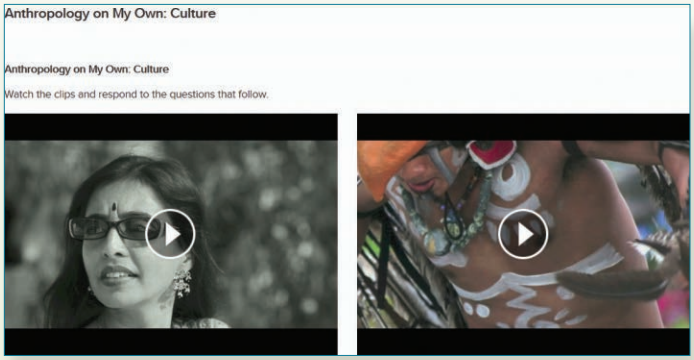

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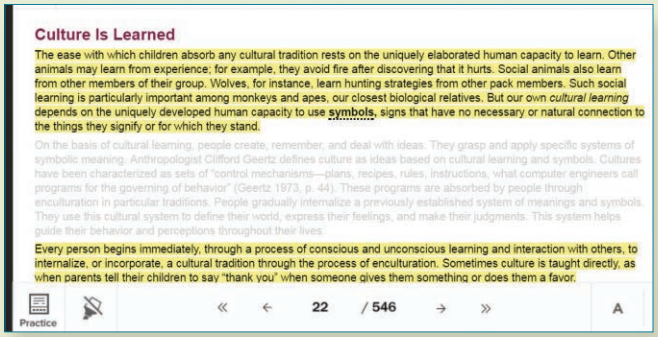

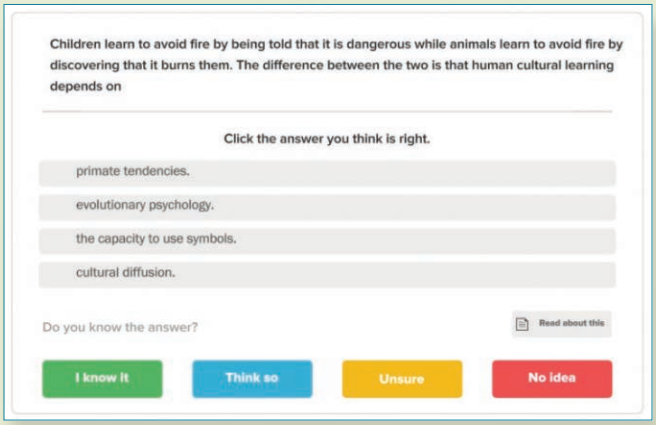

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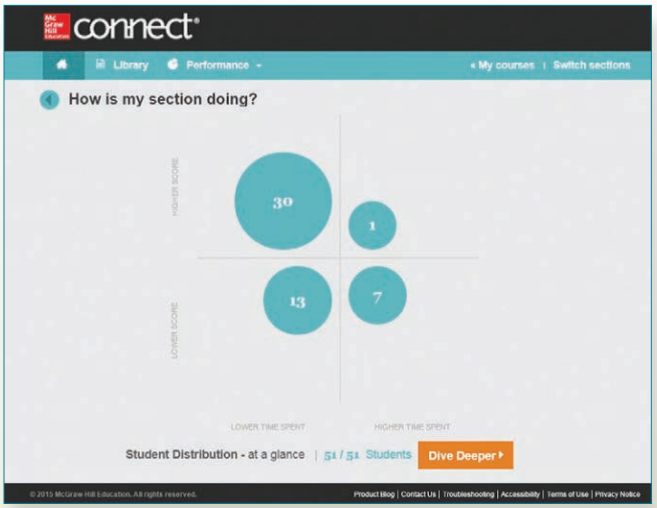

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Instructor Resources

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

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As usual, my family offers me understanding, support, and inspiration during the preparation of this book. Dr. Nicholas Kottak, who, like me, holds a doctorate in anthropology, regularly shares his insights with me, as does my daughter, Dr. Juliet Kottak Mavromatis, and my wife, Isabel Wagley Kottak. Isabel has been my companion in the field and in life during my entire career in anthropology, and I can't imagine being without her. I renew my dedication of this book to the memory of my mother, Mariana Kottak Roberts, who kindled my interest in the human condition and provided many insights about people and society.

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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and Decatur, Georgia
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CHAPTER 1

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.

chapter outline

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

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 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? 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. 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 watching television affects us, as human beings, we need to study not just North America today but some other place—and perhaps some other time (such as Brazil in the 1980s; see Kottak 1990*b,* 2009). 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 mall. 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. 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 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 an industrial nation like 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 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 these: 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
The study of humans around the world and through time.

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

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? 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 the cultural and biological means that humans use to adapt to high altitudes.

culture
Traditions and customs transmitted through learning.

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

RECAP 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

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. These varied adaptive responses—cultural and biological—all fulfill the need to supply an adequate amount of oxygen to the body.

biocultural
Combining biological and cultural approaches to a given problem.

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.

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

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" on p. 7.) 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).

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?

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.

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, archaeological, biological, and linguistic anthropology. (From here on, the shorter term *cultural anthropology*

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

will be used as a synonym for "sociocultural anthropology.") Cultural anthropology focuses on societies of the present and recent past. Anthropological archaeology (the more common term for archaeological anthropology) 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-sa-noan-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 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 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 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 and archaeological anthropologists 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

American swimmer Allison Schmitt starts the women's 100-meter freestyle championship final at the Arena Pro Swim Series on March 5, 2016 in Orlando, Florida. How might years of competitive swimming affect the human body?

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, cross-cultural approach is essential.

THE SUBDISCIPLINES OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Cultural Anthropology

ethnology
The study of sociocultural differences and similarities.

cultural anthropology
The comparative, cross-cultural study of human society and culture.

ethnography
Fieldwork in a particular cultural setting.

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, while 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 noted many years ago (1940/1966), 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. 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. (See "Focus on Globalization" for a discussion of world events familiar to millions of people.)

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 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.)

Anthropological Archaeology

anthropological archaeology
The study of human behavior through material remains.

Anthropological archaeology (also known as archaeological anthropology or, most 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

focus on GLOBALIZATION

World Events

People 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. 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. Also consider 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. The birth, public presentation, and naming of their son George, an eventual heir to the British throne, in 2013 generated international interest. A generation earlier, millions of people had watched Lady Diana Spencer marry England's Prince Charles. Princess Diana's funeral also attracted a global audience.

And, of course, think of sports: Billions of people watched at least some of the 2016 Summer Olympics held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. 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. 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 2015), is the world's third most watched event: Only the Summer Olympics and the FIFA World Cup exceed it. The 2015 Cricket World Cup was televised in over 200 countries, to over 2.2 billion potential viewers.

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.

On the other hand, when we focus on the players in American baseball we see a multiethnic world in miniature. With its prominent Latino and Japanese players, American baseball appears to be more ethnically diverse than American football or basketball. Particularly representative of this diversity is the list of finalists for the 2012 American League MVP (Most Valuable Player) award, won by Venezuelan Miguel Cabrera of the Detroit Tigers. In second place was New Jersey–born and non-Hispanic Mike Trout (Los Angeles Angels). Third and fourth were two more Latinos, Adrian Beltré and Robinson Cano. In fifth place came Josh Hamilton, a North Carolinian. The previous year's top five included Jacoby Ellsbury, a registered Native American, and Curtis Granderson, an African American. Can you think of a sport as ethnically diverse as baseball? What's the last world event that drew your attention?

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 density. The discovery that potters used materials unavailable 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 came 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 given area, through time, settlements may change in form and purpose, as may the connections between settlements. Excavation can document changes in economic, social, and political activities.

Although archaeologists are best known for studying prehistory, that is, the period before the invention of writing, they also study the cultures of historical and even living peoples. Studying sunken ships off the Florida coast, underwater archaeologists have been able to verify the living conditions on the vessels that brought ancestral African Americans to the New World as enslaved

RECAP 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
Often descriptive	Usually synthetic
Group/community specific	Comparative/cross-cultural

people. In a research project begun in 1973 in Tucson, Arizona, archaeologist William Rathje has learned about contemporary life by studying modern garbage. The value of "garbology," as Rathje calls it, is that it provides "evidence of what people did, not what they think they did, what they think they should have done, or what the interviewer thinks they should have done" (Harrison, Rathje, and Hughes 1994, p. 108). What people report may contrast strongly with their real behavior as revealed by garbology. For example, the garbologists discovered that the three Tucson neighborhoods that reported the lowest beer consumption actually had the highest number of discarded beer cans per household (Podolefsky and Brown 1992, p. 100)! Findings from garbology also have challenged common misconceptions about the kinds and quantities of trash found in landfills: While most people thought that fast-food containers and disposable diapers were major waste problems, they were actually relatively insignificant compared with paper (Rathje and Murphy 2001; Zimring 2012).

Biological Anthropology

biological anthropology
The study of human biological variation through time and as it exists today.

Biological anthropology is the study of human biological diversity through time and as it exists in the world today. There are five specialties within biological anthropology:

1. Human biological evolution as revealed by the fossil record (paleoanthropology).
2. Human genetics.
3. Human growth and development.
4. Human biological plasticity (the living body's ability to change as it copes with environmental conditions, such as heat, cold, and altitude).
5. Primatology (the study of monkeys, apes, and other nonhuman primates).

A common thread that runs across all five specialties is an interest in biological variation among humans, including their ancestors and their closest animal relatives (monkeys and apes).

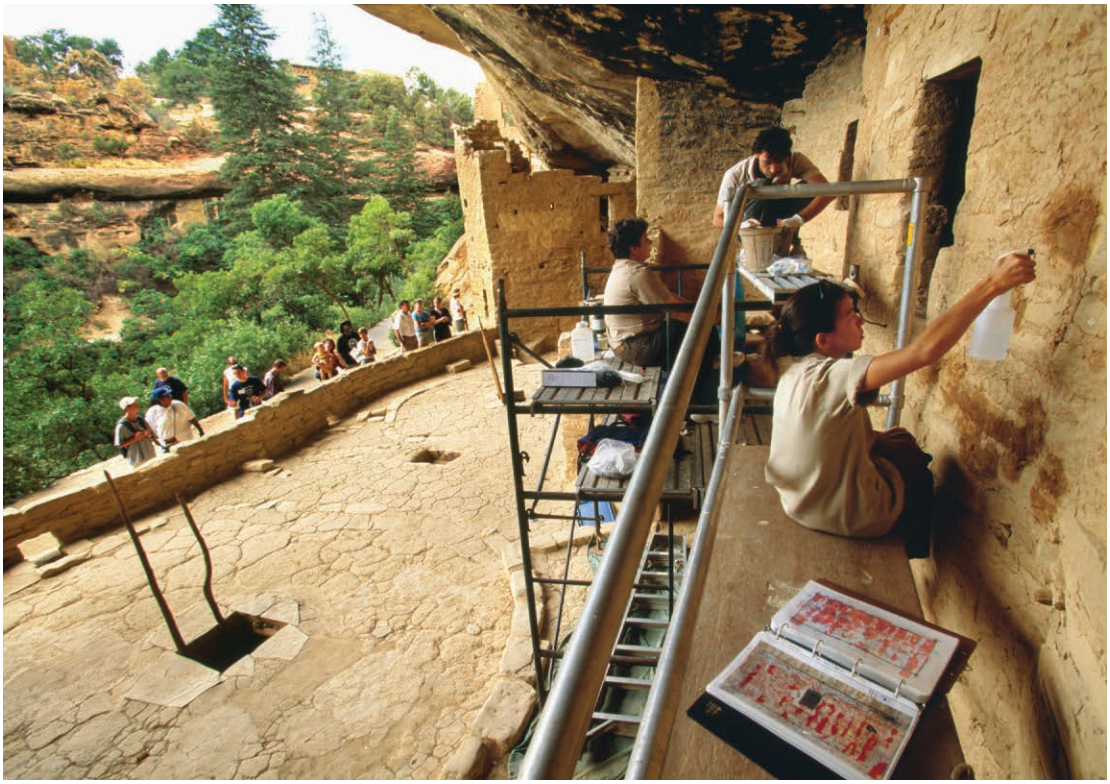
These varied interests link biological anthropology to other fields: biology, zoology, geology, anatomy, physiology, medicine, and public health. Knowledge of osteology—the study of bones—is essential for anthropologists who examine and interpret skulls, teeth, and bones, whether of living humans or of our fossilized ancestors. Paleontologists are scientists who study fossils. Paleoanthropologists study the fossil record of human evolution. Paleoanthropologists often collaborate with archaeologists, who study artifacts, in reconstructing biological and cultural aspects of human evolution. Fossils and tools often are found together. Different types of tools provide information about the habits, customs, and lifestyles of the ancestral humans who used them.

More than a century ago, Charles Darwin noticed that the variety that exists within any population permits some individuals (those with the favored characteristics) to do better than others at surviving and reproducing. Genetics, which developed after Darwin, enlightens us about the causes and transmission of the variety on which evolution depends. However, it isn't just genes that cause variety. During any individual's lifetime, the environment works along with heredity to determine biological features. For example, people with a genetic tendency to be tall will be shorter if they have poor nutrition during childhood. Thus, biological anthropology also investigates the influence of environment on the body as it grows and matures. Among the environmental factors that influence the body as it develops are nutrition, altitude, temperature, and disease, as well as cultural factors, such as the standards of attractiveness that were discussed previously.

Biological anthropology (along with zoology) also includes primatology. The primates include our closest relatives—apes and monkeys. Primatologists study their biology, evolution, behavior, and social life, often in their natural environments. Primatology assists paleoanthropology, because primate behavior and social organization may shed light on early human behavior and human nature.

Linguistic Anthropology

We don't know (and probably never will know) when our ancestors started speaking, although biological anthropologists have looked to the anatomy of the face and the skull to speculate about the origin of language. As well, primatologists have described the communication systems of monkeys and apes. We do know that well-developed, grammatically complex languages



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.

have existed for thousands of years. Linguistic anthropology offers further illustration of anthropology's interest in comparison, variation, and change. **Linguistic anthropology** studies language in its social and cultural context, throughout the world and over time. Some linguistic anthropologists also make inferences about universal features of language, linked perhaps to uniformities in the human brain. Others reconstruct ancient languages by comparing their contemporary descendants and in so doing make discoveries about history. Still others study linguistic differences to discover varied perceptions and patterns of thought in different cultures.

Historical linguistics considers variation over time, such as the changes in sounds, grammar, and vocabulary between Middle English (spoken from approximately 1050 to 1550 C.E.) and modern English. **Sociolinguistics** investigates relationships between social and linguistic variation. No language is a homogeneous system in which everyone speaks just like everyone else. How do different speakers use a given language? How do linguistic features correlate with social factors, including class and gender differences? One reason for variation is geography, as in regional dialects and accents. Linguistic variation also is expressed in the bilingualism of ethnic groups. Linguistic and cultural anthropologists collaborate in studying links between language and many other aspects of culture, such as how people reckon kinship and how they perceive and classify colors.

APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY

What sort of man or woman do you envision when you hear the word *anthropologist*? Although anthropologists have been portrayed as quirky and eccentric, bearded and bespectacled, anthropology is not a science of the exotic carried on by quaint scholars in ivory towers. Rather, anthropology has a lot to tell the public. Anthropology's foremost professional organization, the American Anthropological Association (AAA), has formally acknowledged a public service role by recognizing that anthropology has two dimensions: (1) academic anthropology and (2) practicing, or **applied, anthropology.** The latter refers to the application of anthropological data, perspectives, theory, and methods to identify, assess, and solve contemporary social problems. As American anthropologist Erve Chambers (1987, p. 309) has stated, applied anthropology is "concerned with the relationships between anthropological knowledge and the uses of that knowledge in the world beyond anthropology." More and more anthropologists from the four subfields now work in "applied" areas such as public health, family planning, business, market research, economic development, and cultural resource management.

Because of anthropology's breadth, applied anthropology has many applications. For example, applied medical anthropologists consider both the sociocultural and the biological contexts and implications of disease and illness. Perceptions of good and bad health, along with actual health

linguistic anthropology
The study of language and linguistic diversity in time, space, and society.

sociolinguistics
The study of language in society.

applied anthropology
The use of anthropology to solve contemporary problems.