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11TH EDITION

SECOND EDITION

Robert H. Lavenda

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Anthropology

A PERSPECTIVE ON THE HUMAN CONDITION

SECOND EDITION

Emily A. Schultz

Beloit College

Robert H. Lavenda

St. Cloud State University



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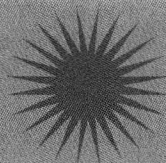
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*For our parents:
Beatrice G. Schultz and Violet and George Lavenda
and in memory of Henry W. Schultz*

Preface



Anthropology is no longer about the strange customs of exotic peoples (if it ever really was). Today, anthropology examines broad questions about the human species throughout its entire history and in all its biological and cultural variety. A question that we feel is central to the anthropological endeavor is how our species, a product of the material forces of evolution like every other species, has nevertheless become utterly dependent on systems of symbols for its continued survival. We find the anthropological explanation exciting and challenging, though much work remains to be done and many controversies remain. In this text, we explore the interplay of cultural creativity and material constraint in the shaping of human nature, human society, and the human past. We have tried to be as clear as possible about the gaps in anthropological knowledge and to present fairly the different sides of various arguments, without losing sight of the many passages in the human story on which anthropologists currently agree.

To a great extent, the power and appeal of anthropology in the contemporary world lies precisely in its ability to offer sophisticated biocultural explanations of similarity and diversity in the human species. Traditional anthropological holism thus provides a valuable antidote to specialized studies that downplay or ignore the wider contexts within which our species and its history must be situated. A course in "general anthropology" is particularly important for college students, many of whom have told us that the holistic, comparative, and evolutionary framework it provides has helped them enormously in interrelating their coursework in other disciplines. Anthropology is the original interdisciplinary discipline and remains the only university discipline that continues to provide a perspective on the human condition that combines insights from the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities.

ORGANIZATION

Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition, Second Edition, consists of 23 chapters in eight parts, three devoted to biological anthropology and archaeology and five to cultural anthropology and linguistics.

Biological Anthropology and Archaeology

The first section of the text is organized around four basic ideas: evolution, the interplay of theory and method, the state of current knowledge, and current controversies in evolutionary thought. Although these chapters follow a more or less conventional outline of topics, there is much here that is not found in other texts.

- ♦ *Evolution.* In the two chapters that introduce evolution, the first covers general topics in evolution and the second discusses microevolution and macroevolution. Key issues treated in these chapters are (1) the theory of evolution, where it came from, and why scholars find it powerful; and (2) how natural selection, operating on living organisms, could have produced a human species that depends upon arbitrary cultural symbols for its continued survival. If the first issue is not addressed, students may not grasp why the theory of evolution is important, well-rooted in science, and persuasive. If the second issue is not addressed, students are left with the view that cultural forms are, in some unspecified way, determined by genes and/or by environment. Our discussion, based on the work of Boyd and Richerson, suggests how and in what circumstances natural selection for dependence on culture would be favored, thus grounding the biocultural approach taken in the rest of the book.

The chapter on microevolution and macroevolution also discusses population genetics and provides detailed discussions of variation in such human traits as skin color and intelligence. It includes discussions of adaptation and exaptation. The discussion of macroevolution contrasts phyletic gradualism with the theory of punctuated equilibrium, laying the groundwork for discussions of hominid evolution in later chapters.

- ♦ *Primates.* The chapter on primates presents the evolution of the primates, followed by a discussion of contemporary species, that recognizes the strepsyrhine/haplorhine distinction. In addition to descriptive material about each major primate category, the chapter also includes discussion of the rationales behind traditional and cladistic taxonomy. We discuss several key issues in contemporary primate studies: sociobiology, socioecology, aggression/affiliation, and intelligence studies (including language).
- ♦ *Studying the human past.* This chapter examines theory and method both in paleoanthropology and archaeology, noting how they overlap (e.g., in methods of dating) and where they diverge (e.g., interpretation of the fossil record of hominid evolution as distinguished from the interpretation of artifacts). This chapter includes material on recent developments in feminist archaeology and archaeological collaboration with indigenous peoples.
- ♦ *Hominids.* Two chapters on hominids are included, one from the australopithecines to *Homo erectus*, and the other on the evolution of *Homo sapiens*. Current debates about the fate of the Neandertals and the origin of anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* are discussed.
- ♦ *Cultural evolution.* Two chapters deal with issues in cultural evolution in prehistory: one on the origins of domestication, and one on the rise of complex societies. The first chapter presents recent reevaluations of the circumstances under which domestication of plants and of animals may have occurred. The latter chapter describes evidence used by archaeologists to infer the appearance of complex societies in the archaeological record.

Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics

The second section is based on our text, *Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition*, now in its fourth edition. Our perspective on cultural anthropology stresses the interplay of cultural creativity and material constraint in human social life.

- ♦ **Part IV**, The Tools of Cultural Anthropology, consists of three introductory chapters on the concept of culture, ethnographic fieldwork, and a historical approach to anthropological explanations of cultural diversity.
- ♦ **Part V**, The Resources of Culture, highlights the key dimensions and products of human creativity: language; cognition; play, art, myth, and ritual; and worldview.
- ♦ **Part VI**, The Organization of Material Life, consists of two chapters—on social organization and power and on making a living—that treat the ways human cultural creativity is channeled and circumscribed by political and economic constraints.
- ♦ **Part VII**, Systems of Relationships, looks at the organization of human interdependence. Chapters about kinship, marriage and family, and what's beyond kinship allow us to emphasize how people make use of cultural resources as they struggle to pursue their personal projects within contexts of political and material constraints.
- ♦ **Part VIII**, From Local to Global, concludes the text by asking students to contemplate the globalizing context in which all human beings live at the end of the twentieth century, as well as the ever-intensifying political, economic, and cultural forces with which all contemporary societies must cope.

WHAT'S NEW IN THE SECOND EDITION

1. All chapters have been edited with an eye to streamlining and improving readability and accessibility. The text is more concise and easier to teach from.

2. The text is now divided into eight parts. Each part has its own introduction, which gives students a better overview of the discipline's subfields and allows them to understand better the logic that guides the book.
3. All material on human evolution has been updated and the section on human variation in Chapter 3 has been strengthened.
4. The emphasis on the way humans use culture to adapt to and transform the world has been strengthened and more thoroughly integrated throughout the text, especially in the chapters that address cultural anthropology.
5. The two chapters on primates in the first edition have been combined into a shorter, more readable chapter.
6. We have reorganized the cultural chapters. The first two parts remain the same. They are followed now by Social Organization and Power (Chapter 17), and Making a Living (Chapter 18). By placing these chapters before the chapters that address the organization of human interdependence, we are able to emphasize more strongly the political and material constraints on people in creating social relations.

While every chapter has been revised, often substantially, some chapters have seen particularly noteworthy changes:

- ◆ *Chapter 3: Microevolution and Macroevolution.* We have added a section on adaptation and exaptation to clarify some of the ambiguities that surround many discussions of evolutionary adaptation. We also emphasize the power of the theory of evolution and the ways in which natural selection might have operated to create a species dependent on culture.
- ◆ *Chapter 4: The Primates.* Chapters 4 and 6 in the first edition have been combined, condensed, and updated to produce this chapter, which begins with the fossil primates and ends with living primates.
- ◆ *Chapter 6: Hominid Evolution.* Updated to take account of latest research, this chapter also features discussions of debates surrounding early hominid hunting versus scavenging, and whether or not evidence exists for early hominid home bases.
- ◆ *Chapter 10: Culture and the Human Condition.* This chapter contains a new discussion of Rick Potts' "monolith of culture," which we believe successfully demystifies the supposed "all or nothing" paradox of the evolution of human culture. We have revised and strengthened the discussion of agency and addressed the deterritorialization of culture in the contemporary world.
- ◆ *Chapter 13: Language.* Material on formal linguistics has been shortened, and there is much greater emphasis on discourse and language as practice. Ethnopragsmatics and heteroglossia are discussed and illustrated with new ethnographic examples. Our earlier discussion on African American English is updated in the context of an enlarged discussion of pidgins and creoles, and we now include an In Their Own Words selection about the Ebonics controversy in the Oakland, California, public schools.
- ◆ *Chapter 17: Social Organization and Power.* In addition to its new placement, this chapter contains new material on domination and hegemony and anthropological approaches to the study of nationalism.
- ◆ *Chapter 18: Making a Living.* This chapter is also in a new position in the order of chapters. It contains revised and updated discussions of economic anthropology, as well as a new consideration of political and social implications of storage.
- ◆ *Chapter 19. Kinship.* We have added a discussion of kinship institutions, such as adoption, based on nurturance. There is an expanded discussion of supernumerary sexes and genders. We have tried to strike a balance between recognizing the past achievements and new directions in anthropological studies of kinship.
- ◆ *Chapter 20: Marriage and the Family.* This chapter contains a new section comparing bridewealth and dowry. There are revised and expanded discussions comparing sexuality cross-culturally, new reproductive technologies and their effects on

child custody in the United States, and new material on gay and lesbian families of choice.

- ◆ *Chapter 22: The World System.* The section on Amazonian Indians has been updated. Discussions of colonialism and peasant resistance have been revised. We have added material from the work of John and Jean Comaroff on missionary activity in Africa as well as a new section on globalization.

FEATURES

- ◆ *Material on gender and feminist anthropology is featured throughout the text.* Discussions pertaining to gender are found in nearly every chapter, including the sections on biological anthropology and archaeology, which feature work by historian of science Donna Haraway, primatologists such as Linda Fedigan and Barbara Smuts, and archaeologists such as Janet Spector, Joan Gero, and Margaret Conkey. Discussions of gender are tightly woven into the fabric of the chapters on cultural and linguistic anthropology, and include (for example) material on supernumerary sexes and genders (such as Sambia *kwolu-aatmwol* and male and female berdaches in native North America), varieties of human sexual practice, language and gender, dance and gender politics, and women and colonialism. Extensive material on gender is found in the chapters on Language; Cognition; Play, Art, Myth, and Ritual; Social Organization and Power; Making a Living; Kinship; Marriage and the Family; and The World System.
- ◆ *We take an explicitly global approach in the text.* We systematically point out the extent to which the current sociocultural situation of particular peoples has been shaped by their particular histories of contact with world capitalism and their degrees of incorporation in it. Cultures cannot be studied outside the broader context that shapes people's lives. (In the chapters on biological anthropology, we also draw students' attention to the degree to which broader sociocultural concerns have shaped the discussion in such areas as sociobiology, evolutionary theory, and the concept of race.)
- ◆ *New voices, including those of indigenous peoples, anthropologists, and nonanthropologists, are presented in the text in commentaries called In Their Own Words.* These short commentaries provide alternative perspectives—always interesting and sometimes controversial—on topics featured in the chapter in which they occur.
- ◆ *EthnoProfiles.* These text inserts provide a consistent, brief information summary for each society discussed at length in the text. They emerged from our sense as instructors that students could not be expected to know readily where the different societies anthropologists talk about are located, nor how many people might be involved. Each EthnoProfile includes data on the location of the society, the nation it is in, the population, the environment, the livelihood of the people, their political organization, and a source for further information. Each EthnoProfile also contains a map of the area in which the society is found. They are not intended to be a substitute for reading ethnographies or for in-class lectures, nor are they intended to reify the “people” or “culture” in question. Their main purpose is to provide a consistent orientation for the reader.
- ◆ *Additional learning aids.* Key terms are boldfaced in the text and defined in a running glossary on the page where they appear. Each chapter ends with a list of the key terms in the order they appear in the text, a numbered chapter summary, and annotated suggested readings. Maps are featured extensively throughout the text.
- ◆ *In our discussions, we have tried to avoid being omniscient narrators by making use of citations and quotations in order to indicate to students where anthropological ideas come from.* In our view, even first-year students need to know that an academic discipline like anthropology is constructed by the work of many people; no one, especially not textbook authors, should attempt to impose a single voice on the field. We have avoided, as much as we could, predigested statements that students must take on faith. We try to give them the information they need to reach the conclusions.
- ◆ *A Study Guide* written with Margaret Rauch, Emerita Director of the Academic Learning Center

at St. Cloud State University. This Study Guide is unusual in that Dr. Rauch poured into it her many years of experience in helping students learn to study and succeed at the university. It is filled with hints and suggestions on improving study skills, strategies for studying this text, organizing information, writing essay exams, taking multiple-choice exams, and much more. Any student, even the best-prepared, will find the information and strategies in the Study Guide valuable. Each chapter in the Study Guide also contains a key terms review, sample multiple-choice questions, and an innovative Arguing Anthropology section with a pair of questions for students to consider arguing about with their friends.

- ♦ *An Instructor's Manual* with test-bank questions, chapter outlines, supplemental activities, and film suggestions. The test bank questions are also available on computer disk for IBM-compatible and Macintosh computers. Instructors can select, add, or edit questions, randomize the question order for each exam and the answer order for each question, and print tests that meet the needs of their classes.

We take students seriously. In our experience, although students may sometimes complain, they are also pleased when a course or a textbook gives them some credit for having minds and being willing to use them. We have worked hard to make this book readable and to present anthropology in its diversity, as a vibrant, living discipline full of excitement, contention, and intellectual value. We do not run away from the meat of the discipline with the excuse that it's too hard for students. Our collective teaching experience has ranged from highly selective liberal arts colleges to multi-purpose state universities, to semi-rural community colleges. We have found students at all of these institutions willing to be challenged and make an effort when it is clear to them that anthropology has something to offer, whether intellectual, emotional, or practical. It is our hope that this book will be a useful tool in challenging students and convincing them of the value of anthropology as a way of thinking about, and dealing with, the world in which they live.

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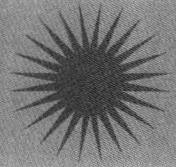
We would like to thank Jan Beatty, our editor at Mayfield, for her confidence, support, advice, and sure eye. We appreciate her eagerness to publish both this book and the cultural anthropology book. It has been a great pleasure to work with her and the superb production team at Mayfield, especially Lynn Rabin Bauer, once again, production editor extraordinaire. We would also like to acknowledge the contributions of our exceptional copyeditor Dale Anderson. To all authors we wish such a copyeditor. Our thanks as well to art editor Robin Mouat, permissions editor Martha Granahan, and editorial assistant Pam Lucas.

We continue to be impressed by the level of involvement of the reviewers of this manuscript. Our reviewers seem to recognize how important they are not only to us, the authors of textbooks, but to the users of textbooks—students and colleagues both. They also recognize that authors may have more than time invested in their work. We have found that, even when we didn't follow their suggestions, their work caused us to think and rethink the issues they raised. We would like therefore to recognize Jeffery A. Behm, University of Wisconsin, Oshkosh; Vance Geiger, University of Central Florida/Rollins College; Sarah W. Neusius, Indiana University of Pennsylvania; Michael J. O'Brien, University of Missouri; Kathleen J. Reichs, University of North Carolina, Charlotte; Cameron B. Wesson, University of Oklahoma; and Linda D. Wolfe, East Carolina University.

We owe a special and profound debt to Ivan Karp, who has been our most important source of intellectual stimulation and support throughout this project.

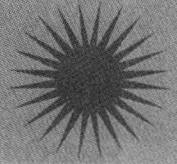
We have found that textbook writing is a particularly solitary occupation, and that means that our children, Daniel and Rachel, have had to get used to our spending an awful lot of time reading, taking notes, writing, revising, and attending to a seemingly unending stream of details. For a host of reasons, it is for our children and the future in which they will live that we undertook this project. As they read what we have written, we hope that they come to understand why.

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