

CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

S E V E N T H E D I T I O N



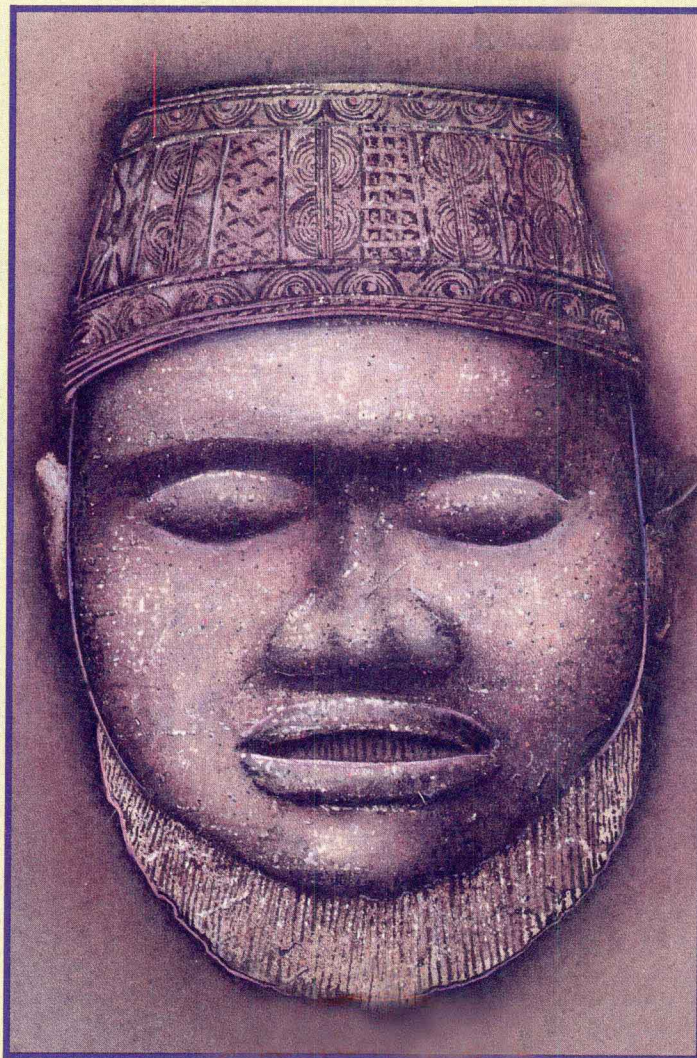
W I L L I A M A H A V I L L A N D

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W I L L I A M A . H A V I L A N D

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT



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To my wife, Anita

PREFACE

This textbook is designed for introductory anthropology courses at the college level. It deals primarily with cultural anthropology, presenting the key concepts and terminology of that branch of the discipline, but also provides related material on physical anthropology and linguistics.

The aim of the book is to give students a thorough introduction to the principles and processes of cultural anthropology. Because it draws from the research and ideas of a number of schools of anthropological thought, it will expose students to a mix of approaches—evolutionism, historical particularism, diffusionism, functionalism, French structuralism, structural functionalism, and others. This inclusiveness reflects my conviction that each of these approaches has important things to say about human behavior. To restrict oneself to a single approach is to cut oneself off from important insights. Thorough and scholarly in its coverage, the book is nonetheless simply written and attractively designed. Students will find that it pleases as it teaches.

UNIFYING THEME

Although each chapter has been developed as a self-contained unit of study that may be used in any sequence the instructor wishes, a common theme runs through all the chapters. This, along with part introductions that support the theme, serves to convey to students how material in one chapter relates to that in others. The theme is that people maintain cultures to deal with problems, or matters that concern them. Although their cultures must produce behavior that is generally adaptive, or at least not maladaptive, this is not necessarily the same as saying that cultural practices arise because they are adaptive in a particular environment. Thus, the theme cannot be described as a simple kind of environmental adaptation.

FEATURES

READABILITY

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

The book presents 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." Technical terms, which have been kept to a minimum, appear in boldfaced type, are carefully explained in the text itself, and are defined again in the running glossary in simple, clear language.

EXAMPLES

Because much learning is based on analogy, numerous colorful examples have been used to illustrate, emphasize, and clarify anthropological concepts. A cross-cultural perspective is introduced wherever appropriate, comparing cultural practices in several different societies, often including the student's own. But while the student should be made aware that anthropology has important things to say about the student's own society and culture, the emphasis in introductory cultural anthropology should be on non-Western societies and cultures. North Americans are a distinct minority, accounting for less than a quarter of the world's population. Yet the traditional school curriculum in North America

emphasizes its own surroundings and backgrounds, saying little about the rest of the world. In its March 8, 1976 issue (p. 32), the *Chronicle of Higher Education* documented an increasing tendency toward cultural insularity and ethnocentrism in North American higher education. That the problem persists is clear from a report made public in 1989 by the National Governors' Association, which warned that the economic well-being of the United States is in jeopardy because so many of its citizens are ignorant of the languages and cultures of other nations. 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, with its long-standing commitment to combating ethnocentrism, has a unique obligation to provide this perspective.

ORIGINAL STUDIES

One of the unique features of this textbook is the Original Study that appears in each chapter. These studies consist of selections from case studies and other original works by men and women who have done, or are doing, important anthropological work. Each study, integrally related to the material in the text, sheds additional light on some important anthropological concept or subject area found in the chapter.

The Original Studies give students a feel for how anthropologists actually go about studying humans and their behavior. For example, Chapter 5 includes an Original Study extracted from the *Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation*, by Colin M. Turnbull, who presents an absorbing picture of a way of growing up that stands in marked contrast to the experience of most students who will use this textbook.

Women have always been an important part of the anthropological enterprise, and students need to realize this. Accordingly, women are well represented as authors of Original Studies in the seventh edition—10 of the 16 are by women alone, and another is jointly authored by a woman and a man.

ANTHROPOLOGY APPLIED

Students are sometimes unaware of the valuable functions anthropological work provides and the many job opportunities that are available outside academia for people with anthropological training. *Anthropology Applied*, a boxed feature appearing in each chapter, focuses on the many practical applications of anthropological knowledge, and the important work being done by anthropologists outside academic settings, and the variety of careers pursued by anthropologists. Each box is designed to expand on subject matter included in the chapter.

EMPHASIS ON GEOGRAPHY

It's necessary in any cultural anthropology textbook to refer frequently to the many different places throughout the world. Today's students are far less knowledgeable about world geography than were students 20 years ago, yet most anthropology textbooks have done little to address this problem. In this edition, a consistent effort has been made to help students identify the regions, countries, and continents as they are discussed. Each Original Study is accompanied by a detailed map that helps the students place the people discussed within a country, continent, and the world itself. In addition, longer discussions of cultures in the body of the text are also accompanied by detailed maps.

Equally important as helping students find specific locations on maps is helping them understand the nature of maps. A new section titled "Putting the World in Perspective" introduces students to some of the main points in the history of cartography, the deceptions necessarily inherent in any two-dimensional map, and the cultural "clues" within each map. This introductory section includes reproductions of several different world maps, each representing a unique view of the world.

PREVIEWS AND SUMMARIES

An old but effective pedagogical technique is repetition: "Tell 'em what you're going to tell 'em, do it, and then tell 'em what you've told 'em." To do just that, each chapter provides preview questions that

set up a framework for studying the contents of the chapter. Then each chapter ends with a summary of the most important ideas presented in the chapter. The summaries provide handy reviews without being so long and detailed as to seduce students into thinking they can get by without reading the chapter itself.

SUGGESTED READINGS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Each chapter includes a list of suggested readings that will supply inquisitive students with further information about specific anthropological points. In addition, the bibliography at the end of the book lists more than 500 books and articles from scholarly journals and popular magazines on virtually every topic covered in the text.

RUNNING GLOSSARY

A running glossary defines key terms on the same page that they are first introduced, thereby reinforcing the meaning of each new term. It is also useful for chapter review in that students may readily isolate those terms introduced in one chapter from those introduced in others. Because each term is defined in clear, understandable language, less class time is required of the instructor.

ADVANTAGES OF THE SEVENTH EDITION

The planning of the seventh edition of *Cultural Anthropology* was based on extensive review and criticism by users of the sixth edition as well as users of other textbooks. Two major innovations of the sixth edition were kept: inclusion of significant material on gender and on applied anthropology in each and every chapter. The first emphasizes how considerations of gender enter into virtually everything people do. The second, accomplished through the boxed feature *Anthropology Applied*, demonstrates the many practical applications of anthropological knowledge, the important work

being done by anthropologists outside of academic settings, and the variety of careers pursued by anthropologists.

In addition to the new emphasis on geography and the nature of maps discussed above, the major changes in the seventh edition consist of fine tuning and updating. Examples include references to the importance of paralanguage in courtroom proceedings, and a new discussion of language origins, in Chapter 4; thorough revision of the discussion of incest, and a new discussion of polygamy in the United States, in Chapter 8; a discussion of the distinction between *nation* and *state* in Chapter 12; reference to the arts as means of enchantment, and urban legends, in Chapter 14; discussion of the recent plight of the Yanomami in Brazil, in Chapter 15; and reference to recent events in the former Soviet Union, Yugoslavia, Kuwait, and Iraq, as well as to the dumping of toxic substances in the third world by industrial countries, in Chapter 16. Indeed, no chapter has escaped change, which has improved every feature of the book: topic coverage, readability, continuity, photos and other illustrations, Original Studies, *Anthropology Applied* features, summaries, Suggested Readings, running glossary, and bibliography.

In addition to the substantial rewriting and updating of the content, 7 of the 16 Original Studies are new. Included are such topics as "Intellectual Abilities of Chimpanzees" by Jane Goodall (Chapter 3), "Sexism and the English Language" by Deborah Tannen (Chapter 4), "Prestige Economics in Papua New Guinea" by Allen Johnson (Chapter 7), "The Ephemeral Modern Family" by Judith Stacey (Chapter 9), "The Structure of Namibian Society" by Robert Gordon (Chapter 11), "Bye Bye, Ted . . ." by Anthony Parades and Elizabeth D. Purdum (Chapter 13), and "Wauja Organization in Defence of Their Homeland" by Emilienne Ireland (Chapter 15).

SUPPLEMENTS

The ancillaries that accompany *Cultural Anthropology*, Seventh Edition, have been skillfully prepared by James W. Green of the University of Washington and Sue Parman of California State University, Fullerton.

A separate *Study Guide* is provided to aid comprehension of the textbook material. Each chapter begins with a summary and concise learning objectives and then offers chapter exercises, review questions, and a glossary review to help students achieve these objectives. This supplement also includes hints on reading anthropology textbooks, and studying for tests.

An *Instructor's Manual* offers teaching objectives and lecture and class activity suggestions that correspond to each chapter of the textbook. An extensive *Test Bank*, available in both printed and computerized form, offers more than 1200 multiple-choice and true/false questions. Each question is rated according to level of difficulty. A set of 50 color transparencies, developed by Cynthia Mahmood of the University of Maine, Orono, is also available to instructors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people assisted in the preparation of this book, some directly and some indirectly. In the latter category are all of the anthropologists under whom I was privileged to study at the University of Pennsylvania: Robbins Burling, William R. Coe, Carleton S. Coon, Robert Ehrich, Loren Eiseley, J. Louis Giddings, Ward H. Goodenough, A. Irving Hallowell, Alfred V. Kidder II, Wilton M. Krogman, Froelich Rainey, Ruben Reina, and Linton Satterthwaite. They may not always recognize the final product, but they all contributed to it in important ways.

A similar debt is owed to all those anthropologists with whom I have worked or discussed research interests and the field in general. There are too many of them to list here, but they have had an important impact on my thinking and so on this book. Finally, the influence of all those who assisted in the preparation of the first six editions must linger on in this new one.

This revision has also benefited from my continued association with valued colleagues at the University of Vermont: Robert Gordon, William E. Mitchell, Carroll McC. P. Lewin, Stephen L. Pastner, Marjory Power, Peter A. Thomas, and A. Peter Woolfson. All have responded graciously at one time or another to my requests for sources and

for advice about their various fields of expertise. We all share freely our successes and failures in teaching anthropology to introductory students.

In 1984, I was given the opportunity to participate in a free and open discussion between textbook authors and users at the American Anthropological Association's Annual Meeting (a session organized and chaired by Walter Packard and the Council on Anthropology and Education). From this I got a good sense of what instructors at institutions ranging from community colleges to major universities were looking for in anthropology textbooks. Subsequent insights came from a special symposium on the teaching of anthropology at the University of Vermont in 1986 (organized by A. Peter Woolfson), a meeting of textbook authors with members of the "Gender and the Anthropology Curriculum" project at the American Anthropological Association's Annual Meeting in 1988, and a special session on "Central Themes in the Teaching of Anthropology" at the American Anthropological Association's Annual Meeting in 1990 (organized by Richard Furlow). To the organizers and sponsors of all these events, I give my sincere thanks.

Thanks are also due to the anthropologists who made suggestions for this edition. They include: Cliff Boyd, Radford University; Richard Bordner, Chaminade University of Honolulu; Norman E. Whitten, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign; Robert Lawless, University of Florida; Donna Birdwell-Pheasant, Lamar University; Roger C. Owen, Queens College; Mirtha Quintanales, Jersey City State College; and Scott Rushforth, New Mexico State University. All of their comments were carefully considered; how I have responded to them has been determined by my own perspective of anthropology, as well as my 27 years of experience with undergraduate students. Therefore, neither they nor any of the other anthropologists mentioned here should be held responsible for any shortcomings in this book.

I also wish to acknowledge my debt to a number of nonanthropologists who helped me with this book. The influence of David Boynton, winner of the 1985 Distinguished Service Award of the American Anthropological Association and my editor at Holt, Rinehart and Winston until his retirement in 1983, I am sure lingers on. Helpful in seeing this edition through to publication have been my new acquisition editor Christopher Klein and

developmental editor Karee Galloway; both have been a pleasure to work with. I also thank my skilled editorial, design, and production team: Annette Wiggins, senior production manager; Linda Miller, senior book designer; and Clifford Crouch, senior project editor.

The greatest debt of all is owed my wife, Anita de Laguna Haviland, who has had to put up with my preoccupation with this revision, reminding me when it is time to feed the livestock or play midwife

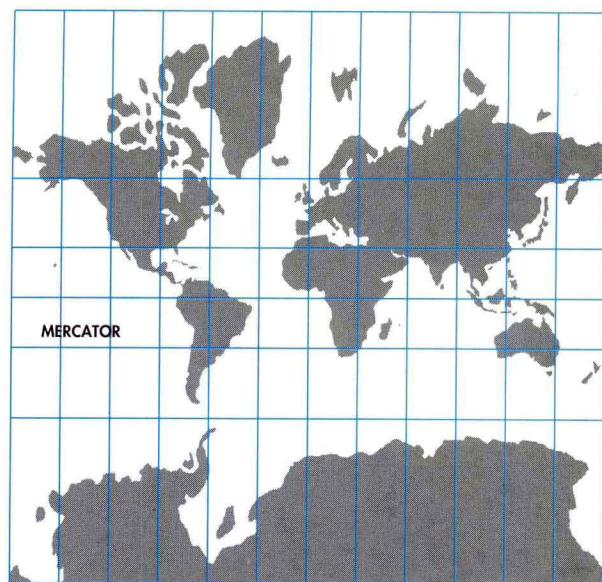
to the sheep in the barn. As if that were not enough, it is she who fed revised text into the word processor, bringing me at last into the world of “high tech” and delivering all my editors from the frustration of dealing with cut-and-paste copy and pencilled-in changes. She has been a source of endless good ideas on things to include and ways to express things. The book has benefited enormously from her involvement.

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 world view 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.

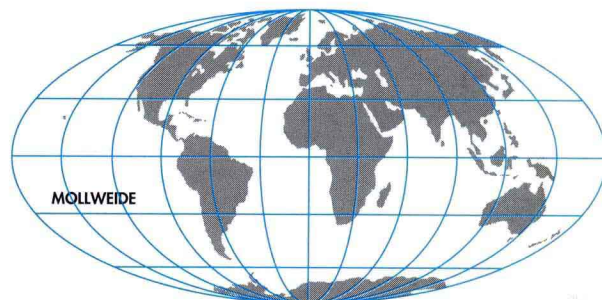
PUTTING THE WORLD IN PERSPECTIVE

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.

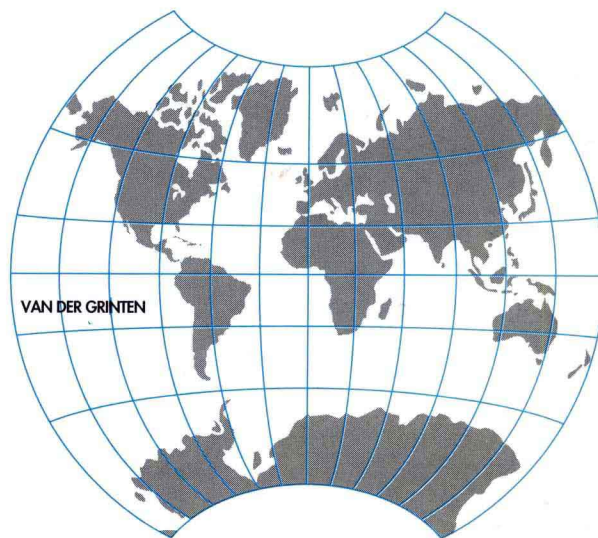
Perhaps no projection has had more influence on the way we see the world than that of Gerhardus Mercator, who devised his map in 1569 as a navigational aid for mariners. So well suited was Mercator's map for this purpose that it continues to be used for navigational charts today. At the same time, the 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.



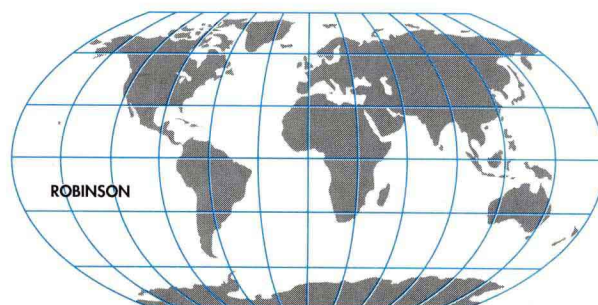
A map developed in 1805 by Karl B. Mollweide was one of the earlier equal-area projections of the world. Equal-area projections portray land masses in correct relative size, but, as a result, distort the shape of continents more than other projections. They most often compress and warp lands in the higher 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).



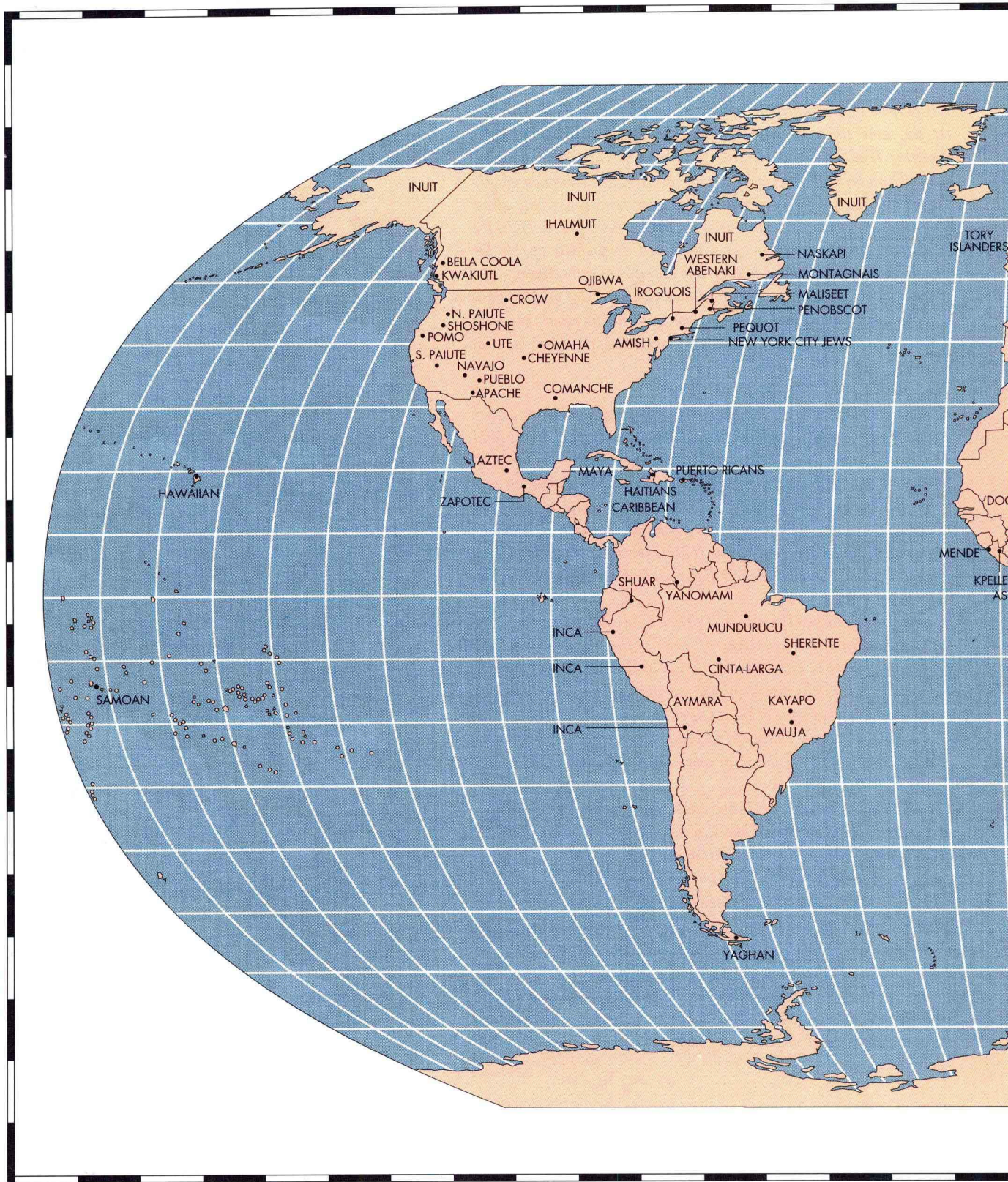
The Van der Grinten Projection (1904) was a compromise aimed at minimizing both the distortions of size in the Mercator and the distortion of shape in equal-area maps such as the Mollweide. Although an improvement, the lands of the northern hemisphere are still emphasized at the expense of the southern. For example, in the Van der Grinten, the Commonwealth of Independent States (the former Soviet Union) and Canada are shown at more than twice their relative size.



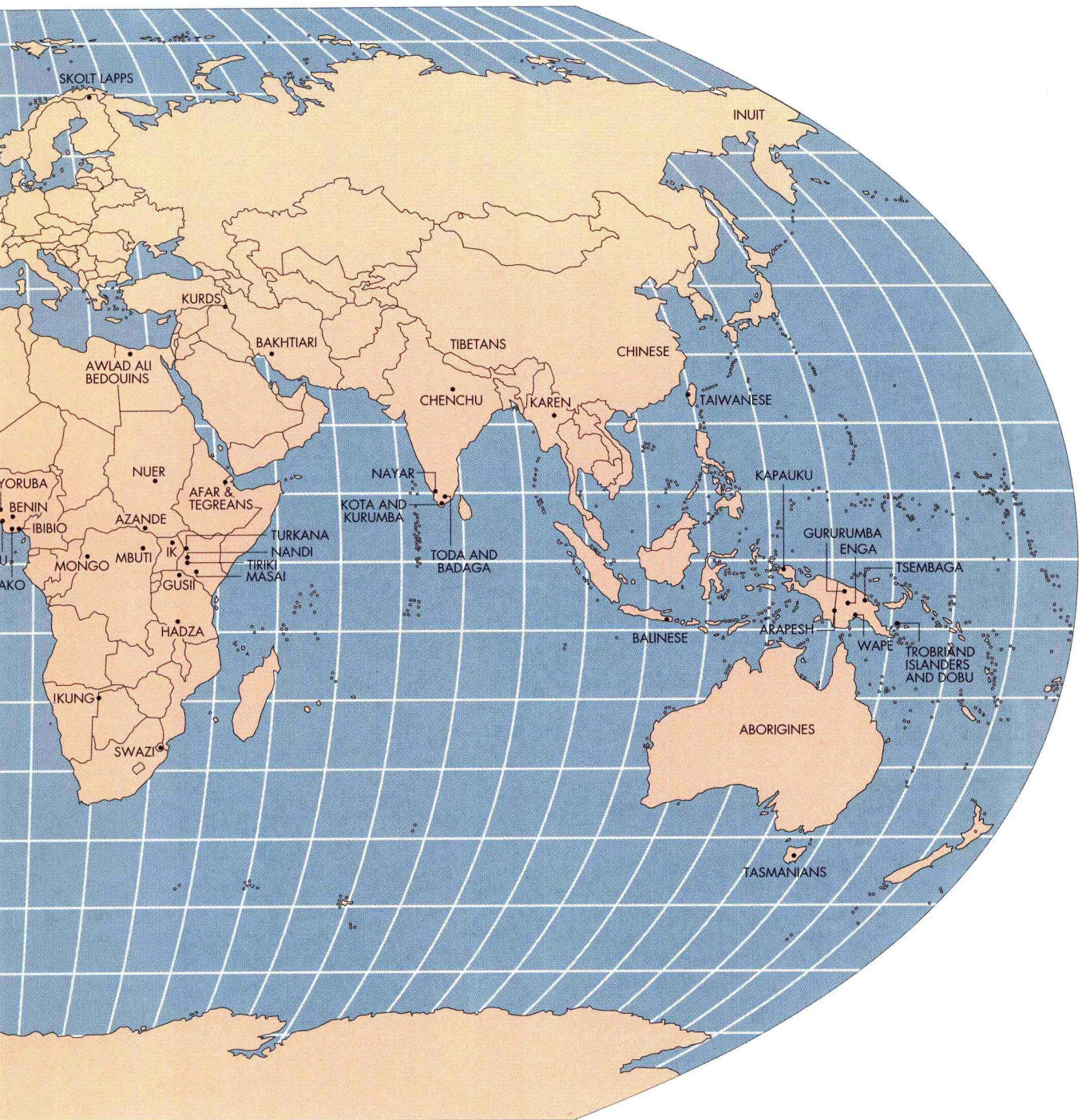
The Robinson Projection, which was adopted by the National Geographic Society in 1988 to replace the Van der Grinten, is one of the best compromises to date between the distortion of size and shape. Although an improvement over the Van der Grinten, the Robinson projection still depicts lands in the northern latitudes as proportionally larger at the same time that it depicts lands in the lower latitudes (representing most third-world nations) as proportionally smaller. Like European maps before it, the Robinson projection places Europe at the center of the map with the Atlantic Ocean and the Americas to the left, emphasizing the cultural connection between Europe and North America, while neglecting the geographical closeness of northwestern North America to northeast Asia.



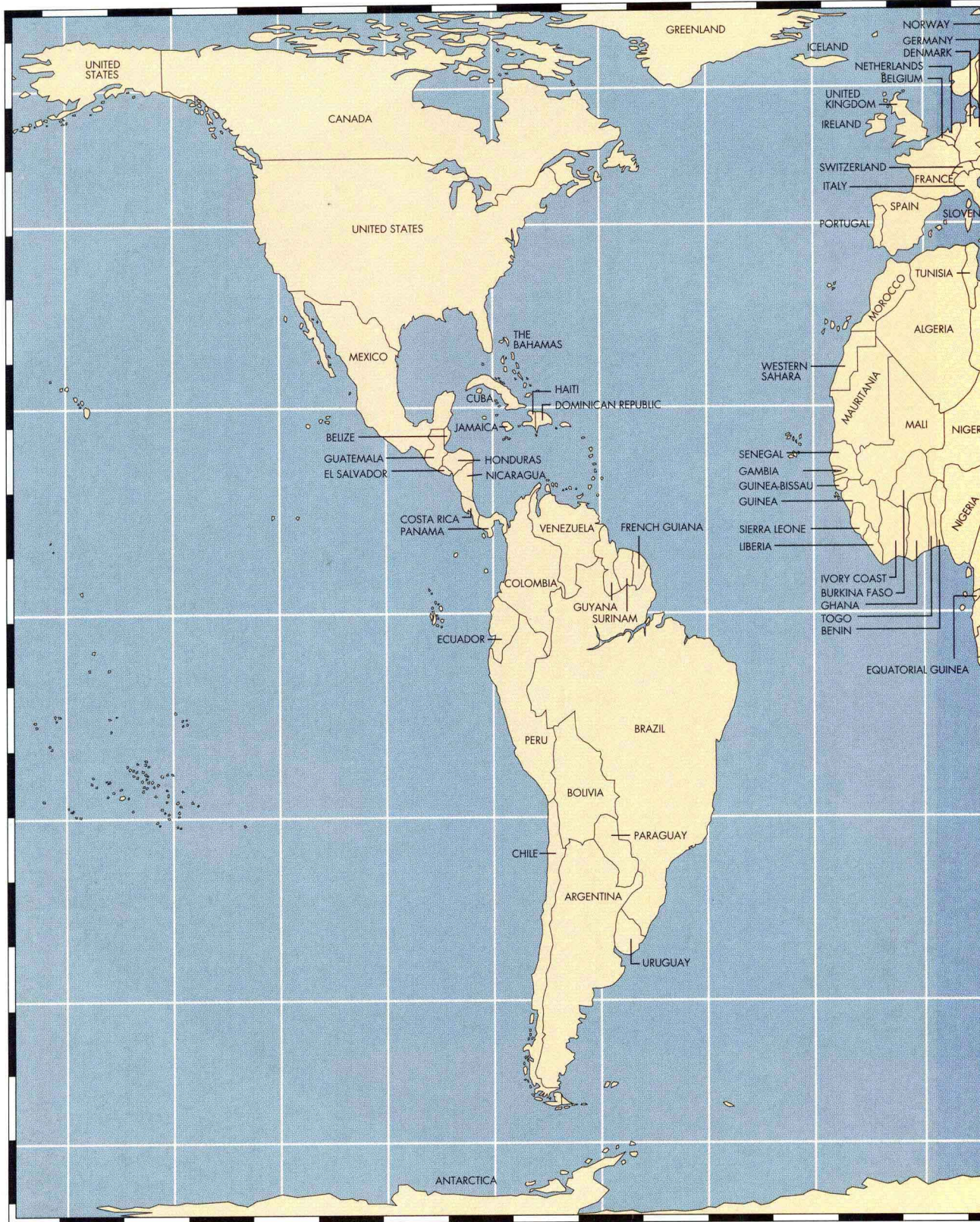
The following pages show four maps that each convey quite different "cultural messages." Included among them is the Peters Projection, an equal-area map that has been adopted as the official map of UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization), and a map made in Japan, showing us how the world looks from the other side.



THE ROBINSON PROJECTION *The map above is based on the Robinson Projection, which is used today by the National Geographic Society and Rand McNally. Although the Robinson Projection distorts the relative size of land masses, it does so to a much lesser degree than*



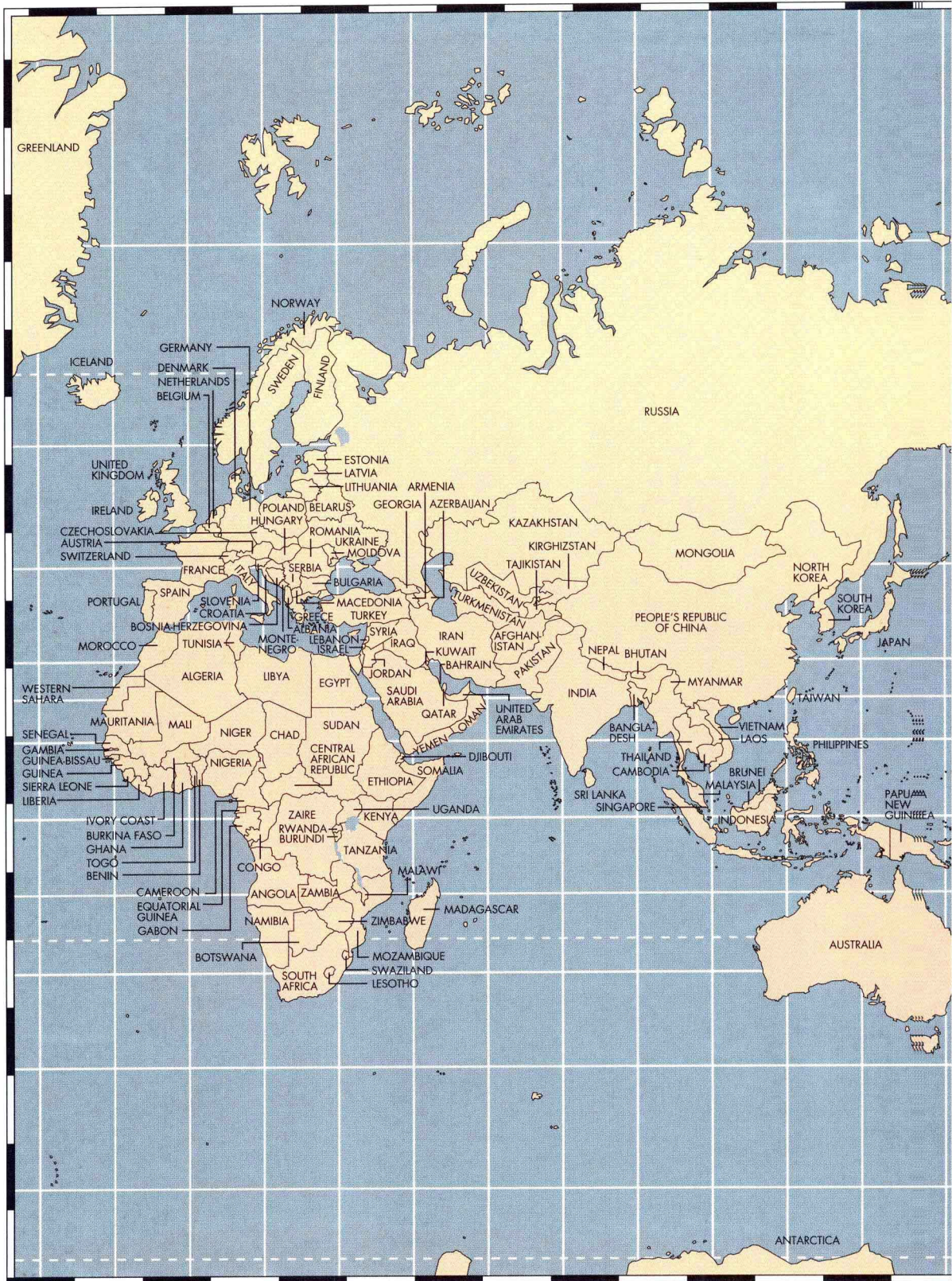
most other projections. Still, it places Europe at the center of the map.
 This particular view of the world has been used to identify the location of many of the cultures discussed in this text.



THE PETERS PROJECTION *The map above is based on the Peters Projection, which has been adopted as the official map of UNESCO. While it distorts the shape of continents (countries near the equator are vertically elongated by a ratio of two to one),*



the Peters Projection does show all continents according to their correct relative size. Though Europe is still at the center, it is not shown as larger and more extensive than the third world.



JAPANESE MAP *Not all maps place Europe at the center of the world, as this Japanese map illustrates. Besides reflecting the importance the Japanese attach to themselves in the world, this map has the virtue of showing the*



aphic proximity of North America to Asia, a fact easily overlooked when maps place Europe at their center.