

JAMES PEOPLES • GARRICK BAILEY

11TH
EDITION



HUMANITY

An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology



Locations of peoples discussed in *Humanity*

EDITION

11

HUMANITY

AN INTRODUCTION TO CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

JAMES PEOPLES

OHIO WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY

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Australia • Brazil • Mexico • Singapore • United Kingdom • United States

CHAPTER 11 Gender in Comparative Perspective

i

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Preface

Perhaps it is presumptuous to title any textbook *Humanity*. The authors chose this title back in 1985, when we began working on the first edition. We thought *Humanity* captures the distinctive feature of anthropology—that it studies all the world’s peoples, including those who lived in the prehistoric past, the historic past, and the present day, as well as peoples who live in every world region.

As a scholarly discipline, anthropology is very broad in its scope and interests. Several generations of anthropologists have discovered a vast amount of information about the human species. Paleoanthropologists are currently uncovering fossils and unwinding genetic relationships that show how and when the human species originated and evolved into modern *Homo sapiens*. Archaeologists are still digging into information about how prehistoric peoples lived their lives.

Another subfield, cultural anthropology, is the main subject of this book. Research done by cultural anthropologists (fieldwork) often involves years of study while living among some human community. Cultural anthropology describes and explains or interprets the fascinating cultural variability of the world’s peoples. In this text, we try to convey to students the life-enriching and the educational value of discovering this variability. In the process, we hope students and other readers will experience a change in their attitudes about other cultures, about their own lives and nations, and about humanity in general.

We also hope the book leads readers to think about their own identities as individuals, as members of a particular society with its traditions and ways of thinking and acting, and as participants in an increasingly worldwide human community. To achieve this last goal, we discuss anthropological insights into some current problems, such as ethnic conflicts, national and global inequalities, hunger, religious intolerance, and the survival of indigenous cultures and languages. As we describe the diversity in humanity’s cultures, we suggest the implications of such diversity for contemporary people and societies.

Finally, we want students and other newcomers to anthropology to grasp the full significance of the oldest anthropological lesson of all: that their own values, beliefs, and actions are a product of their upbringing in a particular human group rather than universal among all peoples. If understood properly and applied seriously, this principle leads individuals to question unconscious assumptions and to view themselves as well as other peoples through the complicated lens of cultural relativism.

Globalization has become an increasingly important theme throughout the last several editions. Each of the 17 chapters includes a feature on globalization, choosing a topic that is relevant for the chapter’s content. Features in various chapters deal with issues such as how globalization affects cultural diversity, language survival, global warming, family and marriage practices, inequality among nations, religious diversity in the United States, production and sale of art, and cultural and religious fundamentalism. Some discussions are primarily case studies, whereas others present anthropological insights into the process or the results of globalization. Most chapters contain material that is relevant for modern North America, such as climate change, recent changes in family life and marriage practices, gender inequality, and religious accommodation.

New to the Eleventh Edition

To those instructors who are previous users of *Humanity*, the following summarizes the major changes in the eleventh edition.

Chapter 1 still introduces the four subdisciplines and discusses the importance of anthropological perspectives, methods, and factual knowledge about cultural diversity. We have included new information on human evolution. While retaining coverage of applied anthropology, we’ve updated the section on careers. We emphasize recent changes in anthropological interests and in research in modern societies and globalization.

To illustrate the complexity of the relativistic perspective, we add a new example of a Jarawa custom while retaining the example of female genital mutilation.

The topical structure and themes of Chapter 2 (culture) are intact. We continue to integrate terms like *cultural identity*, *subcultures*, *roles*, and *social learning* into an extended discussion of culture, with the goal of demonstrating that the concept of culture is more complicated than most people realize. New material appears in the section titled “The Origins of Culture.”

Chapter 3 (language) retains coverage of the distinctive characteristics of language, structural linguistics, English’s incorporation of Native American words, sociolinguistics, and the relationship between culture and language. Recent material appears about the use of language to acquire and enhance power, using examples from political speech in the American 2016 presidential campaign. The section titled “Language, Perceptions, and Worldview” now has a new and provocative argument about how verb forms might affect savings rates in countries with similar socioeconomic conditions. We again emphasize relationships among culture, language, thought, and behavior over the technical aspects of linguistics.

Chapter 4 (cultural diversity and globalization) provides the historical and cultural context for later chapters that discuss diversity among the world’s peoples. We have updated sections, added a new Concept Review, and expanded the coverage of the globalization of academic training.

Chapter 5 (theory) continues its focus on two main areas: (1) historical contacts between the West and Others that gave rise to anthropology, and (2) distinctions between contemporary approaches, which we categorize (broadly) as scientific and humanistic. Where appropriate, we apply this distinction to material in other chapters by stating the interpretations or explanations each broad approach would offer.

Chapter 6 (methods) distinguishes between the methods and goals of the main ways anthropologists learn about humanity: fieldwork and comparisons. Generally ethnographic fieldwork is the primary method used to describe a given people, in time and space, whereas comparative methods are an essential part of efforts to explain or generalize.

In Chapter 7 (culture and environment) we updated some factual material, including dates for the beginnings and spread of agriculture and information about the 2015 Paris Accords on climate change. We have rewritten sections to clarify their meaning and wider implications. Like Chapters 2, 4, and 5, this chapter

provides information referred to extensively later in the book.

In Chapter 8 (exchange) we include a new introductory vignette on the origin of credit cards to enhance student interest in the general topic. In covering reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange forms, we provide examples of each in the United States, using a new example of the Affordable Care Act to illustrate political arguments over redistribution. We move on to describe capitalist economies, distinguishing between neoliberal/laissez-faire and social welfare capitalism and their strengths and weaknesses. We have also added new material on global markets in the Global Challenges and Opportunities feature.

In Chapter 9 (marriage and family), this edition includes the standard textbook topical structure: family forms, incest taboos, problems of defining marriage, marriage forms and their implications, marital transactions, postmarital residence patterns, and household forms. We have deleted the discussion of the avunculocal residence pattern to make room for an extensive revision of the section “Same-Sex Marriage and the Culture Wars,” which includes recent court decisions and reactions to them. We argue that anthropology’s relativistic and comparative perspective offer significant contributions to these topics.

Chapter 10 (kinship) also is standard, covering forms of descent and kinship, influences on these forms, and kinship terminologies, with examples of each topic. We give terminological systems as examples of cultural constructions introduced in Chapter 2. The chapter concludes by discussing the implications of cultural diversity for recent and future changes in marriage, family, and kinship forms and relationships.

The topics for Chapter 11 (gender) are unchanged from the last two editions. We have added new information about how recognition of the complexity of gender identity affects language, going beyond the obvious LGBTQIA to include new child naming practices. The ethnographic examples remain, but we have condensed some to reduce the length. Again, we suggest the relevance of anthropological evidence about diversity and anthropological theorizing to modern life.

In Chapter 12 (political life), portions of the Global Challenges and Opportunities feature have been expanded to include shell companies and tax haven countries; our discussion includes an examination of how these situations have allowed companies to increase their global economic power.

Chapter 13 (inequality and stratification) begins with a new vignette about the contrasting ideas of Bernie Sanders and Donald Trump about economic

inequality. After describing contrasts between egalitarian, ranked, and stratified (including caste) societies, the chapter moves into stratification in the United States. We update numerical data on the distribution of income and wealth in the United States, including numbers that bring home the extent to which economic inequalities have increased since 1980. The distinction between religious and secular ideologies is applied to ideas and beliefs in the United States and the West. After discussing the strengths and weaknesses of the functionalist and conflict theories, we attempt to apply them to modern industrial society. We updated numerical data in the Global Challenges and Opportunities feature on China.

In Chapter 14 (religion), in the “Sociological Approaches” section, we added Richard Sosis’s idea that costly rituals function to demonstrate commitment to group values and norms, noting its consistency with the evolutionary psychology general theory (discussed in Chapter 5) For each theoretical approach we note that religion creates as many cognitive, psychological, social problems as it allegedly alleviates. There is an entirely new section titled “Will Religion Disappear?” The section “Varieties of Religious Organization” now discusses the complexities of attempting to classify the great variety of humanity’s religions into only a few forms or categories.

The introductory discussion of art has been rewritten in Chapter 15 (art), otherwise the chapter is basically the same with the exception of the Global Challenges and Opportunities feature. This new box addresses the question of how increased integration into the global economy and less expensive machine-made goods are changing the artistic visual traditions associated with handmade items.

Additions to Chapter 16 (ethnicity) include new and updated information on ethnic conflicts in the modern world.

Chapter 17 (world problems and the practice of anthropology) continues to discuss anthropological insights on health and health care, population growth, and world hunger. We have also updated the seemingly unending struggles of people like the San, Dongria Kondh, and Kayapo to protect their lands.

Special Features

The boxed features called A Closer Look are eliminated in this edition, in the interest of space and continuity. Each chapter still contains a feature on globalization, titled **Global Challenges and Opportunities**, a label that reflects the focus of most of their content. A photo accompanies each feature.

Several pedagogical aids are intended to help students understand and retain the material they have just read. Each chapter begins with a set of five to eight **Learning Objectives** that focus on the key concepts, ideas, and themes of the chapter. The learning objectives are tied to the end-of-chapter **Summary**. We hope this helps students come away with a solid understanding of the main points of each chapter.

We continue to include at least one **Concept Review** in the chapters to condense ideas and make sharp distinctions in just a few words. A **Glossary** again is included at the end of the book. **Key Terms** in bold are defined immediately at the bottom of the page where students first encounter them in the chapter.

Anthropology is a highly visual discipline, and *Humanity* holds to the highest standards in providing photographs, figures, and maps to illustrate the text. Maps on the inside front cover show the location of peoples and cultures mentioned in the book.

There are two **indexes**, one a traditional subject index and the other a list of peoples and cultures mentioned in the book.

Resources

Student Resources

CourseMate. The CourseMate for Peoples and Bailey’s *Humanity*, eleventh edition, brings course concepts to life with interactive learning, study, and exam preparation tools that support the printed textbook. Access an integrated MindTap e-book, glossary, quizzes, videos, and more in the CourseMate for *Humanity*, eleventh edition. Go to CengageBrain.com to register or purchase access.

Instructor Resources

Online Instructor’s Manual with Test Bank. This online supplement offers learning objectives, chapter outlines and summaries, key terms, suggested supplementary lectures, discussion questions, and more. The instructor’s manual also includes updated references to relevant news articles, films, and videos for each chapter. The test bank provides approximately 40 multiple-choice, 15 true/false, and 5 essay questions per chapter.

Cengage Learning Testing Powered by Cognero. A flexible, online system, Cognero allows you to author, edit, and manage test bank content from multiple Cengage Learning solutions. Cognero also offers you the ability to create multiple tests in an instant and deliver them from your LMS, your classroom, or wherever you want!

Online PowerPoint Slides. These vibrant, Microsoft PowerPoint lecture slides for each chapter will assist you with your lecture by providing concept coverage using images, figures, and tables directly from the textbook.

CourseReader: Anthropology. *CourseReader: Anthropology* is a fully customizable online reader that provides access to hundreds of readings and audio and video selections from multiple disciplines. This easy-to-use solution allows you to select exactly the content you need for your courses and is loaded with convenient pedagogical features like highlighting, printing, note taking, and audio downloads. You have the freedom to assign individualized content at an affordable price. The *CourseReader: Anthropology* is the perfect complement to any class.

The Wadsworth Anthropology Video Library Volumes I–IV. Enhance your lectures with new video clips from the BBC Motion Gallery and CBS News. Addressing topics from the four fields, these videos are divided into short segments, perfect for introducing key concepts with footage sourced from some of the most remarkable collections in the world.

AIDS in Africa DVD. Expand your students' global perspective of HIV/AIDS with this award-winning documentary series focused on controlling HIV/AIDS in southern Africa. Films focus on caregivers in the faith community; how young people share messages of hope through song and dance; the relationship of HIV/AIDS to gender, poverty, stigma, education, and justice; and the story of two HIV-positive women helping others.

Classic Readings in Cultural Anthropology, Fourth Edition. Practical and insightful, *Classic Readings in Cultural Anthropology*, fourth edition, is a concise and accessible reader that presents a core selection of historical and contemporary works that have been instrumental in shaping anthropological thought and research over the past decades. Carefully edited by Dr. Gary Ferraro, the fourth edition includes classic readings from the disciplines of cultural anthropology and linguistics. Readings are organized around eight topics that closely mirror most introductory textbooks and are selected from scholarly works on the basis of their enduring themes and contributions to the discipline. These selections allow students to further explore anthropological perspectives on such key topics as culture, language and communication, ecology and economics, marriage and family, gender, politics and social control, supernatural beliefs, and issues of culture change. The book also addresses pressing topics such as globalization, ethnic violence, environmental issues, and more. *Classic Readings in Cultural Anthropology*,

fourth, delivers an excellent introduction to the field of anthropology and the contributions it makes to understanding the world around us.

Human–Environment Interactions: New Directions in Human Ecology. This module by Kathy Galvin begins with a brief discussion of the history and core concepts of the field of human ecology and the study of how humans interact with the natural environment. It then looks in-depth at how the environment influences cultural practices (environmental determinism), as well as how aspects of culture, in turn, affect the environment. Human behavioral ecology is presented within the context of natural selection and how ecological factors influence the development of cultural and behavioral traits, and how people subsist in different environments. The module concludes with a discussion of resilience and global change as a result of human–environment interactions. This module, in chapter-like print format, can be packaged for free with the text.

Medical Anthropology in Applied Perspective Module. This freestanding module is actually a complete text chapter, featuring the same quality of pedagogy and written content in Cengage's cultural anthropology texts. See your sales representative for information on bundling the module with this text.

Acknowledgments

Since the first edition was published in 1988, *Humanity* (the book, not the species) has benefited enormously from reviewers. Some reviewers are long-term users of the text, whereas others have not adopted it for their classes. Of course, we have never been able to incorporate all their suggestions for improvement, or the book would be twice as long as it is. But, over the last 25 years, we have added, subtracted, updated, rethought, and reorganized most of the book based on reviewers' comments. We thank all of them.

For the eleventh edition, both authors thank the reviewers listed here (their identities were unknown to us until publication):

Frank Araujo, American River College
Leslie Berry, De Anza College
Heidi Bludau, Monmouth University
Deborah Boehm, University of Nevada, Reno
Sheilah Clarke Ekong, University of Missouri,
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Michael Dietz, College of DuPage
Anna Dixon, University of South Florida,
St. Petersburg
Phyllisa Eisentraut, Santa Barbara City College

Becky Floyd, Cypress College
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Rachel Hoerman, University of Hawaii Manoa
Bennett Judkins, Southern Adventist University
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Paul Langenwalter, Biola University
Vienna Lewin, North Central University
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Paul McDowell, Santa Barbara City College
Krista Moreland, Bakersfield College
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Suzanne Spencer-Wood, Oakland University
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Stephen Wiley, Normandale Community College
Andrew Workinger, University of Tennessee,
Chattanooga
Stephen Zolvinski, Indian University Northwest

Although we were unable to make all the changes these scholars suggested, many of their comments are incorporated into the text. Their comments that the book needs to be more *explicit* about the relevance of anthropology in today's world were especially influential.

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The Study of Humanity



Michael Doolittle/The Image Works

▲ Cultural anthropology is the discipline that studies human cultural diversity, usually by visiting people where they live and interacting with them firsthand.

Subfields of Anthropology

- Biological/Physical Anthropology
- Archaeology
- Cultural Anthropology
- Anthropological Linguistics

Applications of Anthropology

- Applied Anthropology
- Careers in Anthropology

Cultural Anthropology Today

Anthropological Perspectives on Cultures

- Holistic Perspective
- Comparative Perspective
- Relativistic Perspective

Some Lessons of Anthropology

LEARNING OBJECTIVES

After reading this chapter, you should be able to:

- 1 LIST** the four major subfields of anthropology and describe their primary interests.
- 2 DISCUSS** how anthropology differs from other disciplines that also study humans.
- 3 EXPLAIN** some of the practical uses of anthropology in solving human problems.
- 4 DISCUSS** how cultural anthropology has changed in the last four decades.
- 5 UNDERSTAND** the meaning and importance of the holistic, comparative, and relativistic perspectives.
- 6 DESCRIBE** the wider lessons one can learn from studying anthropology.

What makes humans different from other animals? What is human nature, or is there even such a thing? How and why do the peoples of the world differ, both biologically and culturally? Have affluent people in industrialized, urbanized nations sacrificed something important in their quest for what many consider the good life? What are the implications of living in a world whose diverse peoples have recently become connected by global corporations and international communications? These are just a few questions investigated by **anthropology**, the academic discipline that studies all of humanity.

Almost everything about human beings interests anthropologists. We want to know when, where, and how humanity originated and how we evolved into what we are today. Anthropologists try to explain the many differences among the world's cultures, such as why people in one culture believe they get sick because the souls of witches devour their livers, whereas people in another think that illness can result from tarantulas flinging tiny magical darts into their bodies. We want to know why most Argentinians and Australians like beef, which devout Hindus and Buddhists refuse to eat. We are curious about why some New Guinea peoples ritually engorge themselves with pork—the same animal flesh that some religions originating in the Middle East hold to be unclean and

prohibit eating. In brief, anthropologists of one kind or another are likely to investigate almost everything about human beings: our biological evolution, cuisines, values, art styles, behaviors, languages, religions, and so forth.

Anthropologists, then, study many different dimensions of humanity. The broad scope of anthropology is perhaps the one feature that most distinguishes it from other fields that also study humans, such as psychology and history. Anthropologists are interested in *all* human beings, whether living or dead, Asian or African or European. No people are too isolated to escape the anthropologist's notice. We also are interested in many different *aspects* of humans, including their genetic makeup, family lives, political systems, relations with nature, and beliefs about the dead. No dimension of humankind, from skin color to dance traditions, falls outside the interests of anthropology.

Subfields of Anthropology

Obviously, no single anthropologist can master all these subjects. Therefore, most anthropologists specialize in one of four principal subfields: biological (or physical) anthropology, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and anthropological linguistics. (The Concept Review summarizes the primary interests of each subfield.) A fifth area, applied anthropology, uses anthropological methods and insights to help solve real-world problems. Because cultural anthropology is the primary subject of this book, here we briefly summarize the other subfields and describe some of their major findings.

anthropology Academic discipline that studies humanity from a broad biological and cultural perspective.

CONCEPT REVIEW

Primary Interests of the Four Subfields of Anthropology

Physical/Biological	Comparisons of human anatomy and behavior with other primate species; physical (genetic) variation among human populations; biological evolution of <i>Homo sapiens</i>
Archaeology	Excavation of material remains in prehistoric sites to reconstruct early human ways of life; study of remains in historic sites to learn more about literate peoples
Cultural	Differences and similarities in contemporary and historically recent cultures; causes and consequences of sociocultural change; impacts of globalization and contacts on the world's peoples
Anthropological Linguistics	Relationships between language and culture; role of language and speaking in social life of various peoples; how language might shape perceptions and thoughts

Biological/Physical Anthropology

Biological (also called **physical**) **anthropology** is closely related to the biological sciences in its goals and methods. It focuses on subjects such as the anatomy and



Steve Bloom Images/Alamy

One of the most surprising discoveries about the great apes is that they commonly use and even make tools. These two Ugandan chimpanzees are inserting a twig into a termite mound to access insects for food.

behavior of monkeys and apes, the physical (including genetic) variations between different human populations, and the biological evolution of the human species.

Within biological anthropology, researchers in **primatology** study the evolution, anatomy, adaptation, and social behavior of primates, the taxonomic order to which humans belong. Research on group-living monkeys and apes has added significantly to the understanding of many aspects of human behavior, including tool use, sexuality, parenting, cooperation, male–female differences, and aggression. Field studies of African chimpanzees and gorillas, the two apes genetically most similar to humans, have been especially fruitful sources of hypotheses and knowledge.

In the 1960s, famous British primatologist Jane Goodall was the first to observe toolmaking among African chimpanzees. Chimps intentionally modified sticks to probe holes in termite mounds. When termite soldiers locked their jaws onto the intruding objects, the chimps withdrew the probes and devoured the tasty insects. Goodall observed adult chimps teaching their young how to probe for termites, showing that humanity's closest animal relatives are capable of learning complex behaviors. Some chimpanzee groups wave tree branches in aggressive displays against other groups. Some wad up leaves to use as sponges to soak up drinking water. Working in West Africa, other researchers have observed some chimp groups using

biological (physical) anthropology Major subfield of anthropology that studies the biological dimensions of humans and other primates.

primatology Part of biological anthropology that studies primates, including monkeys and apes.

heavy round stones as hammers to crack open hard-shelled nuts. The chimps select stones of the proper shape and weight, control the force of their blows so that the nut does not shatter, and often leave the tools under nut trees for future use.

Other apes also use tools. Using sticks, African gorillas in the wild gauge the depth of water and even lay down tree trunks to cross deep pools. Researchers have seen one young female gorilla use stones to smash open a palm nut to get at the oil inside.

These and other observations of chimpanzees and gorillas dramatically altered our understanding of human–animal differences. Prior to such studies, making tools was widely considered to be one of the things humans could do that other animals could not. Now that we know that toolmaking is not unique to humanity, we look at other reasons for human uniqueness.

Biological anthropologists also investigate **human variation**, studying how and why human populations vary physically due to genetically inherited differences. All humanity belongs to a single species, which taxonomists call *Homo sapiens*. One of the most important findings of anthropology is that the physical/genetic similarities among the world’s peoples far outweigh the differences. Nonetheless, peoples whose ancestral homelands lie in Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia, the Pacific Islands, and the Americas were once more isolated than they are today. During this time, they evolved differences in overall body and facial form, height, skin color, blood chemistry, and other genetically determined features. Specialists in human variation measure and try to explain the differences and similarities among the world’s peoples in such physical characteristics. (We return to “racial” variation in Chapter 2.)

Often, genetic differences are related to the environment in which a people or their ancestors lived. Consider skin color. When exposed to sunlight, human skin manufactures vitamin D, a necessary nutrient. The melanin existing in human skin produces the color our eyes perceive as dark. High levels of melanin protect darker skin against sun damage, so melanin usually is beneficial in tropical environments, where sunlight is most intense. However, as humans migrated into more temperate regions tens of thousands of years ago, too much melanin

became harmful. In high latitudes, melanin reduces the penetration of sunlight in the skin, reducing its ability to make vitamin D. Thus, dark pigmentation is harmful in high latitudes like Europe and Siberia, and over many centuries skin grew lighter (“whiter”) in such regions.

Human populations living in high altitudes also have evolved physiological adaptations. Andean peoples of South America have relatively large lungs and high levels of hemoglobin. The blood of Tibetans circulates more rapidly than most other people, allowing their muscles and organs to function more efficiently at elevations over 14,000 feet. Such populations evolved physiological adaptations to supply oxygen to their tissues.

Another aim of physical anthropology is understanding when and how the human species evolved from prehuman, apelike ancestors. **Paleoanthropology** investigates human biological evolution. Over decades of searching for fossils and carrying out meticulous laboratory studies, paleoanthropologists have reconstructed the evolution of human anatomy: limbs, feet, hands, skull, and other physical features.

In the late 1970s, paleoanthropologists began to use new methods to investigate human evolution. Scientists in the field of molecular genetics can now sequence DNA—the genetic material by which hereditary traits are transmitted between generations. By comparing DNA sequences, geneticists can estimate how closely different species are related. Studies comparing the genetic sequences of African apes with humans show that humans share 97.7 percent of their DNA with gorillas and 98.7 percent with chimpanzees and bonobos. DNA from modern humans and DNA sampled from bones of the extinct human species *Neandertal* are about 99.5 percent the same. Similarities in the DNA of two or more species are evidence that they share a common evolutionary ancestor. Also, the more similar the DNA between two or more species, the less time has elapsed since their divergence from a common ancestor. Thus, anthropologists study DNA sequences to estimate how long ago species separated.

Recent scientific work shows that the DNA of many modern humans resulted from our ancestors’ interbreeding with now-extinct human species. Most people who are not African or African-derived have a small percentage of DNA from Neandertals. (Why not Africans too? Because Neandertal humans never lived in Africa.) Even more surprising is a 2016 finding that another extinct human species, called *Denisovan*, also interbred with the human branch now represented by you and me. Some Melanesian people of the southwestern Pacific have higher percentages of Denisovan DNA than people in other world regions. It is interesting (and food for thought) that the evolutionary line

human variation Physical differences among human populations; an interest of physical anthropologists.

paleoanthropology Specialization within biological anthropology that investigates the biological evolution of the human species.



Paleoanthropologists use evidence from laboratory research on DNA as well as fossil discoveries. Here paleoanthropologist Richard Leakey collaborates with a Kenyan in piecing together the skull of a human ancestor.

that led to modern humans bore offspring with two other human lines that went extinct.

Decades ago, Neandertals were depicted as thickly muscled humans who walked upright but had only the rudiments of technology and culture. Today's paleoanthropologists have a different view and recent research suggests they made significant accomplishments. Most recently, in 2016 archaeologists published evidence that Neandertals living over 170,000 years ago constructed structures deep inside a cave in France. They broke off hundreds of stalagmites and arranged them into six roughly circular structures. The structures were over 1,000 feet from the cave's entrance, so the builders must have used fire to provide light for their constructions.

Back in 2003, researchers unearthed bones of an extinct human relative that was so short—around 4 feet tall—that they nicknamed it “the Hobbit.” This species so far has been found only on Flores, a tiny island in Indonesia. In 2016, scientists announced the discovery of a jawbone and six teeth of another small human relative on the same island. These remains are about 700,000 years old, which makes them far too ancient to be a member of our own species. “Hobbits” might

have descended from an earlier human ancestor and became smaller after migrating to Flores, due to the island's limited resources. Such dwarfism is well known among other species.

Through discovering and analyzing fossils, comparisons of DNA sequences, and other methods, the outlines of human evolution are becoming clear. Most scholars agree that the evolutionary line leading to modern humans split from the lines leading to modern African apes (chimpanzees and gorillas) by 6 million years ago, but the date of this separation is likely to change with additional research.

Most biological anthropologists work in universities or museums as teachers, researchers, writers, and curators. But many also apply their knowledge of human anatomy to practical matters. For instance, specialists in **forensic anthropology** work for or consult with law enforcement agencies, where they help

forensic anthropology Specialization within physical anthropology that analyzes and identifies human remains.



Prehistoric archaeologists investigate humanity's ancient past by carefully excavating and analyzing material remains.

identify human skeletal remains. Among their contributions are determining the age, sex, height, and other physical characteristics of crime or accident victims. Forensic anthropologists gather evidence from bones about old injuries or diseases, which are then compared with medical histories to identify victims. Forensic anthropologists have also excavated and analyzed mass graves containing the remains of victims of assassination, hoping to identify them and determine the cause of their death.

Archaeology

Archaeology investigates the human past through excavating and analyzing material remains. Modern

archaeology Investigation of past cultures through the excavation of material remains.

prehistoric archaeology Field that uses excavations and analysis of material remains to investigate cultures that existed before the development of writing.

archaeology is divided into two major kinds of studies: prehistoric and historic.

Prehistoric archaeology is the study of prehistoric peoples—that is, those who had no writing to keep records of their activities, customs, and beliefs. Much information about the lives of prehistoric peoples can be recovered from the tools, pottery, ornaments, bones, plant pollen, charcoal, and other materials they left behind in the ground. Through careful excavation and laboratory analysis of such remains, prehistoric archaeologists reconstruct the way people lived in ancient times and trace how human cultures have changed over many centuries and millennia.

Contrary to impressions given by many television documentaries and popular films, the main goal of archaeological excavations is not to recover valuable treasures and other artifacts but to understand how people lived long ago. Modern archaeologists seek to reconstruct as fully as possible how prehistoric peoples made their tools, lived in their environments, organized their societies, and practiced their religions. Over decades of meticulous field excavations and laboratory work, archaeologists have learned that agriculture first

developed around 10,000 years ago, when some peoples of the Middle East began planting wheat and barley. For the first time, humans transformed certain edible wild plants into *crops*. A few thousand years later, peoples of China, Southeast Asia, and West Africa also domesticated plants like rice and millet. On the other side of the world, in what we now call the Americas, ancient peoples of southern Mexico, western South America, and the Amazon Basin domesticated plants like corn, squash, beans, tomatoes, potatoes, and manioc. Surprisingly, present evidence shows that these six regions where agriculture developed were independent—meaning that the people of one region domesticated plants on their own, rather than learning the idea of agriculture from other peoples. Similarly, civilization (living in cities) developed in several different regions independently, beginning about 5,000 years ago (see Chapter 7).

To investigate the past of societies in which some people could read and write, historians analyze written materials such as diaries, letters, land records, newspapers, and tax collection documents. **Historic archaeology** supplements historical documents by excavating houses, stores, plantations, factories, and other structures and remains. Historic archaeologists seek to uncover information lacking in old documents about how people lived at a particular time and place.

In May 2013, the *New York Times*, *USA Today*, CNN, and other media reported a startling find by historic archaeologists. In 1607, 104 settlers from England arrived in Jamestown, Virginia, to establish a settlement and make profit for the private company that financed the colony. Only a third of the settlers were alive after nine months, despite trade with the local Native Americans, the Powhatan. More colonists arrived in the next couple of years. However, in the winter of 1609, the English Jamestown settlers were starving: A drought the previous year had led to low agricultural yields, the fleet of nine ships from England that was supposed to supply the colony had been lost in a hurricane, and relationships with the Powhatan had turned hostile. A letter written in 1625 by the leader of the colony refers to the settlers digging up human corpses to consume their flesh during the Starving Time.

Archaeological excavations in the summer of 2012 led by William Kelso found hard evidence that cannibalism in fact had occurred at Jamestown. The archaeological team unearthed the remains of a girl about 14 years old. After her death, someone had struck the girl's head with several blows, splitting her skull, to remove the brain. Other cuts on her facial bones showed that facial tissues had been removed. Excavations in and around Jamestown continue.

Today, many archaeologists work not in universities but in museums, public agencies, and for-profit corporations. Museums offer jobs as curators and researchers. State highway departments employ archaeologists to conduct surveys of proposed new routes in order to locate and excavate archaeological sites that will be destroyed. The U.S. Forest Service and National Park Service hire archaeologists to find sites on public lands to help make decisions about the preservation of cultural materials. Those who work in *cultural resource management* (CRM) locate sites of prehistoric and historic significance, evaluate their importance, and make recommendations about total or partial preservation.

Since the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act in 1966, private corporations and government agencies that construct factories, apartments, parking lots, shopping malls, and other structures must file a report outlining how the construction will affect historical remains and which steps will be taken to preserve them. Because of this law, the business of *contract archaeology* has boomed in the United States. Contract archaeology companies bid competitively for the privilege of locating, excavating, and reporting on sites affected or destroyed by construction.

Cultural Anthropology

Cultural anthropology (also called **sociocultural anthropology** and **social anthropology**) studies contemporary and historically recent human societies and cultures. As its name suggests, the main focus of this subfield is culture—the customs and beliefs of some human group. (The concept of culture is discussed at length in Chapter 2.)

As we will see in future chapters, cultural anthropologists study an enormous number of specific subjects, far too many to list. Here are a few of the main interests of this subfield:

- Studying firsthand and reporting about the ways of living of particular human groups, including both indigenous peoples and peoples who live in modernized, industrialized nations

historic archaeology Field that investigates the past of literate peoples through excavation of sites and analysis of artifacts and other material remains.

cultural anthropology (social anthropology, sociocultural anthropology) Subfield that studies the way of life of contemporary and historically recent human societies and cultures.

- Comparing diverse cultures to seek general principles that might explain human ways of living or that might cause cultural differences
- Understanding how various dimensions of human life—economics, family life, religion, art, communication, and so forth—relate to one another in particular cultures and in cultures generally
- Analyzing the causes and consequences of cultural change, including the causes and consequences of what is commonly called globalization
- Enhancing public knowledge and appreciation of cultural differences and multicultural diversity
- Using anthropological methods and insights to aid understanding of life in today’s industrialized, capitalistic nations, including the anthropologist’s own nation

The last three objectives are especially important in the twenty-first century, in which individuals with diverse cultural backgrounds regularly come into contact with one another in the rapidly changing global system. Later chapters discuss some of the work cultural anthropologists have done on globalization and in modern nation-states.

To collect information about particular cultures, researchers conduct **fieldwork**. Most fieldworkers leave their own homes and universities, moving into the communities they study and living in close, daily contact with the people. If practical, they communicate in the local language. Daily interaction with the members of a community provides fieldworkers with first-hand experiences that yield insights and information that could not be gained in any other way. Most fieldwork requires at least a year of residence in the field site, and two or more years are common. Fieldworkers usually report the findings of their research in books or scholarly journals, where they are available to other scholars, students, and to the general public. A written account of how a single human population lives is called an **ethnography**, which means “writing about a

people.” (We have more to say about the processes and problems of fieldwork in Chapter 6.)

Anthropological Linguistics

Defined as the study of human language, *linguistics* exists as a separate discipline from anthropology. The ability to communicate complex messages with great efficiency may be the most important capability of humans that makes us different from primates and other animals. Once we realize how complicated the knowledge of a language is, we realize that the communicative abilities of humans are truly unique. Certainly our ability to speak is a key factor in the success of humanity.

Cultural anthropologists are interested in language mainly because of how the language and culture of a people affect each other. The subfield of **anthropological linguistics** is concerned with the complex relationships between language and other aspects of human behavior and thought. For example, anthropological linguists are interested in how language is used in various social contexts: What style of speech must one use with people of high status? How do people of various social categories (like LGBT and ethnicities), classes (ultrarich, working), and political persuasions (supporters of Donald Trump and Bernie Sanders) use language to promote their political ideas and agendas? Does the particular language we learned while growing up have any important effects on how we view the world or how we think and feel? (Chapter 3 provides more information about language and social life.)

As our brief summary of the four subdisciplines confirms, anthropology is a vast and diverse field. Even by itself, cultural anthropology—the main subject of this text—is enormously broad: Modern fieldworkers live among and study human communities in all parts of the world, from the mountains of Tibet to the deserts of the American Southwest, from the streets of Chicago to the plains of East Africa.

Today’s anthropology is quite different than 30 or 40 years ago. Still, the discipline does have a distinctive focus. More so than other fields, anthropology’s focus is *human diversity*. Humankind is diverse in a multitude of ways, but two are most important to anthropologists. First, although all modern humans are members of the same species, the world’s people differ somewhat in their genetic heritage, making humans diverse *biologically*. Second, the customs and beliefs of one society or ethnic group differ from those of other societies or ethnic groups, reflecting the fact that humans

fieldwork Ethnographic research that involves observing and interviewing members of a community in order to document and describe their way of life.

ethnography Written description of the way of life of some human population.

anthropological linguistics Subfield that focuses on the interrelationships between language and other aspects of a people’s culture.

are diverse *culturally*. Prehistoric archaeologists investigate diversity in the distant past, between the world's major regions (e.g., how did the prehistoric peoples of Europe differ from those of East Asia 5,000 years ago?). Cultural anthropologists investigate and try to understand cultural diversity today and in the recent past.

Applications of Anthropology

Not too long ago, most professional anthropologists spent their careers in some form of educational institution, either in colleges and universities or in museums. However, since around 1990, more and more anthropologists have jobs in other kinds of institutions. The American Anthropological Association (AAA, often called “Triple A”) is the professional association of anthropologists. In its 2006 *Annual Report*, the AAA reported that more than half of anthropologists work outside academic settings—in government agencies, international organizations, nonprofit groups, or private companies. Hundreds of others make their living as consultants to such organizations and institutions.

Applied Anthropology

Applied anthropology uses anthropological methods, theories, concepts, and insights to help public institutions or private enterprises deal with practical, real-world problems. Individuals in all subfields may do applied work—that is, work that contributes directly to problem solving in an organization. A few examples illustrate some of the work of applied anthropologists.

Development anthropology is one area in which anthropologists apply their expertise to the solution of practical human problems, usually in developing countries. Working both as full-time employees and as consultants, development anthropologists provide information about communities that helps agencies adapt projects to local conditions and needs. Examples of agencies and institutions that employ development anthropologists include the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme. One important role of the anthropologist in such institutions is to provide policymakers with knowledge of local-level ecological and cultural conditions to help projects avoid unanticipated problems and minimize negative impacts.

Educational anthropology offers jobs in public agencies and private institutions. Some roles of educational

anthropologists include advising in bilingual education, conducting detailed observations of classroom interactions, training personnel in multicultural issues, and adapting teaching styles to local customs and needs. Many modern nations, including those of Europe and the Americas, are becoming more culturally diverse due to immigration. As a response to this trend, an increasingly important role for educational anthropologists is to help educators understand the learning styles and behavior of children from various ethnic and national backgrounds. Persons trained in both linguistic and cultural anthropology are especially likely to work in educational anthropology.

Private companies sometimes employ cultural anthropologists full-time or as consultants, creating a professional opportunity often called *corporate anthropology*. As international trade agreements remove tariffs, quotas, and other barriers to international trade, people of different cultural heritages increasingly conduct business and buy and sell one another's products. The dramatic growth of overseas business activities encourages companies to hire professionals who can advise executives and sales staff on what to expect and how to speak and act when they conduct business in other countries. Because of their training as acute observers and listeners, anthropologists also work in the private sector in many other capacities: They watch how employees interact with one another, analyze how workers understand the capabilities of office machines, study how the attitudes and styles of managers affect worker performance, and perform a variety of other information-gathering and analysis tasks.

Medical anthropology is a rapidly growing field, partly because physicians, hospitals, and other health care providers want to understand how cultural and social forces affect their ability to deliver services. Medical anthropologists usually are trained both in biological and cultural anthropology. They investigate the complex interactions among human health, nutrition, social context, and cultural beliefs and practices.

applied anthropology Subfield applying anthropological perspectives, theory, empirical knowledge of cultures, and methods to help assess and solve real-world problems; practitioners are often employed by a governmental agency or private organization.

medical anthropology Specialization that researches the connections between cultural beliefs and habits and the spread and treatment of diseases and illnesses.