

TENTH EDITION

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

HAVILAND



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WILLIAM A. HAVILAND

University of Vermont

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

WILLIAM A. HAVILAND, PROFESSOR EMERITUS OF ANTHROPOLOGY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT, earned his BA, MA and PhD degrees at the University of Pennsylvania. He began his career as a physical anthropologist at the Philadelphia Center for Research in Child Growth and as a research assistant for its director, Dr. Wilton M. Krogman. He subsequently went on to teach at Hunter College and Barnard College in New York City, and then at The University of Vermont, Burlington, VT, where he founded the anthropology department.

Dr. Haviland's first field experience was as a member of a Smithsonian Institution field crew doing archaeology on the Lower Brule Indian Reservation in South Dakota. A year later, he became a member of the University of Pennsylvania's archaeological project at the ancient Maya city of Tikal, Guatemala, where he explored prehistoric settlement and served as physical anthropologist. After six seasons there, he helped establish a program of Cultural Resource Management in Vermont, where he also began research on the archaeology, ethnography, and ethnohistory of the region's Native American inhabitants. In 1989, he served as expert witness for Vermont's Abenakis in a landmark case involving aboriginal fishing rights, and has frequently testified before legislative communities on their behalf. During this same period, he also investigated Anglo-American settlement in a Maine coastal community over the 200 years since the community was established.

Dr. Haviland is a member of several professional societies and has served on the board of the American Anthropological Association's general Anthropology Division. He has published many research articles in North American, British, and Mexican journals. Besides his three college texts published by Wadsworth, he has several other books to his credit, including technical monographs on his work at Tikal and *The Original Vermonters*, of which he is senior author. His professional publications cover three of the four subfields of anthropology.

Now retired, Dr. Haviland is heavily involved in writing and continues as co-editor of the University of Pennsylvania Museum's series of Tikal Reports. He spends much of his spare time in his wooden lobster boat on the waters of Penobscot Bay with his wife, sons, and grandchildren.

HOW TO USE *CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, TENTH EDITION TO GET THE MOST OUT OF YOUR COURSE EXPERIENCE

Cultural Anthropology, Tenth Edition, provides a thorough orientation to contemporary cultural anthropology issues and illustrates the many concepts, terms, and examples that are presented in your course.

To get the most out of your course study, become acquainted with the many features of this book. On the next several pages, you'll see how to use the learning aids provided to enhance your course experience.

STUDY AIDS

Part Openers.

Chapter Titles.

Familiarize yourself with the scope of each major section in *Cultural Anthropology* by examining the chapter titles listed on the part opener page.

Introduction.

These brief sections will give you an overview of the concepts to be covered in the following chapters. They also outline the organization of the chapters, preparing you for what you will read.

PART I

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE STUDY OF CULTURE

- Chapter 1 The Nature of Anthropology
- Chapter 2 The Nature of Culture
- Chapter 3 The Beginnings of Human Culture

INTRODUCTION

Anthropology is the most liberating of all the sciences. Not only has it exposed the fallacies of racial and cultural superiority, but its devotion to the study of all peoples, everywhere and throughout time, has cast more light on human nature than all the reflections of sages or



the studies of laboratory scientists. If this sounds like the assertion of an overly enthusiastic anthropologist, it is a statement made by the philosopher Grace de Laguna in her 1911 presidential address to the Eastern Division of the American Philosophical Association.

The subject matter of anthropology is vast, as we shall see in the first three chapters of this book. It includes everything that has to do with human beings, past and present. Of course, many other disciplines are concerned in one way or another with human beings. Some, such as anatomy and physiology, study humans as biological organisms. The social sciences are concerned with the distinctive forms of human relationships, while the humanities examine the great achievements of human culture. Anthropologists are interested in all of these things, too, but they try to deal with them all together, in all places and times. It is this unique, broad perspective that equips anthropologists so well to deal with that elusive thing called human nature.

Needless to say, no single anthropologist is able to investigate personally every-



thing that has to do with humanity. For practical purposes, the discipline is divided into various subfields, and individual anthropologists specialize in one or more of these. Whatever their specialization, though, they retain a commitment to a broader, overall perspective on humankind. For example, cultural anthropologists specialize in the study of human ideas, values, and behavior, while physical anthropologists specialize in the study of humans as biological organisms. Yet neither can afford to ignore the work of the other, for human culture and nature are inextricably intertwined, with each affecting the other in important ways. We can see, for example, how biology affects a cultural practice such as color-naming behavior. Human populations differ in the density of pigmentation within the eye itself, which in turn affects people's ability to distinguish the color blue from green, black, or both. Consequently, a number of cultures identify blue with green, black, or both. We can see also how a cultural

practice may affect human biology, as exemplified by abnormal forms of hemoglobin, the substance that transports oxygen in the blood. In certain parts of Africa and Asia, when humans took up the practice of farming, they altered the ecology in a way that, by chance, created ideal conditions for the breeding of mosquitoes. As a result, malaria became a serious problem (mosquitoes carry the malarial parasite), and a biological response to this was the spread of certain genes that, in those people living in malarial areas who inherit the gene from one parent, produced a built-in resistance to the disease. Although those who inherit the gene from both parents contract a potentially lethal anemia, such as sickle-cell anemia, those without the gene are apt to succumb to malaria. (We will return to this topic in Part II).

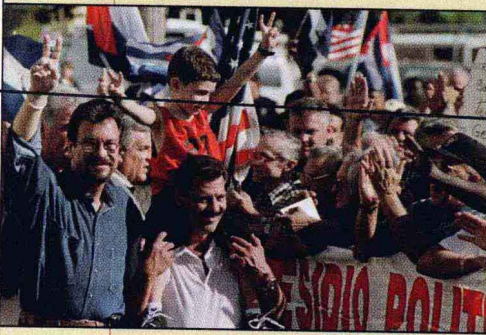
To begin our introduction to the study of cultural anthropology, we will look closely at the nature of the discipline. In Chapter 1 we will see how the field of anthropology is subdivided, how the subdivi-

sions relate to one another, and how they relate to the other sciences and humanities. Following this, we will turn our attention to culture, the core concept of anthropology. Chapter 2 will discuss the nature of culture and its significance for human individuals and societies. We will conclude this part of the book with a chapter that gives us a look at how human culture originated and gained primacy over biological change as the human mechanism for solving the problems of existence. We will see, also, how cultural evolution has its roots in biological evolution, and how it has played a significant role in making humans the kind of beings that they are today. With these things done, we will have set the stage for a detailed look at the subject matter of cultural anthropology. ■

CHAPTER OPENERS

Chapter Preview.

Three or four questions summarize the major concepts you'll be learning in the chapter.



CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF CULTURE

The power of culture is illustrated by Cuban refugee Elian Gonzales and demonstrators against his return to Cuba. In this case, Elian was transformed into a symbol involving issues going far beyond his particular situation.

CHAPTER PREVIEW

1

WHAT IS CULTURE?

Culture consists of the abstract values, beliefs, and perceptions of the world that lie behind people's behavior and that are reflected in their behavior. These are shared by members of a society, and when acted upon, they produce behavior that is intelligible to other members of that society. Cultures are learned, largely through the medium of language, rather than inherited biologically, and the parts of a culture function as an integrated whole.

2

How Is Culture Studied?

Anthropologists, like children, learn about a culture by experiencing it and talking about it with those who live by its rules. Of course, anthropologists have less time to learn, but they are more systematic in the way they learn. Through careful observation and discussion with informants who are particularly knowledgeable in the ways of their culture, the anthropologist abstracts a set of rules in order to explain how people behave in a particular society.

3

Why Do Cultures Exist?

People maintain cultures to deal with problems or maintain that concern them. To survive, a culture must satisfy the basic needs of those who live by its rules, provide for its own continuity, and provide an orderly existence for the members of a society. In doing so, a culture must strike a balance between the self-interests of individuals and the needs of society as a whole. And finally, a culture must have the capacity to change in order to adapt to new circumstances or to altered perceptions of existing circumstances.

TEXT FEATURES

Anthropology Applied Boxes.

These interesting boxes discuss various facets of applied anthropology and will give you a glimpse into the variety of careers anthropologists enjoy.

Original Studies Boxes.

One of the unique features of Haviland's text, these boxes are selections from case studies and other original works by men and women who are doing important anthropological work. They are integrated into the flow of the text and are integral to your understanding of the concepts.

Anthropology Applied

New Houses for Apache Indians

The United States, in common with other industrialized countries of the world, has within it a number of more or less separate subcultures. Those who live by the standards of one particular subculture have their closest relationships with one another, receiving constant reassurance that their perceptions of the world are the only correct ones, and coming to take it for granted that the whole culture is as they see it. As a consequence, members of one subcultural group frequently have trouble understanding the needs and aspirations of other such groups. For this reason anthropologists, with their special understanding of cultural differences, are frequently employed as go-betweens in situations requiring interaction between peoples of differing cultural traditions.

As an example, George S. Esber, Jr., while still a graduate student in anthropology, was hired to work with architects and a band of Apache Indians in designing a new community for the Apaches. Although architects began with an awareness that cross-cultural differences in the use of space exist, they had no idea of how to get relevant information from the Indians. For their part, the Apaches had no explicit awareness of their needs, for these were based on unconscious patterns of behavior. Moreover, the idea that patterns of behavior could be acted out unconsciously was an alien one to them. Esber's task was to persuade the architects to hold back on their planning long enough for him to gather, through fieldwork and review of written records, the kind of data from which Apache housing needs could be abstracted. At the same time,

he had to overcome Apache anxieties over an outsider coming into their midst to learn about matters as personal as their daily lives. With these things accomplished, Esber was able to identify and successfully communicate to the architects features of Apache life with important implications for community design. At the same time, discussions of findings with the Apaches themselves enhanced awareness of their own needs.

As a result, Apaches have been designing specific new houses for themselves. This requires that so each of others in the community. Thus, coordinated from a class Anglo need for large pots at cupboards, new houses native traditions.

* See Esber, G. S. Jr. M. W. Translating for the Architects.

Original Study

The Importance of Trobriand Women?

Walking into a village as the beginning of fieldwork is entering a world without cultural guidelines. The rigors of fieldwork involve learning and much learning, learning a new language of speech and action, and most of all, learning to give up one's own cultural assumptions in order to understand the meanings others give to work, power, death, family, and friends. As my fieldwork in the Trobriand Islands of Papua New Guinea was

an exception, I wrestled doggedly with each of these problems. During research in the Trobriand Islands, I created one additional, classic. I was working in the footsteps of a celebrated anthropological pioneer, Bronislaw Malinowski. . . .

In 1971, before my first trip to the Trobriands, I thought I understood many things about Trobriand customs and beliefs from having read Malinowski's exhaustive writings. One thing, however, I found that I had much more to discover about what I thought I already knew. The more months I wrestled with these discordant realities, the more I became of Malinowski's shadow, his words, his explanations. Although I found significant differences

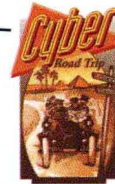
* Weiner, A. B. (1988). *The Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea* (pp. 4-7). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Cyber Road Trips.

Every chapter contains *Cyber Road Trips* that refer the student and instructor to additional internet content relevant to the chapter.

Biography Boxes.

These brief boxes introduce you to some of the important men and women in the field of anthropology.



HIGHWAY 1
Association of American Anthropologists

HIGHWAY 2
Indiana University Anthropology Department

culture without placing undue emphasis on one of its parts at the expense of another. Only by discovering how all cultural institutions—social, political, economic, reli-

the field unravel the "mysteries" of what is, at first, a strange culture.

So basic is ethnographic fieldwork to ethnology that the British anthropologist C. G. Seligman once asserted, "Field research in anthropology is what the blood of the martyrs is to the church." Something of its flavor is conveyed by the experience of Luis Vivanco, a young anthropologist working in the field for the first time. In particular, the following Original Study illustrates the impossibility of going into the field free of all naïveté, the importance of "the unexpected" in the field, how such events lead to new understanding, and the importance of freeing oneself from the assumptions and biases of one's own culture.

¹ Lewis, L. M. (1976). *Social anthropology in perspective* (p. 27). Harmondsworth, Eng.: Penguin.

anthropology, that the various parts of culture must be viewed in their interconnections and interdependence. • anthropologist works who help interpret what she or he sees take



Frank Hamilton Cushing (1857–1900)
Matilda Coxe Stevenson (1849–1915)

In the United States anthropology began in the 19th century when a number of dedicated amateurs went into the field to gain a better understanding of what many European Americans still regarded as "primitive people." Exemplifying their emphasis on firsthand observation is Frank Hamilton Cushing, who lived among the Zuni Indians for 4 years (he is shown here in full dress as a war chief).

Among these founders of North American anthropology were a number of women, whose work was highly influential among those who spoke out in the 19th century in favor of women's rights. One of these pioneering anthropologists was Matilda

Coxe Stevenson, who also did fieldwork among the Zuni. In 1885, she founded the Women's Anthropological Society, the first professional association for women scientists. Three years later, she was hired by the Bureau of American Ethnology, making her one of the first women in the United States to receive a full-time position in science. The tradition of women being active in anthropology continues, and since World War II more than half the presidents of the American Anthropological Association have been women.

ences, they might share a basic "humanity" with people everywhere. Societies that did not share the fundamental cultural values of Europeans were labeled as "savage" or "barbarian." It was not until the mid-18th century that a significant number of Europeans considered the behavior of such people to be at all relevant to an understanding of themselves. This growing interest in human diversity, coming at a time when there were increasing efforts to explain things in terms of natural laws, cast doubts on the traditional explanations based on authoritative texts such as the Torah, Bible, or Koran.

Although anthropology originated within the historical context of European culture, it has long since gone global. Today, it is an exciting, trans-national discipline whose practitioners are drawn from diverse societies all across the globe. Even societies that have long been studied by European and North American anthropologists—several African and Native American societies, for example—have produced anthropologists who continue to make their mark on the discipline. Their distinct perspectives help shed new light not only on their own cultures, but also on those of others (including Western societies).

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE OTHER SCIENCES

It would be incorrect to conclude from the foregoing that serious attempts were never made to analyze human diversity before the 18th century. Anthropologists are not the only scholars who study people. In this respect they share their objectives with the other social and natural scientists. Anthropologists do not think of their findings in isolation from those of psychologists, economists, sociologists, or biologists. These other disciplines share the common goal of understanding human behavior. Anthropologists offer their own findings, which they know as much about anatomy, or as much about psychology. As a result, they are prepared to share their findings with other scientists. Anthropologists are not only human scientists. But of human ideas and



Anthropologists are not all men; nor are they all European or European-American. Mamphela Ramphele is a native South African anthropologist who studied the migrant laborers of Cape Town before moving on to high administrative positions at the University of Cape Town and the World Bank.

to any single social or biological aspect, anthropologists can acquire an especially broad and inclusive overview of the complex biological and cultural organism that is the human being.

THE DISCIPLINE OF ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology is traditionally divided into four fields: physical anthropology and the three branches of cultural anthropology: archaeology, linguistic anthropology, and ethnology. **Physical anthropology** is concerned primarily with humans as biological organisms, while **cultural anthropology** deals with humans as a culture-making

species. Both, of course, are closely related; we cannot understand what people think and do unless we know how people are made. And we want to know how biology does and does not influence culture, as well as how culture affects biology.

Physical Anthropology

Physical anthropology, also called biological anthropology, focuses on humans as biological organisms, and one of its many interests is human evolution. Whatever distinctions people may claim for themselves, they are mammals—specifically primates—and, as such, they share a common ancestry with other primates, most specifically apes and monkeys. Through analysis of fossils and observation of living primates, physical anthropologists try to reconstruct the ancestry of the human species in order to understand how, when, and why we became the kind of animal we are today.

Another major specialty of physical anthropology is the study of present-day human variation. Although we are all members of a single species, we differ from each other in many obvious and not so obvious ways. We differ not only in such visible traits as the color of our skins or the shape of our noses, but also in such biochemical factors as our blood types and our susceptibility to certain diseases. The physical anthropologist applies all the techniques of modern molecular biology to achieve fuller understanding of human variation and the ways in which it relates to the different environments in which people have lived.

Cultural Anthropology

Because the capacity for culture is rooted in our biological natures, the work of the physical anthropologist provides a necessary background for the cultural anthropologist. In order to understand the work of the cultural anthropologist, we must clarify what we mean when we refer to culture. The subject will be taken up in more detail in Chapter 2, but for our purposes here, we may think of culture as the often unconscious standards by which societies—structured groups of people—operate. These standards are socially learned rather than acquired through biological inheritance. Since they determine, or

Physical anthropology. The systematic study of humans as biological organisms. • **Cultural anthropology.** The branch of anthropology that focuses on human behavior.

Running Glossary.

You'll find a running glossary of key terms very helpful for studying purposes. These terms are also listed in the book's glossary, a new feature for this edition.

The liberal use of these chapter elements assists you by giving a visual explanation of important information. The locator maps help you see where in the world the chapter's content is taking place.

It is now recognized that in all societies, the kin of both mother and father are important components of the social structure. Just because descent may be reckoned patrilineally, for example, does not mean that matrilineal relatives are necessarily unimportant. It simply means that, for purposes of descent, the father's kin are the primary relatives. Similarly, under matrilineal descent, the father's relatives are excluded for purposes of group membership. By way of example, we have already seen in the two preceding chapters how important paternal relatives are among the matrilineal Trobriand Islanders. Although children belong to their mother's descent groups, fathers play an important role in nurturing and socializing their children. In the matrilineal societies of the Trobriands, fathers contribute to the exchange of gifts, and throughout life, a man may expect his paternal kin to help him improve his economic and political position in society. Eventually, sons may expect to inherit personal property from their fathers.

PATRILINEAL DESCENT AND ORGANIZATION

Patrilineal descent (sometimes called agnatic or male descent) is the more widespread of the two systems of unilineal descent. The male members of a patrilineal descent group trace through other males their descent from a common ancestor (Figure 10.1). Brothers and sisters belong to the descent group of their father's father, their father, their father's siblings, and their father's brother's children.

A man's son and daughter also trace their descent back through the male line to their common ancestor. In the typical patrilineal group, authority over the children rests with the father or his elder brother. A woman belongs to the same descent group as her father and his brothers, but her children cannot trace their descent through them. A person's paternal aunt's children, for example, trace their descent through the patrilineal group of her husband.

TRADITIONAL CHINA: A PATRILINEAL SOCIETY

Until the communist takeover in 1949, rural Chinese society was strongly patrilineal. Since then, considerable changes have occurred, although vestiges of the old system persist to varying degrees in different regions. Traditionally, the basic unit for economic cooperation was the large extended family, typically including aged parents, and their sons, their sons' wives and their sons' children.¹ Residence, therefore, was patrilineal, as defined in Chapter 9. As in most patrilineal societies, children grew up in a household dominated by their father and his male relatives. The father was a source of discipline from whom a child would maintain a respectful social distance. Often, the father's brother and his sons were members of the same household. Thus, one's pa-

¹ Most of the following is from Hsiao-tung, F. (1939). *Peasant life in China*. London: Kegan, Paul, Trench and Trubner.

ternal uncle was rather like a second father and was treated with obedience and respect, while his sons were like one's brothers. Accordingly, the kinship term applied to one's own father was extended to the father's brother, as the term for a brother was extended to the father's brother's sons. When families became too large and unwieldy, as frequently happened, one or more sons would move elsewhere to establish separate households; when a son did so, however, the tie to

Important though family membership was for each individual, it was the *tsu* that was regarded as the primary social unit. It was the *tsu* that men who traced their ancestry back through the male line to a common ancestor, usually within about five generations, although a woman belonged to her father's *tsu*, for all practical purposes she was absorbed by that of her husband, whom she went to live with after marriage. Nonetheless, members of her natal (birth) *tsu* retained some interest in her after her departure. Her mother, for example, would assist her in the birth of her children, and her brother or some other male relative would look after her interests, perhaps even intervening if her husband or other members of his family treated her badly.

The function of the *tsu* was to assist its members economically and to gather on ceremonial occasions such as weddings and funerals or to make offerings to the ancestors. Recently deceased ancestors, up to about three generations back, were given offerings of food and paper money on the anniversaries of their births and deaths.

Just as families periodically split up into new ones, so would the larger descent groups periodically splinter along the lines of their main family branches. Causes included disputes among brothers over management of land holdings and suspicion of unfair division of profits. When such separation occurred, a representative of the new *tsu* would return periodically to the ancestral temple in order to pay respect to the ancestors and record recent

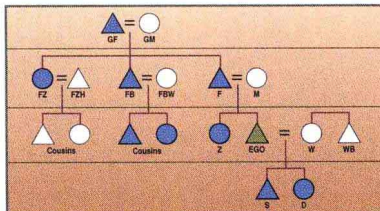
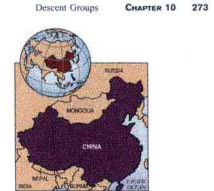
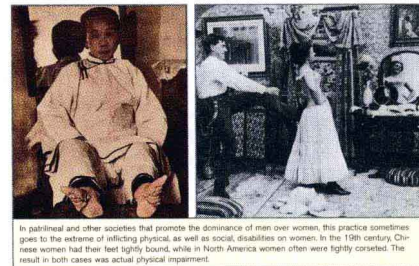


FIGURE 10.1
HOW PATRILINEAL DESCENT IS TRACED. ONLY THE INDIVIDUALS SYMBOLIZED BY A FILLED-IN
CIRCLE OR TRIANGLE ARE IN THE SAME DESCENT GROUP AS EGO. THE ABBREVIATION *F* STANDS
FOR FATHER, *B* FOR BROTHER, *H* FOR HUSBAND, *S* FOR SON, *M* FOR MOTHER, *Z* FOR SISTER, *D* FOR
DAUGHTER, AND *W* FOR WIFE.



In patrilineal and other societies that promote the dominance of men over women, this practice sometimes goes to the extreme of inflicting physical, as well as social, disabilities on women. In the 19th century, Chinese women had their feet tightly bound, while in North America women often were tightly corseted. The result in both cases was actual physical impairment.

Tying It All Together: End-of-Chapter Material.

Summary.

Designed to help you master the material presented in the text, these summaries provide a concise description of the main points covered in the chapter.

Classic Readings.

These annotated readings provide additional resources for further reading and study.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Throughout human history, people have needed to know who they are, where they came from, and why they behave as they do. Traditionally, myths and legends provided the answers to these questions. Anthropology, as it has emerged over the last 200 years, offers another approach to answering the questions people ask about themselves.

Anthropology is the study of humankind. In employing a scientific approach, anthropologists seek to produce a reasonably objective understanding of both human diversity and those things all humans have in common. The two major branches of anthropology are physical and cultural anthropology. Physical anthropology focuses on humans as biological organisms. Particular emphasis is given by physical anthropologists to tracing the evolutionary development of the human animal and studying biological variation within the species today. Cultural anthropologists study humans in terms of their cultures, the often unconscious standards by which societies operate.

Three areas of cultural anthropology are archaeology, anthropological linguistics, and ethnology. Archaeologists study material objects, usually from past cultures, to explain human behavior. Linguists, who study human languages, may deal with the description of a language, with the history of languages, or how they are used in particular social settings. Ethnologists concentrate on cultures of the present or recent past; in doing comparative studies of culture, they focus on a particular aspect of culture, such as religious or economic practices, or, as ethnographers, they may go into the field to observe

describe, and explain human behavior as it is seen, experienced, and discussed. The goal of culture is to be understood.

Anthropology is unique among the natural sciences in that it is concerned with explaining human diversity. It is the study of all aspects of human behavior and culture in all known societies, rather than just the North American societies alone. Anthropologists have devoted much attention to understanding non-Western peoples.

Anthropologists are concerned with the intensive and systematic study of human behavior. The anthropologist employs the method of scientific inquiry by developing hypotheses, or assumptions, and by using other data to test these hypotheses. The anthropologist is ultimately arriving at theories—generalizations supported by reliable bodies of data. The cultural anthropologist may study a single society or from numerous societies compared.

In anthropology, the human beings come together into a genuinely social community. Anthropology's link with the human sciences is its concern with people's beliefs, customs, arts, and literature—oral as well as written—above all in its attempt to connect the lives of living as other people do. As a social science, humanity, anthropology has essential relevance in the modern world, where understanding the human people with whom we share the globe is a matter of survival.

CLASSIC READINGS

Brown, D. E. (1991). *Human universals*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

The message of this book is that we should not let our fascination with the diversity of cultural practices interfere with the study of human universals: those things that all cultures share in spite of their differences. Important though the differences are, the universals have special relevance for our understanding of the nature of all humanity and raise issues that transcend the boundaries of biological and social science, as well as the humanities.

Gamst, F. C., & Norbeck, E. (1976). *Ideas of culture: Sources and uses*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

This is a book of selected writings, with editorial comments, about the culture concept. From these selections one can see how the concept has grown, as well as how it has given rise to narrow specializations within the field of anthropology.

Goodenough, W. H. (1970). *Description and comparison in cultural anthropology*. Chicago: Aldine.

outsiders, or because values within the culture have undergone modification. Although cultures must change to adapt to new circumstances, sometimes the unforeseen consequences of change are disastrous for a society.

A society must strike a balance between the self-interest of individuals and the needs of the group. If one or the other becomes paramount, the result may be cultural breakdown.

Ethnocentrism is the belief that one's own culture is superior to all others. To avoid making ethnocentric judgments, anthropologists adopt the approach of cultural relativism, which requires that each culture be examined in its own terms, according to its own standards. The least biased measure of a culture's success, however, employs criteria indicative of its effectiveness at securing the survival of a society in a way that its members see as being reasonably fulfilling.

studying culture. His approach relies on models of descriptive linguistics. A large part of the book is concerned with kinship and terminology, with a discussion of the problems of a universal definition of marriage and the family. This is a particularly lucid discussion of culture, its relation to society, and the problem of individual variance.

Hatch, E. (1983). *Culture and morality: The relativity of values in anthropology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

This book is about cultural relativism, often used as a cover term for the quite different concepts of relativity of knowledge, historical relativism, and ethical relativism. It traces the attempts of anthropologists to grapple with these concepts, beginning with the rise of the discipline in the 19th century.

Linton, R. (1963). *The study of man: An introduction*. New York: Appleton.

Linton wrote this book in 1936 with the intention of providing a general survey of the field of anthropology. His study of social structure is still illuminating today. This book is regarded as a classic and is an important source historically.



PREFACE

PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

Cultural Anthropology is designed for introductory anthropology courses at the college level. The text deals primarily with cultural anthropology, presenting the key concepts and terminology of that branch of the discipline, but also brings in related material on physical anthropology and linguistics. Thorough, current, accurate, and scholarly in its coverage, the book is nonetheless simply written and attractively designed to appeal to students. Thus, they will find that it pleases as it teaches.

Most cultural anthropology instructors have two goals for their introductory classes: to provide an overview of principles and processes of cultural anthropology and to plant a seed of cultural awareness in their students that will continue to grow and to challenge ethnocentrism long past the end of the semester. All ten editions of *Cultural Anthropology* have tried to support and further these goals. The majority of our students come to class intrigued with anthropology but with little more than a vague sense of what it is all about.

The first and most obvious aim of the text, therefore, is to give students a comprehensive introduction to cultural anthropology. Because the text draws from the research and ideas of a number of schools of anthropological thought, the text exposes students to a mix of such approaches as evolutionism, historical particularism, diffusionism, functionalism, French structuralism, structural functionalism, and others. This inclusiveness reflects my conviction that different approaches all have important things to say about human behavior. To restrict oneself to one approach, at the expense of the others, is to cut oneself off from significant insights.

If most students have little substantive concept of cultural anthropology, they often have less clear—and potentially more destructive—views of the primacy of their own culture and its place in the world. A secondary goal of the text, then, is to persuade our students to understand the true complexity and breadth of human behavior and the human condition. Debates in North America and Europe regarding the “naturalness” of the nuclear family, the place of nonstandard English dialects in public education, and the fixedness of gender roles all greatly ben-

efit from the perspectives gained through cultural anthropology. This questioning aspect of cultural anthropology is perhaps the most relevant gift we can pass on to our students. Indeed, “debunking” is close to the spirit of cultural anthropology, and questioning the superiority of North America and Europe is something anthropologists have always been good at. *Cultural Anthropology* is, in this sense, a tool to enable your students to think both in and out of context.

ORGANIZATION OF THE BOOK

A Unifying Theme

I have often found in my own teaching that introductory students lack a sense of the bigger picture in their studies of human beings. The best solution seems to be the use of a theme that allows students to contextualize each chapter and part introduction, regardless of the order in which they are read. Accordingly, each chapter has been developed as a self-contained unit of study that may be used in any sequence by the instructor. In earlier editions of this book, I referred to this common theme as one of environmental adaptation, although I was never very happy with that phrase. Its principal defect is its implication of fairly straightforward behavioral responses to stimuli. Of course, people do not react to an environment as a given; rather, they react to an environment as they perceive it, and different groups of people may perceive the same environment in radically different ways. People also react to things other than the environment: their own biological natures, for one, and their beliefs, attitudes, and the consequences of their behavior, for others. All of these factors present them with problems, and people maintain cultures to deal with problems or matters that concern them. To be sure, their cultures must produce behavior that is generally adaptive, or at least not maladaptive, but this is not the same as saying that cultural practices necessarily arise because they are adaptive in a particular environment. For most of the discipline’s history, anthropologists have relied upon print resources to share information, especially the very linear genre of

ethnography, occasionally supplemented with photographs and, in fewer cases, film and analog recordings. The ethnography in particular reflects our discipline's roots in the Western approach to scholarly work.

However, many of the people anthropologists have studied and worked with have different “literacies” that they draw upon. Indeed, cultural anthropologists work with numerous guises of human behavior, ranging from music to oral narrative, ritual dance, weaving, and spray-paint graffiti. Anthropology is arguably among the most naturally “multimedia” of all studies. The tenth edition of *Cultural Anthropology* recognizes both the level of comfort with non-print media of our students as well as the many potential paths to exploring the techniques, processes, and findings of cultural anthropology. The art program, discussed in more detail below, is an important part of the text's narrative.

The accompanying videos (discussed with the rest of the supplements) show culture in motion and bring action and life into the circle of ideas. The Web links (also discussed in more detail below) build skills for analysis and research, move the content of the text from standard linear textbook formats, and provide a media database of print and numerous kinds of non-print resources. PowerPoint slides and overhead transparencies bring the ideas and art of the text into the classroom. And of course the suggested readings and bibliography continue to show the rich library of anthropological texts students can draw upon. The tenth edition thus allows instructors to draw upon a broad set of instructional tools to expand their classrooms. Anthropology has been an archive of human behavior, and it is important that the discipline show the richness and diversity of humanity through the appropriate media.

SPECIAL FEATURES OF THE BOOK

The purpose of a textbook is to transmit and register ideas and information, to induce the readers to see old things in new ways, and then to ask readers to think about what they see. A book may be the most elegantly written, most handsomely designed, most lavishly illustrated text available on the subject, but if it is not interesting, clear, and comprehensible to the student, it is valueless as a teaching tool. The trick is not just to present facts and concepts; the trick is to make them memorable.

The readability of the text is enhanced by the writing style. The book is designed to present even the most difficult concepts in prose that is clear, straightforward, and easy

for today's first- and second-year students to understand without feeling that they are being “spoken down to”. Where technical terms are necessary, they appear in bold-faced type, are carefully defined in the text, and defined again in the running glossary in simple, clear language.

The Selection of Cross-Cultural Examples

Because much learning is based on analogy, numerous and engaging examples have been utilized to illustrate, emphasize, and clarify anthropological concepts. Cross-cultural perspectives infuse the text, comparing cultural practices in a great variety of societies, often including the student's own. But these examples have been chosen with the knowledge that while students should be aware that anthropology has important statements to make about the student's own culture and society, the emphasis in introductory cultural anthropology should be on non-Western societies and cultures for illustrative purposes. Why?

It is a fact of life that North Americans share the same planet with great numbers of people who are not only not North American but are non-Western as well. Moreover, North Americans constitute a minority, for they account for far less than one-quarter of the world's population. Yet traditional school curricula in North America emphasize their own surroundings and backgrounds, saying little about the rest of the world. More than ever, college students need to acquire knowledge about the rest of the world and its peoples. Such a background gives them the global perspective they need to better understand their own culture and society and their place in today's world. Anthropology, of all disciplines, has a long-standing commitment to combating ethnocentrism, which gives instructors a unique obligation to provide this perspective.

Maps, Photographs, and Other Illustrations

In this text, numerous four-color photos have been used to make important anthropological points by catching the students' eyes and minds. Many are unusual in the sense that they are not “standard” anthropological textbook photographs; each has been chosen because it complements the text in some distinctive way. And many photographs are shown in groups to contrast and compare their messages. In the tenth edition, for instance, Chapter 16 has two photos that compare colonial and modern violence against indigenous people in Guatemala. The

success of these photographs can be measured in the number of comments I have received from students and other instructors over the years about the vividness of particular selections.

In addition, the line drawings, maps, charts, and tables were selected especially for their usefulness in illustrating, emphasizing, or clarifying certain anthropological concepts and have also proven to be valuable and memorable teaching aids. Maps in particular have proven to be a popular aid through each edition of *Cultural Anthropology*, and the tenth edition builds on this success. Many of the marginal locator maps are new or have been revised.

And we have returned to one feature initially utilized in the first edition: placing a world map (a Robinson projection) in the front matter that shows where all of the cultures mentioned in the text are located.

Original Studies

A special feature of this text is the Original Study that appears in each chapter. These studies consist of selections from ethnographies and other original works by women and men who have done, or are doing, important anthropology work. Each study, integrated within the flow of the text, sheds additional light on an important anthropological concept or subject area found in the chapter. Their content is not “extraneous” or supplemental. The Original Studies bring specific concepts to life through specific examples. And a number of Original Studies also demonstrate the anthropological tradition of the case study, albeit in abbreviated form.

The idea behind the Original Studies is to coordinate the two halves of the human brain, which have different functions. While the left (dominant) hemisphere is “logical” and processes verbal inputs in a linear manner, the right hemisphere is “creative” and less impressed with linear logic. Psychologist James V. McConnell has described it as “an analog computer of sorts—a kind of intellectual monitor that not only handles abstractions, but also organizes and stores material in terms of Gestalts [that] include the emotional relevance of the experience.” Logical thinking, as well as creative problem solving, occurs when the two sides of the brain cooperate. The implication for textbook writers is obvious: To be truly effective, they must reach both sides of the brain. The Original Studies help to do this by conveying some “feel” for humans and their behavior and how anthropologists actually study them. For example, in Chapter 5’s Original Study, *The Blessed Curse* by R. K. Williamson, students hear the author describe growing up as an

“intersexed” person and the reaction she receives from her EuroAmerican-identified parents and her Cherokee grandmother. Her state of existence “between” genders is considered alternately as a blessing and a curse. As with other Original Studies, the striking nature of her experiences drives the discussion of a host of issues deeply relevant to students and anthropology.

Gender Coverage

Unlike many introductory texts, the tenth edition of *Cultural Anthropology* integrates rather than separates gender coverage. Thus, material on gender related issues is included in every chapter. This approach gives the tenth edition a very large amount of gender-related material: the equivalent of three full chapters for the tenth edition. This much content far exceeds the single chapter most introductory textbooks contain.

Why is the gender-related material integrated? Cultural anthropology is itself an integrative discipline; concepts and issues surrounding gender are almost always too complicated to remove from their context. Moreover, spreading this material through all of the chapters emphasizes how considerations of gender enter into virtually everything people do. Much of the new content for the tenth edition (listed below) relates to gender in some way. These changes generally fall into at least one of three categories: changes in thinking about gender within the discipline, examples that have important ramifications on gender in a particular society or culture, and cross-cultural implications about gender and gender relations. Examples of new material range from expanded discussion of homosexual identity and same-sex marriage to current thinking on the role of females in ape societies and recent news in regard to female genital mutilation. Through a steady drumbeat of such coverage, the tenth edition avoids “ghettoizing” gender to a single chapter that is preceded and followed by resounding silence.

Previews and Summaries

An old and effective pedagogical technique is repetition: “Tell ’em what you’re going to tell ’em, tell ’em, and then tell ’em what you’ve told ’em.” To do this, each chapter begins with preview questions that set up a framework for studying the contents of the chapter. At the end of the chapter is a summary containing the kernels of the more important ideas presented in the chapter. The summaries provide handy reviews for students without being so long and detailed as to seduce students into thinking they can get by without reading the chapter itself.

Web Links

The Internet has proven to be an increasingly important means of communication and will no doubt continue to grow in relevance and complexity. The tenth edition draws upon the World Wide Web both as an instructional tool and as a new set of examples of culture and cultural change. Every chapter contains Cyber Road Trips that refer the student and instructor to additional Internet content relevant to the chapter.

Suggested Readings and Bibliography

Each chapter also includes a list of classic readings that will supply the inquisitive student with further information about specific anthropological points that may be of interest. The books suggested are oriented toward the general reader and toward the interested student who wishes to explore further the more technical aspects of the subject. In addition, the bibliography at the end of the book contains a listing of more than 500 books, monographs, and articles from scholarly journals and popular magazines on virtually every topic covered in the text that a student might wish to investigate further.

Glossary

The running glossary is designed to catch the students' eyes as they read, reinforcing the meaning of each newly introduced term. It is also useful for chapter review, as the student may readily isolate those terms introduced in others. The glossary defines each term in clear, understandable language. As a result, less class time is required going over terms, leaving instructors free to pursue matters of greater importance. There is also a comprehensive new glossary at the end of the text for easy reference.

Length

Careful consideration has been given to the length of this book. On the one hand, it had to be of sufficient length to avoid superficiality or misrepresentation of the discipline by ignoring or otherwise slighting some important aspect of cultural anthropology. On the other hand, it could not be so long as to present more material than can be reasonably dealt with in the space of a single semester, or to be prohibitively expensive. Although the text is 20 to 25 percent shorter than typical introductory texts

in the sister disciplines of economics, psychology, and sociology, it is of sufficient length to provide a substantively sound overview of a field that has no less to offer than do these other fields.

The Tenth Edition

Every chapter in the tenth edition has been thoroughly updated, considered, and fine tuned. For example, in Chapter 2, some of the definitions have been revised and discussions of race, racism, Malinowski's field work and the cultural definition of age are slightly expanded, and a short statement of anthropology as an historical science has been added to the Biobox on Radcliffe-Brown.

Chapters with major changes include:

CHAPTER 1

New discussion of relevance of anthropology illustrated with discussion of racism in the United States, the issue of same-sex marriage, the common confusion of nation with state, and revised discussion of ethics illustrated by the author's work.

CHAPTER 3

Section on primate behavior rewritten to include new material on bonobos.

CHAPTER 5

New discussion of changing concepts of normality and abnormality in the United States.

CHAPTER 6

New material on relation of ritual to agriculture in Bali and revised discussion of birth control among food foragers.

CHAPTER 7

New examples of cross-cultural misunderstandings in business.

CHAPTER 8

Expanded material on primate sexuality in general and human sexuality in particular, new material on both polygyny and same-sex marriage in the United States, discussion of the relation between rising divorce rates and rising life expectancy in the United States.

CHAPTER 10

New conclusion raises the issue of reproductive technologies and their effects on kinship.

CHAPTER 11

New discussion of lowered participation in traditional common interest associations and rise of “virtual” associations via cyberspace.

CHAPTER 13

A revised discussion of shamanism and its origins in trance experience.

In addition, three of the sixteen Original Studies are new to the tenth edition:

CHAPTER 1

Encountering Environmentalism in Rural Costa Rica, by Luis Vivanco (2000)

CHAPTER 9

The Ever Changing Family in North America, by Linda Stone (1998)

CHAPTER 11

Digital Revolution: Indigenous Peoples in Cyberia, by Harald E. L. Prins (2000).

Moreover, four Anthropology Applied boxes are new. These include The Practical Importance of Evolution (Chapter 3), Agricultural Development and the Anthropologist (Chapter 6), Anthropology and the World of Business, with a section by Dureen Hughes (Chapter 7), and Development Anthropology and Dams (Chapter 15). In addition, the Anthropology Applied boxes for Chapters 1, 10, and 12 have been updated and revised.

SUPPLEMENTS TO THE TEXT

In keeping with the tenth edition’s recognition that the use of many messages requires many media, the selection of ancillaries accompanying *Cultural Anthropology* should meet most instructors’ needs.

Print Supplements

A separate *Study Guide*, prepared by Malvin (Tony) Miranda of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, is provided to aid comprehension of the textbook material. Each

chapter begins with concise learning objectives, then offers chapter exercises, review questions, and a glossary review to help students achieve these objectives. This supplement also includes hints on reading anthropology texts and studying for tests.

An *Instructor’s Manual*, prepared by Harald Prins of Kansas State University and Bunny McBride, offers teaching objectives and lecture and class activity suggestions that correspond to each chapter of the textbook. An extensive *Test Bank*, also prepared by Tony Miranda, available in both printed and computerized forms, offers more than 1,200 multiple choice and true/false questions. A transparency masters package with full color acetates based on figures in the book is available, and PowerPoint slides for viewing and downloading can be found on the companion Web site.

Video Supplements

We have hundreds of timely, thoughtful videos available from Films for the Humanities and Sciences®. A few include *Desmond Morris’ The Human Animal* six tape series; *The Native Americans*; *Ancient China*; *Margaret Mead: Coming of Age*; and *The Talking Skull: Forensic Anthropology*. Your local sales representative can provide more information.

In addition, *Faces of Culture*, prepared by Coast Telecourses in Fountain Valley, California, through the Coast Community College District, has been an important part of *Cultural Anthropology* since 1983. Most of the twenty-six half-hour programs focus on key anthropological concepts, while several episodes are devoted to presenting rich ethnographic detail on specific cultures. These videos are available for stand-alone use or in the context of a telecourse. A *Telecourse Study Guide* is also available.

Online Supplements

Perhaps the most striking addition to the many supplements for the tenth edition is the online component. This book has a discipline-specific site that provides general anthropology resources. Another supplement is the book-specific Web site that provides students and instructors with resources written specifically for the tenth edition of Haviland. Please visit <http://www.harcourtcollege.com/anthro/> for general anthropology Web resources and <http://www.harcourtcollege.com/anthro/haviland> for book-specific resources. Some of the features of the two sites include:

QUIZZING AND TESTING

Located on the book-specific site, student self-assessment supplies reinforcement on important concepts.

NEW AUDIO PRONUNCIATION GUIDE

Located on the book-specific site, visitors can hear how to pronounce the names of various peoples.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN THE NEWS

Located in the Anthropology discipline site, this section provides current news articles related to various fields of anthropology. News stories are divided by topics so visitors can easily choose news stories that interest them. This area is updated frequently by David Carlson of Texas A&M University.

ANTHROPOLOGY IN ACTION

Located in the Anthropology discipline site, this section is dedicated to bringing the user valued online resources that illustrate practical applications in anthropology. Specifically, career and internship listings can be found here.

MEDIA DATABASE

Located in the Anthropology discipline site, the media database has a substantial body of references—documentaries, popular films, ethnographic films, URLs, list-serv addresses, CD-ROMs, and books and journals—that provide additional resources for the student and instructor, arranged by topic.

DOWNLOADABLE SUPPLEMENTS

Located on the book-specific site, instructors can download the Instructor's Manual as well as the PowerPoint slide shows.

CD-ROM Supplements

The *Yanomamo Interactive: The Ax Fight* CD-ROM has set an award-winning standard in the use of nonprint media in the cultural anthropology classroom. The CD-ROM begins with complete digital QuickTime footage of Chagnon and Asch's classic ethnographic film *The Ax Fight* used by numerous instructors. And as a digital film, the viewer can fast forward, reverse, and skip around at will. Moreover, the film itself is extensively supplemented with transcripts, supporting maps, genealogical tables, photos, up-to-date biographies of individuals shown in the film, post-film still photos, and important historical and contemporary analyses of the film and its events. Even individuals important to the events in the film but not included in the actual footage are included in the resource material.

How would the *Yanomamo Interactive* CD-ROM assist in the introductory classroom? Like many of the best case studies, *Yanomamo Interactive* contains layers of meaning, interrelating such factors as kinship and kinship charts, the role of the ethnographer, and violence and conflict. But the digital nature of the medium provides a new way of exploring these relationships. All of the data on *Yanomamo Interactive* is cross-referenced and hyperlinked, allowing the student or instructor to create wholly original texts and analyses of the film and its corollary parts. For instance, an explanation of the kinship dynamics underlying the conflict between two men can move from the genealogical chart to the biography of each individual and then to a listing of each of the men's "scenes" in the film. The viewer could then go directly to all of these scenes to watch these men in action. And unlike a traditional case study, such nonlinear paths through the CD-ROM mean that the event in the film—and the film itself—are open to interpretations that would be difficult or impossible to achieve in a nondigital medium.



To my three sons:

Thomas Philip Haviland

Wallace de Laguna Haviland

Theodore William John Haviland

Although all humans that we know about are capable of producing accurate sketches of localities and regions with which they are familiar, CARTOGRAPHY (the craft of mapmaking as we know it today) had its beginnings in 13th century Europe, and its subsequent development is related to the expansion of Europeans to all parts of the globe. From the beginning, there have been two problems with maps: the technical one of how to depict on a two-dimensional, flat surface a three-dimensional spherical object, and the cultural one of whose worldview they reflect. In fact, the two issues are inseparable, for the particular projection one uses inevitably makes a statement about how one views one's own people and their place in the world. Indeed, maps often shape our perception of reality as much as they reflect it.

In cartography, a PROJECTION refers to the system of intersecting lines (of longitude and latitude) by which part or all of the globe is represented on a flat surface. There are more than 100 different projections in use today, ranging from polar perspectives to interrupted “butterflies” to rectangles to heart shapes. Each projection causes distortion in size, shape, or distance in some way or another. A map that shows the shape of land masses correctly will of necessity misrepresent the size. A map that is accurate along the equator will be deceptive at the poles.

Perhaps no projection has had more influence on the way we see the world than that of Gerhardus Mercator, who devised his map in 1569 as a navigational aid for mariners. So well suited was Mercator's map for this purpose that it continues to be used for navigational charts today. At the same time, the Mercator projection became a standard for depicting land masses, something for which it was never intended. Although an accurate navigational tool, the Mercator projection greatly exaggerates the size of land masses in higher latitudes, giving about two-thirds of the map's surface to the northern

hemisphere. Thus, the lands occupied by Europeans and European descendants appear far larger than those of other people. For example, North America (19 million square kilometers) appears almost twice the size of Africa (30 million square kilometers), while Europe is shown as equal in size to South America, which actually has nearly twice the land mass of Europe.

A map developed in 1805 by Karl B. Mollweide was one of the earlier equal-area projections of the world. Equal-area projections portray land masses in correct relative size, but, as a result, distort the shape of continents more than other projections. They most often compress and warp lands in the higher latitudes and vertically stretch land masses close to the equator. Other equal-area projections include the Lambert Cylindrical Equal-Area Projection (1772), the Hammer Equal-Area Projection (1892), and the Eckert Equal-Area Projection (1906).

The Van der Grinten Projection (1904) was a compromise aimed at minimizing both the distortions of size in the Mercator and the distortion of shape in equal-area maps such as the Mollweide. Although an improvement, the lands of the northern hemisphere are still emphasized