

An Introductory Reader

Aaron Podolefsky Peter J. Brown



Applying Anthropology

An Introductory Reader

Third Edition

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To our wives, Betsy and Ronnie, whom we appreciate every day.

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To the Student

An introductory course in any discipline is chock-full of new terminology, concepts, and facts. Sometimes students forget that these new ideas and vocabulary are actually intellectual tools that can be put to work for analyzing and solving problems. In preparing this book, we have selected readings that will show you how anthropological concepts, discoveries, and methods can be applied in today's world.

The study of anthropology can help you view the world in a completely different way than you ever had before. You can come to appreciate the great diversity of human cultures and the interrelatedness of economic, sociopolitical, and religious systems. Anthropology can give you a broad perspective on humanity and help you understand other people's beliefs and customs. In doing so, it can help you become a better citizen in an increasingly global society.

The fascinating side of anthropology seems obvious to most educated people, but there is also a lesser known practical side of the discipline. The readings we have selected demonstrate that practical, applied side. Many of the articles are examples of anthropological ideas and research methods in action—as they are used to understand and solve practical problems. We have included career profiles of anthropologists working outside the academic setting to show how they are applying anthropology. We believe that the fundamental lessons of anthropology can be applied to many careers and all areas of human endeavor.

To benefit from the study of anthropology, you need to study effectively. Over the years, we have found that students often read assignments without planning, and this actually makes studying less efficient. Before you read a selection, spend a few moments skimming it to get an idea of what it is about, where it is going, and what you should look for. This kind of preliminary reading is a poor idea for mystery novels but is essential for academic assignments. With-

out this preparation, the article may become a hodgepodge of facts and figures; details may be meaningless because you have missed the big picture. By planning your reading, you can see how the details are relevant to the central themes of an article.

To help you plan your reading, at the beginning of each article we have included questions and a list of glossary terms. By studying these questions in advance, you may gain an idea of what is to come and why the article is important. This will help make the time you spend reading more fruitful. Most of the questions highlight the central themes of the selection or draw your attention to interesting details. Some of the questions, however, do not have straightforward answers—they are food for thought and topics for discussion.

These articles have been selected with you, the student, in mind. We hope they convey our excitement about the anthropological adventure, and we expect that you will find them both enjoyable and thought-provoking.

If you are interested in further reading in applied anthropology, there are several excellent books available, such as Applied Anthropology: A Practical Guide, by Erve Chambers; Applied Anthropology: An Introduction, by John van Willigen; Anthropological Praxis: Translating Knowledge into Action, by Robert M. Wulff and Shirley J. Fiske; Applied Anthropology in America, by Elizabeth M. Eddy and William L. Partridge; and Making Our Research Useful, by John van Willigen, Barbara Rylko-Bauer, and Anne McElroy. You might also want to look at the journals Human Organization and Practicing Anthropology, both of which are published by the Society for Applied Anthropology. The National Association of Practicing Anthropologists (NAPA) has also published interesting works on specific fields such as Medical Anthropology.

To the Instructor

Introductory anthropology has become an established part of the college curriculum, and through this course our profession communicates with a large and diverse undergraduate audience. Members of that audience differ in experience, academic concentration, and career aspirations. For those students considering anthropology as a major, we need to provide (among other things) a vision of the future, a view of anthropological work to be done in the public domain as well as within academia. For them, we need to provide some answers to the question "What can I do with a degree in anthropology?" For students majoring in other areas, such as business, engineering, or psychology, we need to address the question "How can anthropological insights or research methods help me understand and solve human problems?" If we can provide such a service, we increase the likelihood that students will find creative solutions to the professional problems that await them, and we brighten the future for our anthropology majors by underscoring the usefulness of an anthropological perspective in attempts to solve the practical problems of today's world.

Over the years, we have found that most introductory texts have done little more than include a chapter on applied anthropology at the end of the book. This suggests, at least to students, that most of anthropology has no relevance to their lives. Such treatment also implies that the application of anthropological knowledge is a tangent or afterthought—at best, an additional subject area, such as kinship or politics.

We disagree. We believe that the applications of anthropology cut across and infuse all the discipline's subfields. This reader is a collection of articles that provide examples of both basic and *applied* research in biological anthropology, archaeology, cultural anthropology, and anthropological linguistics.

One of our primary goals is to demonstrate some of the ways our discipline is used outside the academic

arena. We want anthropology to be seen as a field that is interesting as well as relevant to the real world. Like the public at large, students seem well aware that the subject matter of anthropology is fascinating, but they seem unaware of both the fundamental questions of humanity addressed by anthropologists and the practical applications of the field.

Although people distinguish between basic and applied research, much of anthropology falls into a gray area, having elements of both. Many selections in this reader fall into that gray zone—they are brief ethnographic accounts that contain important implications for understanding and resolving problems. We could have included a large number of articles exemplifying strictly applied research—an evaluation report of agency performance, for example. Although this sort of research is fascinating and challenging to do, it is usually not exciting for students to read. We have selected articles that we believe are fascinating for students and convey the dual nature (basic/applied) of social science research.

Any student who completes an introductory course in anthropology should learn that anthropological work, in its broadest sense, may include (or at least contribute to) international business, epidemiology, program evaluation, social impact studies, conflict resolution, organizational analysis, market research, and nutrition research, even though their introductory anthropology texts make no mention of those fields. The selections in this book should help students understand why anthropology is important in today's world, and also make the course more memorable and meaningful.

FEATURES OF THIS EDITION

We chose the readings in this book to complement the typical course in introductory anthro-

pology. The sequence of articles follows the organization of standard anthropology textbooks, grouped under traditional headings such as kinship and marriage, rather than headings based on the applied areas such as medical anthropology or the anthropology of development. As in most contemporary textbooks, anthropological linguistics is included under culture and communication. Had we meant this book to be a reader on applied anthropology, our organization would have been different. Although this book could be used in courses on applied anthropology (an earlier edition has been), this was not our intended audience. Also, for this reason, we have not provided extensive discussion of the history or definition of applied anthropology. For students interested in this, there are a number of fine books on the subject. These include Applied Anthropology: A Practical Guide, by Erve Chambers; Applied Anthropology: An Introduction, by John van Willigen; Anthropological Praxis: Translating Knowledge into Action, by Robert M. Wulff and Shirley J. Fiske; Applied Anthropology in America, by Elizabeth M. Eddy and William L. Partridge; and Making Our Research Useful, by John van Willigen, Barbara Rylko-Bauer, and Anne McElroy.

- To emphasize how anthropology can be put to work in different settings, we have included a number of profiles of anthropologists whose careers involve applying anthropology outside the university setting.
- To help students better understand the subject matter, we have included a number of pedagogical aids: introductions, a list of glossary terms, and guiding questions for each article; a world map that pinpoints the locations of places and peoples discussed in the articles; and, for easy reference, an extensive glossary and index.
- To help busy instructors, we have provided an instructor's manual that includes for each article a brief summary, glossary terms, and test questions.
- Among the 16 new articles in this edition are several that pertain to gender issues. Included are "Women in Evolution: Innovation and Selection in Human Origins," an alternative interpretation of the "male-as-hunter" explanation for the success of humans in the evolutionary story; "Family Planning, Amazon Style," which examines the interconnection between eco-

nomic change, new ideas about appropriate marriage patterns, and the rise in population growth; "Law, Custom, and Crimes Against Women: The Problem of Dowry Death in India," which examines the current upsurge of a serious and perplexing problem; and "A Cultural Approach to Male–Female Miscommunication," a glimpse at subcultural rules about speech and conversation.

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Robert Root-Bernstein and Donald L. McEachron (The American Biology Teacher, 1982) Through a comparison of evolution and creationism, this article examines the logic of scientific inquiry and the characteristics of scientific theory. Scientific theories are testable and correctable, which is why they lead to new and useful knowledge.

What Are Friends For? 15

Barbara Smuts (Natural History, 1987)

"Friendship" between adult males and females is an important part of the society of olive baboons of Kenya. These mutually beneficial long-term relationships are usually based on female choice and are only indirectly related to sex. Observations of nonhuman primates make anthropologists rethink the origin and nature of human sociality.

3 What's Love Got to Do with It? 22

Meredith Small (Discover, 1992)

In contrast to earlier hypotheses on the importance of territorial control in human evolutionary history, contemporary theories emphasize understanding individual strategies for reproductive success. This selection is more about sex than reproduction and raises the novel question "what is sex for?"

4 Dawson's Dawn Man: The Hoax at Piltdown 26

Kenneth L. Feder (Frauds, Myths, and Mysteries, 1990)

Paleoanthropological discovery and interpreting the fossil record to better understand our evolutionary roots are interwoven with the pride of nations wishing to ensure their place on the human family tree.

Women in Evolution: Innovation and Selection in Human Origins 36

Nancy Tanner and Adrienne Zihlman (Signs, 1976)

Traditionally, scientists have emphasized the male activity of hunting for the success of humans in the evolutionary story. Many anthropologists suggest, however, that this perspective has been constructed as a result of a male-biased preconception rather than actual evidence. Based on analogies to the social organization of chimpanzees and comparisons with contemporary hunter-gatherers, the authors challenge the traditional view and provide an alternative interpretation of the paleoanthropological evidence.

6 Ancient Genes and Modern Health 46

S. Boyd Eaton and Melvin Konner (Anthroquest, 1985)

Many of the serious health problems confronting us today may be the result of an incongruity between our genetic heritage as descendants of hunter-gatherers and our current diet and lifestyle. The study of Paleolithic people may be the key to a healthy life.

7 Curse and Blessing of the Ghetto 51

Jared Diamond (Discover, 1991)

Contemporary health problems, such as Tay-Sachs disease, may have evolutionary roots, because genes that are adaptive in some specific environments may be detrimental in others. Most introductory anthropology textbooks use the example of the sickle-cell trait to show that a gene that may prevent malaria in West Africa causes a painful and often lethal disease in America. Solving these mysteries may lead to methods for prenatal screening.

8 Racial Odyssey 57

Boyce Rensberger (Science Digest, 1981)

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9 A Reasonable Sleep 64

Meredith Small (Discover, 1992)

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10 PROFILE OF AN ANTHROPOLOGIST Anthropometry, Assassinations, and Aircraft Disasters: A Career in Forensic Anthropology 69

(Anthropology Newsletter, 1982)

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The Oklahoma City Child Disappearances: Forensic Anthropology in the Identification of Skeletal Remains 72

Clyde C. Snow and James L. Luke (Journal of Forensic Sciences, 1970)

The detailed analysis of a child's skeleton found in a shallow grave shows that a process of hypothesis testing is necessary for proper identification of a murder victim.

12 What's New in Archaeology? 82

Colin Renfrew (UNESCO Courier, 1985)

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13 Opportunities in Cultural Resources Management 86

Allen G. Pastron (1988)

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14 Fingerprints in the Sand 90

Richard Monastersky (Science News, 1990)

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Alan H. Goodman and George J. Armelagos (Natural History, 1985)

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16 The Worst Mistake in the History of the Human Race 99

Jared Diamond (Discover, 1987)

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17 PROFILE OF AN ANTHROPOLOGIST From Tikal to Tucson: Today's Garbage Is Tomorrow's Artifact 104

(Anthropology Newsletter, 1981)

Archaeologist William Rathje shifts his research from ancient Maya to modern America and invents garbology.

18 Food Waste Behavior in an Urban Population 107

Gail G. Harrison, William L. Rathje, and Wilson W. Hughes (Journal of Nutrition Education, 1975)

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19 Dawn of a New Stone Age in Eye Surgery 113

Payson D. Sheets (1987)

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21 Loading the Bases: How Our Tribe Projects Its Own Image into the National Pastime 126

Bradd Shore (The Sciences, 1990)

Culture is an extraordinary human invention because it allows us to *unconsciously* interpret meanings in everyday events. This can be seen in Shore's analysis of baseball as a ritual that symbolically expresses some of Americans' central cultural ideas. Few people recognize the hidden cultural meanings of their own day-to-day behavior.

22 Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 133

Horace Miner (American Anthropologist, 1956)

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Jennifer J. Laabs (Personnel Journal, 1992)

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Laura Bohannan (Natural History, 1966)

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26 Problems in Pocatello: A Study in Linguistic Misunderstanding 160

Barbara Joans (Practicing Anthropology, 1984)

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27 A Cultural Approach to Male-Female Miscommunication 164

Daniel N. Maltz and Ruth A. Borker (Language and Social Identity, 1982) Misunderstandings between men and women may be due to differences in subcultural rules about speech and conversation. Sociolinguistic variation in question asking, gestures of agreement, and topic flow can cause misinterpretation of the speaker's intentions. Valuable parallels can be drawn between interethnic miscommunication and cross-ethnic miscommunication.

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Peggy F. Barlett and Peter J. Brown (Agriculture and Human Values, 1985)
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29 The Agrarian Basis of Conflict in Central America 183

Billie R. DeWalt (The Central American Crisis, 1985)

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The Domestication of Wood in Haiti: A Case Study in Applied Evolution 189

Gerald F. Murray (Anthropological Praxis, 1987)

Using his anthropological knowledge of Haitian peasants, Gerald Murray designs and administers an astoundingly successful reforestation project. Wood as a cash crop makes good economic sense to Haitian farmers, and, as a consequence, both production and agricultural earnings increase.

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Allen Johnson (Human Nature, 1978)

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32 Eating Christmas in the Kalahari 207

Richard Borshay Lee (Natural History, 1969)

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33 Crack in Spanish Harlem 212

Philippe Bourgois (Anthropology Today, 1989)

Whereas some anthropologists travel long distances to find exotic cultures, others stay closer to home. During fieldwork in a New York neighborhood on the social organization of addicts and sellers and the economics of crack cocaine, the author comes face to face with a culture of terror. Underlying the violence, the drugs, and the ruined lives is a different view of the American dream.

34 If Only They Would Listen: The Anthropology of Business and the Business of Anthropology 220

S. Brian Burkhalter (Practicing Anthropology, 1986)

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35 Society and Sex Roles 226

Ernestine Friedl (Human Nature, 1978)

Equality between men and women is the product of the social organization of food production and the control of scarce resources. Cross-cultural comparisons of huntergatherer groups reveals marked variation in equality between the sexes. Such comparisons contain important lessons for our own society.

36 Child Care in China 232

Bruce Dollar (Saturday Review of Education, 1973)

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37 American Schoolrooms: Learning the Nightmare 237

Jules Henry (Columbia University Forum, 1963)

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38 Family Planning, Amazon Style 244

Warren M. Hern (Natural History, 1992)

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39 When Brothers Share a Wife 249

Melvyn C. Goldstein (Natural History, 1987)

Fraternal polyandry, a rare form of plural marriage, has both benefits and costs for the people of Tibet. Given the economy and ecology of this area, the practice of polyandry has adaptive functions.

40 Law, Custom, and Crimes Against Women: The Problem of Dowry Death in India 254

John van Willigen and V. C. Channa (Human Organization, 1991)

Dowry-related violence against women in northern India is a serious and perplexing problem, difficult to explain with an anthropological functionalist approach. Economic transformations have negatively affected the status of women and intensified economic pressures on families to provide dowry at the marriage of daughters.

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41 The Kpelle Moot 265

James L. Gibbs, Jr. (Africa, 1963)

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42 Contemporary Warfare in the New Guinea Highlands 273

Aaron Podolefsky (Ethnology, 1984)

Intertribal warfare flares up in the highlands of Papua New Guinea even after decades of relative peace. To understand why, anthropologists focus on changes in the local economic system that have, in turn, changed marriage patterns.

43 Flaming Crosses and Body Snatchers 282

David L. Kertzer (Ritual, Politics, and Power, 1990)

Kings, revolutionaries, presidents, and even the Ku Klux Klan use symbols and rituals to build their political organization. Political ritual is not trivial fanfare, but a cross-cultural mechanism for getting and maintaining power.

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44 Hallucinogenic Plants and Their Use in Traditional Societies 291

Wade Davis (Cultural Survival, 1985)

The author, whose writing about psychoactive plants and *zombis* in Haiti has stirred controversy, surveys the use and functions of hallucinogenic plants in other societies. Particularly in traditional South American Indian societies, hallucinogens play a central role in religion and ritual.

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Edward C. Green (Anthropological Praxis, 1987)

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Thomas M. Johnson (Anthropology Newsletter, 1991)

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47 Ritual in the Operating Room 305

Pearl Katz (Ethnology, 1981)

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Paul Farmer and Arthur Kleinman (Daedalus, 1989)

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49 Advertising and Global Culture 325

Noreene Janus (Cultural Survival, 1983)

The expansion of the world economic system depends on the creation of new consumer demands through advertising. Do developing countries have the right to reject mass advertising for products that their citizens cannot afford?

50 The Price of Progress 329

John H. Bodley (Victims of Progress, 1990)

Economic development, sometimes called "progress," can bring about unintended social and medical consequences, especially for marginalized tribal peoples. New disease burdens, ecological degradation, and increased discrimination are among the hidden costs of economic change for many people.

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Introduction:

Understanding Humans and Human Problems

To the uninitiated, the term *anthropology* conjures up images of mummies' tombs, Indiana Jones, and treks through steaming jungles or over high alpine peaks. Anthropologists agree that their chosen field is exciting, that they have been places and seen things that few experience firsthand, and that they have been deeply and emotionally involved in understanding the human condition. At the same time, however, the vision of anthropology presented by Hollywood has probably done more to obscure the true nature of the profession than it has to enlighten the public about what we really do.

Providing an accurate image of anthropology and anthropological work is both simple and complex. Essentially, anthropology is the study of people, or more properly, of humankind. But, you may say, many disciplines study people: psychology, sociology, history, biology, medicine, and so on. True, but anthropology is different in that it seeks to integrate these separate and narrow views of humanity. To understand ourselves, we need to join these disparate views into a single framework, a process that begins with our biological and evolutionary roots, explores the development of culture through the prehistoric and historical periods, probes the uniquely human ability to develop culture through communication, and examines the diversity of recent and present-day cultures that inhabit the globe.

From this conception of the *holistic* and *comparative* study of humankind emerge what are termed the four fields of anthropology: biological (or physical) anthropology, archaeology, anthropological linguistics, and cultural anthropology. Some universities offer an introductory course that covers all four of these subfields. Other schools cover the subfields in two or three

separate introductory courses. Each approach has its advantage. The former may more fully integrate the biocultural and historical dimensions of humanity; the latter allows students to explore each subfield in greater depth. This book introduces you to the four fields of anthropology and how they are used in today's world.

Another way to divide the discipline—in fact almost any discipline—is into *basic* and *applied* research. These categories are important in this reader because we would like students to appreciate both the basic and the applied sides of anthropology.

A survey of natural and social scientists and engineers conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau for the National Science Foundation used the following definitions of these fundamental concepts: *Basic research* is study directed toward gaining scientific knowledge primarily for its own sake. *Applied research* is study directed toward gaining scientific knowledge in an effort to meet a recognized need.

Anthropology is a discipline concerned primarily with basic research. It asks "big" questions concerning the origins of humankind, the roots of human nature, the development of civilization, and the functions of our major social institutions (such as marriage or religion). Nevertheless, anthropologists have put the methods and skills developed in basic research to use in solving human problems and fulfilling the needs of society. Anthropologists have, for example, worked with medical examiners in the identification of skeletal remains. They have also helped communities preserve their cultural heritage and businesses and government agencies understand the social impacts of programs or development projects.

Although the application of anthropology has a

long history, it has, until recent years, remained in the shadows of "pure" or basic research. The last 20 years have seen a change. Anthropologists have moved beyond their traditional roles in universities and museums and now work in a broad range of settings. They are employed in many government agencies, in the private sector, and in a variety of nonresearch capacities (such as administrator, evaluator, or policy analyst).

In response to the growing opportunities for anthropologists outside academia and to the demands of students, an increasing number of master's degree and doctoral programs provide training specifically in the applications of anthropology. This is not to say that the classified ads list jobs titled "anthropologist." Rather, for those interested in anthropology, there are increasing opportunities to find careers that draw on anthropological training and skills. Profiles of people in nonacademic careers (consumer marketing, high-tech industry, and school administration) can be found in this reader. At the same time, studies have shown that there will be increasing job opportunities for anthropologists in universities and colleges during the 1990s and beyond.

Applications of anthropology are found in all four fields. Anthropological work includes the identification of skeletal remains (forensics); the study of size and fit for the design of clothing, furniture, or airplane cockpits (ergonomics); exploration of the patterns and causes of disease (epidemiology); evaluation of the effectiveness of programs (from Third World development to crime prevention); assessment of community needs; prediction of the social impact of change; analysis of organizations such as businesses or government agencies; market research; and research into health and nutrition, to name but a few.

School administrators, engineers, business leaders, lawyers, medical researchers, and government officials have become aware that the substantive knowledge, the unique perspective, and the research skills of anthropologists are applicable to practical problems—in the United States as well as other countries.

As we explore anthropology, keep in mind the interplay between and interdependence of basic cultural research and the applications of anthropological knowledge and research methods to the solution of human problems.