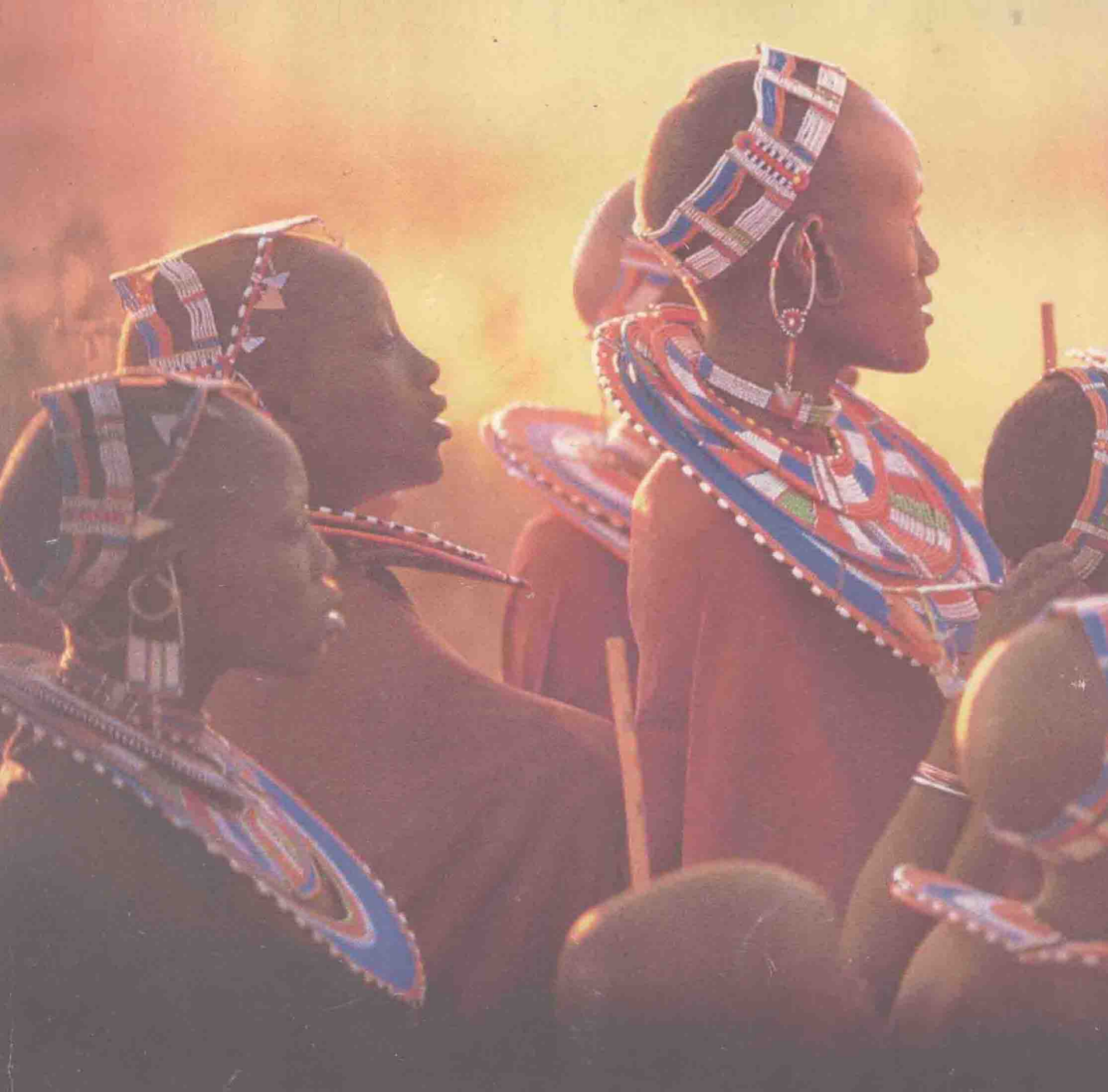




CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

EIGHTH EDITION

HAVILAND

WILLIAM A. HAVILAND
University of Vermont



CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY
EIGHTH EDITION

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About the Author

Dr. William A. Haviland is professor of anthropology at the University of Vermont, where he has taught since 1965. He holds a doctorate degree in anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania and has published widely on archaeological, ethnological, and physical anthropological research carried out in Guatemala, Maine, and Vermont. Dr. Haviland is a member of many professional societies, including the American Anthropological Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In 1988, he participated in the project on "Gender and the Anthropology Curriculum," sponsored by the American Anthropological Association.

One of Dr. Haviland's greatest loves is teaching, which originally prompted him to write *Cultural Anthropology*. He says he learns something new every year from his students about what they need out of their first college course in anthropology. In addition to writing *Cultural Anthropology*, Dr. Haviland has authored several other popular Harcourt, Brace works for anthropology students.

To my wife, Anita



PREFACE

PURPOSE OF THE BOOK

This text 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 brings in related material on physical anthropology and linguistics.

The aim of the text is to give the student 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, the text will expose 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 each of these approaches has 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 important insights. Thorough 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.

UNIFYING THEME OF THE BOOK

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 of 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.

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 that it implies a fairly straightforward behavioral response to environmental stimuli. But, of course, people do not react

to an environment as given; rather, they react to it 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 own behavior, for others. All of these things 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.

OUTSTANDING FEATURES OF THE BOOK

Readability

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 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; it 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.

Because much learning is based on analogy, numerous and colorful examples have been utilized to illustrate, emphasize, and clarify anthropological concepts. Wherever appropriate, there is a cross-cultural perspective, 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 for illustrative purposes. It is a fact of life that North Americans share the same planet with great numbers of people who are not only not North Americans 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. 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, of all disciplines, with its long-standing commitment to combating ethnocentrism, has a unique obligation to provide this perspective.

Original Studies

A special feature of this text 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 an important anthropological concept or subject area found in the chapter.

The idea behind this feature 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, Chapter 5 includes an Original Study extracted from *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.

Because women have always been an important part of the anthropological enterprise, and students need to realize this, women are well represented as authors of Original Studies in the eighth edition—ten are by women.

Illustrations

Another means of appealing to the nondominant hemisphere of the brain is through the use of illustrations and other graphic materials. 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 that they are not the "standard" anthropological textbook photographs; each has been chosen because it complements the text in some distinctive way. For example, the pictures on page 468 capture the students' attention through the juxtaposition of the recent fighting in Chechnya, which they are likely to have heard about through the news, with the 1973 siege of Wounded Knee, South Dakota. They also lend immediacy to the problem of the use of violence in multinational states by governments controlled by one nationality against other nationalities within those states. The line drawings, maps, charts,

and tables were selected especially for their usefulness in illustrating, emphasizing, or clarifying certain anthropological concepts and should prove valuable teaching aids.

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 each chapter is a summary containing the kernels of the most important ideas presented in the chapter. The summaries provide handy reviews for the student, without being so long and detailed as to seduce the student into thinking that he or she can get by without reading the chapter itself.

Suggested Readings and Bibliography

Each chapter also includes a list of suggested readings that will supply the inquisitive student with further information about specific anthropological points that may be of interest. The books suggested are oriented either toward the general reader or toward the interested student who wishes to explore further the more technical aspects of some 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

This text has a running glossary that catches 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 one chapter from 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.

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 reasonably be 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.

ADVANTAGES OF THE EIGHTH EDITION

The planning of the eighth edition of *Cultural Anthropology* was based on extensive review and criticism by instructors, some of whom were users of the seventh edition and some of whom were users of other texts. Many features of the seventh edition were maintained in this new one, including coverage of gender issues and applied anthropology in each chapter of the book. Space devoted to gender is equivalent to three chapters’ worth, but spreading coverage through all the chapters emphasizes how considerations of gender enter into virtually everything people do. Presentation of applied anthropology through boxed features 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.

The major changes from the seventh edition, apart from fine tuning and updating, consist of the following: a new discussion of how cultural relativism does not prevent one from being critical of particular practices in Chapter 2; a new discussion of language origins in Chapter 4; discussion of the meanings of the terms Bushman, San, and Ju/’hoansi for people of the Kalahari Desert and the rest of southern Africa, as well as a new discussion of altered states of

consciousness and the question of normal and abnormal behavior in Chapter 5 (and followed up in Chapters 13 and 14); new discussion of slash-and-burn farming in Chapter 6; new discussion of money in Chapter 7; a discussion of the different popular, legal, and anthropological meanings of “tribe” in Chapter 12; description of Bushman trance dance in Chapter 13; reference to the political debate over arts funding in the United States and a new discussion of pictorial art in Chapter 14; and a revision of the human rights situation in Guatemala to exemplify the common practice of repression of one nationality by another in multinational states through use of violence in Chapter 16. No chapter has escaped change, which has improved every feature of the book: topic coverage, readability, continuity, photos and other illustrations, Original Studies, summaries, Suggested Readings, running glossary, and bibliography. Many of the illustrations are new to this edition, and captions have been altered or rewritten to ensure that the illustrations supplement the text and clarify concepts that are not always easily rendered into words.

In addition to the substantial rewriting and updating of the text's contents, six of the sixteen Original Studies are new. Their topics include “Tales from the Trukese Taproom” by Mac Marshall (Chapter 1), “Gardens of the Mekranoti Kayapo” by Dennis Werner (Chapter 6), “Genocide in Rwanda” by Alex de Waal (Chapter 11), “Healing Among the Ju’hoansi of the Kalahari” by Marjorie Shostak (Chapter 13), “Bushman Rock Art and Political Power” by Thomas A. Dowson and J. D. Lewis-Williams (Chapter 14), and “The Psychological Impact of Impunity” by Judith Zur (Chapter 16). There are two new Anthropology Applied features: on agricultural development and anthropology (Chapter 6), and “African Public Defender and Legal Aid Training Exchange” (Chapter 12), as well as a new Biobox on Jane Goodall (Chapter 3).

SUPPLEMENTS TO THE TEXT

The ancillaries that accompany *Cultural Anthropology*, Eighth Edition, have been skillfully prepared by Cynthia Keppley Mahmood of the University of Maine–Orono.

A separate *Study Guide* is provided to aid comprehension of the textbook material. Each chapter begins with 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 texts 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 forms, offers more than 1,200 multiple choice and true/false questions. Each question is rated according to level of difficulty. A set of fifty color transparencies, developed by Cynthia Keppley Mahmood of the University of Maine–Orono, is also available to instructors.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many people assisted in the preparation of this book, some of them directly, some of them 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 surely they have had an important impact on my own thinking and so on this book. Finally, the influence of all those who assisted in the preparation of the first seven editions must linger on in this new one. They are all listed in the prefaces to the earlier editions, and the eighth edition benefits from their past influence.

This revision also benefits from my continued association with valued colleagues at the University of Vermont: Robert Gordon, William E. Mitchell, Carroll M. P. Lewin, Sarah Mahler, 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 advice in their various fields of expertise. We all share freely our successes and failures in trying to teach anthropology to introductory students.

In 1984, I was given the opportunity to participate in an 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 texts; subsequent insights have come 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 (most recently) 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, my sincere thanks.

Thanks are also due the anthropologists who made suggestions for this edition. They include Peter Chroman, College of San Mateo; William M. Leons, University of Toledo; Steven Nachman, Edinboro University; B. Carter Pate, University of Tennessee at Chattanooga; Bruce D. Roberts, University of Southern Mississippi; Mark A. Tromans, Broward Community College; and Kathleen Zaretsky, San Jose 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 thirty 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 editors Christopher Klein and John Haley; both have been a pleasure to work with. I also wish to thank the skilled editorial, design, and production team: Jeff Beckham, project editor; Burl Sloan, art director; and Tad Gaither, senior production manager.

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 was she who fed revised text into the word processor. Finally, she has been a source of endless good ideas on things to include and ways to express things. The book has benefitted enormously from her involvement.

William A. Haviland
January 1995



PUTTING THE WORLD IN PERSPECTIVE

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.

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 descendents 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.

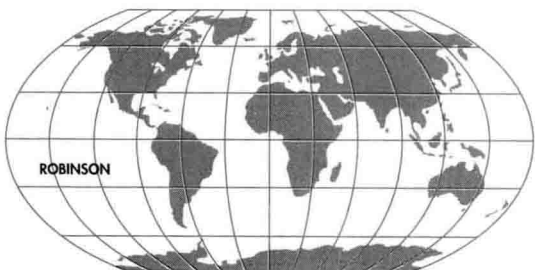
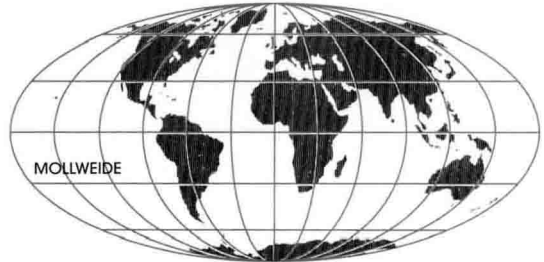
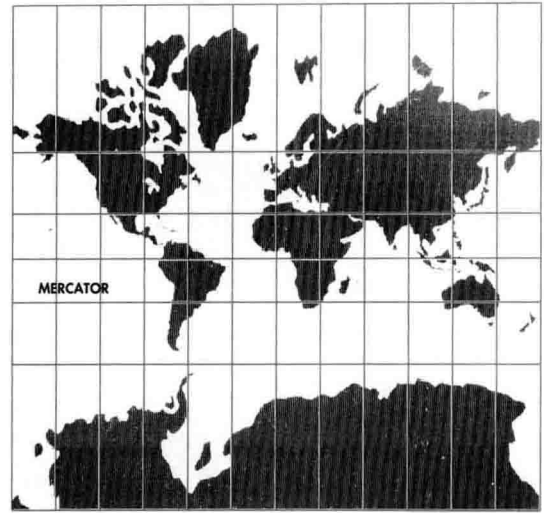
A map developed in 1805 by Karl B. Mollweide was one of the earlier equal-area projections of the world. Equal-area projections portray land masses in correct relative size, but, as a result, distort the shape of continents more than other projections. They most often compress and warp lands in the higher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

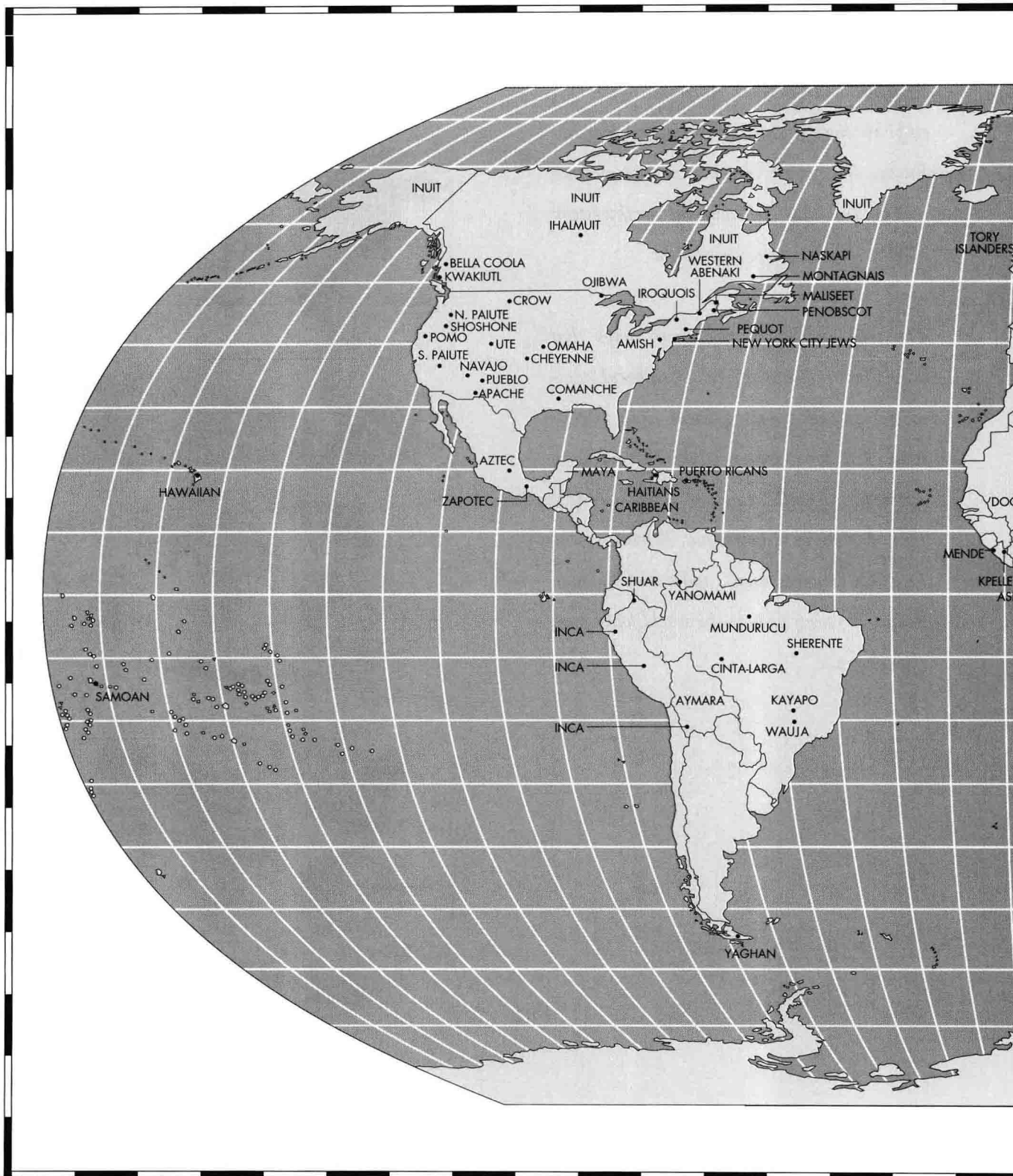
The Van der Grinten Projection (1904) was a compromise aimed at minimizing both the distortions of size in the Mercator and the distortion of shape in equal-area maps such as the Mollweide. Although an improvement, the lands of the northern hemisphere are still emphasized at the expense of the southern.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

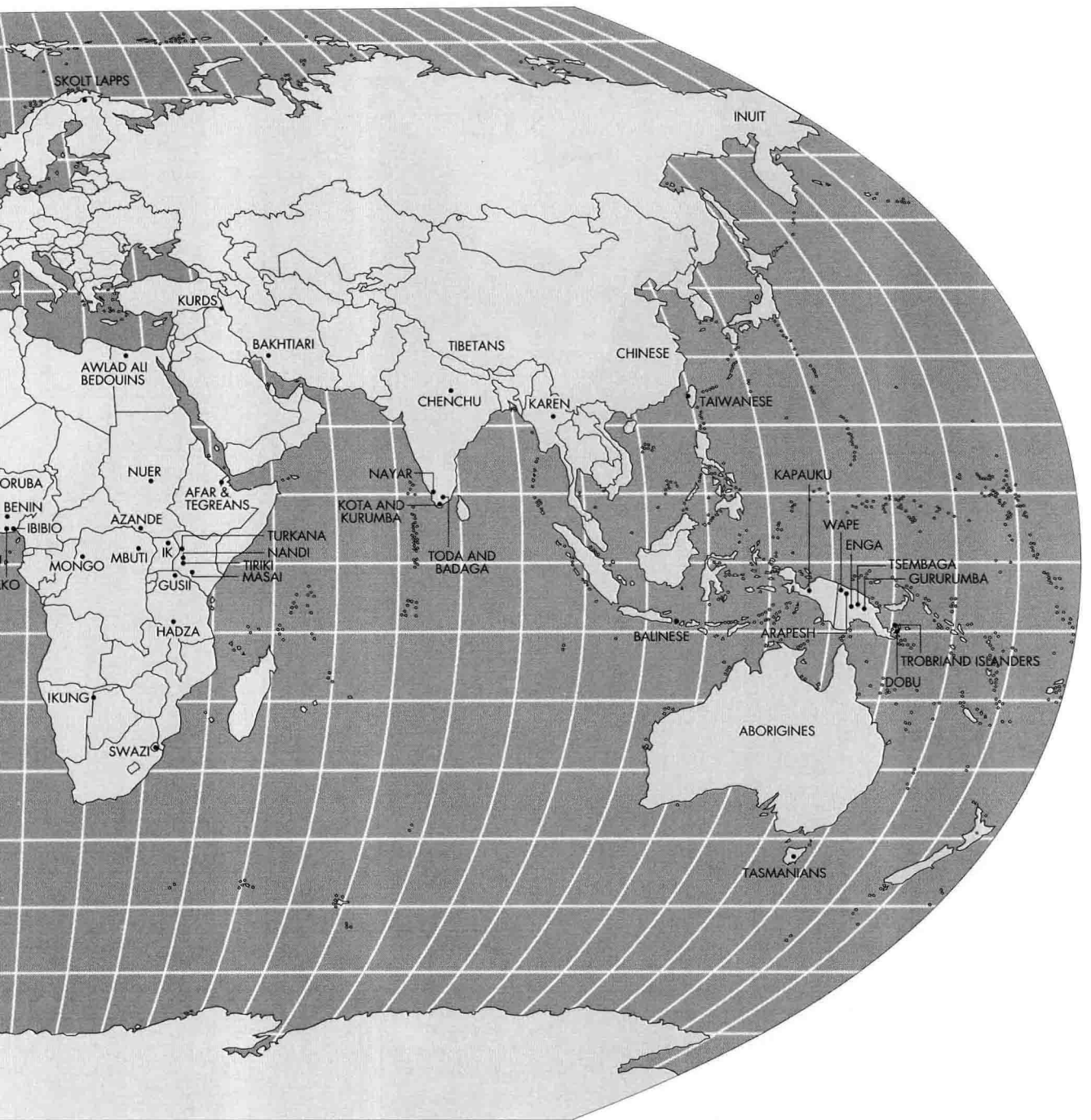
Atlantic Ocean and the Americas to the left, emphasizing the cultural connection between Europe and North America, while neglecting the geographical closeness of northwestern North America to northeast Asia.

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.

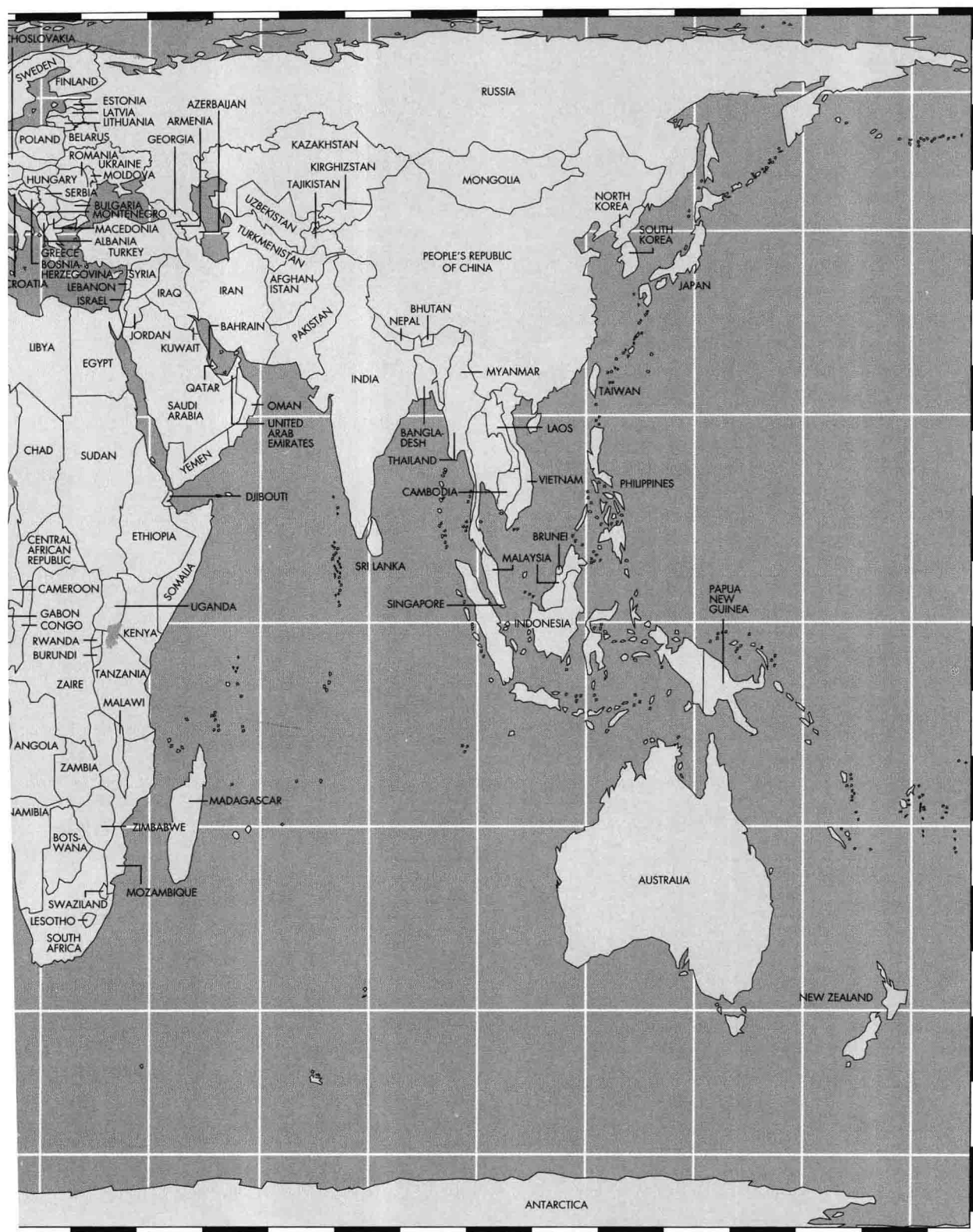




THE ROBINSON PROJECTION *The map above is based on the Robinson Projection, which is used today by the National Geographic Society and Rand McNally. Although the Robinson Projection distorts the relative size of land masses, it does so to a much lesser degree than most other projections. Still, it*



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.



their correct relative size. Though Europe is still at the center, it is not shown as larger and more extensive than the third world.