

# ANTHROPOLOGY

*A Perspective on the Human Condition*



EMILY A. SCHULTZ • ROBERT H. LAVENDA

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# ANTHROPOLOGY

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**A USED BOOK FROM  
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*For our parents:*

*Beatrice G. Schultz and Violet and George Lavenda  
and in memory of Henry W. Schultz*

# Preface

The photograph on the cover of this book appears to be a stereotypical image of the subject matter of anthropology: women, dressed in what seems to the western eye to be exotic clothing and engaged in a seemingly exotic occupation—backstrap weaving. Indigenous Guatemalan women, the picture seems to say, live in a colorful, peaceful, “traditional” world distant from the “modern” world of the presumed observer of the photograph. But images can be deceiving. In 1992, an indigenous Guatemalan woman, Rigoberta Menchú, dressed in “traditional” Guatemalan clothing, stood before the King of Sweden to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for her courageous dedication to defending human rights in her violence-wracked country. Indigenous Guatemalan people, like so many others, have been caught up in war, revolution, state-sponsored terrorism, massacres, and great political, religious, and social movements. The women on the cover may possibly have been unaffected by the decades of violence directed against indigenous people in Guatemala, but they may also be, like so many others, survivors of the violence. They may have lost husbands, brothers, or sons—killed by the Guatemalan army or by death squads. They, too, might have been involved in the struggle for autonomy, waged within the context of a modern state and world system.

The cloth the women weave carries a range of potential meanings. It may be fabric for themselves, their relatives, friends, or neighbors, but it may also be for the tourist market in Panajachel or Guatemala City, or for businesses that will make jackets to sell throughout Central America, the United States, Europe, and Japan. The weavers may be relatives or friends, or perhaps unrelated women who have organized themselves into a cooperative to market their cloth. To understand the photograph, we need to look beyond them. The ambiguities evoked by the photograph on the cover, and the task of looking beyond them, lie at the heart of our understanding of anthropology and at the heart of this book.

## APPROACH

Anthropology is no longer about the strange customs of exotic peoples (if it ever really was). In this text, our goal is to explore the interplay of cultural creativity and material constraint in the shaping of human nature, human society, and human history. Because anthropology aims to integrate knowledge about human beings at the most inclusive level, it faces the challenge of explaining 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 material survival. We find the anthropological explanation exciting and challenging, although much work is still to be done and many controversies remain. We have tried to be as clear as possible about the gaps in anthropological knowledge and to present fairly the different sides of various argu-

ments without losing sight of the many areas about the human story on which anthropologists currently agree.

Since anthropology became a recognized discipline in North America a century ago, the field has diversified and many new specialties have developed. This specialization has led some contemporary anthropologists to question whether it makes sense to continue to try to contain all subfields under a single umbrella discipline called anthropology. We believe that it does make sense to do so, and for some of the same reasons that originally led Franz Boas and his students to constitute anthropology as a “four-field” discipline. In our day, as in Boas’s time, debates about human diversity rage, often with violent consequences. One side claims that differences are inborn while the other claims that they are learned. In this context, contemporary anthropology needs to carry on the Boasian legacy. We need to remain knowledgeable about human biology in order both to expose the way biology is used to support a racist agenda and to familiarize the world with biological evidence that undermines racism. This effort strengthens our claims for the importance of culture in shaping human diversity, as do findings from anthropological linguistics and archaeology, which add weight to our assertions about the full and equal humanity of all the peoples of the world.

Anthropology is the original interdisciplinary discipline and remains the only university discipline that provides a perspective on the human condition that combines insights from the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. These considerations shaped our cultural anthropology textbook and provided the impetus for our decision to expand that book into a general anthropology text.

## ORGANIZATION AND CONTENT

There are two main sections of the text: Chapters 1–10 cover biological anthropology and archaeology and Chapters 11–24 discuss cultural anthropology and linguistics.

### Biological Anthropology and Archaeology

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 treat evolution, the first chapter covers general topics in evolution and the second discusses microevolution and macroevolution. A key question treated in Chapter 2 is how natural selection, operating on material organisms, could have produced a human species that depends upon arbitrary cultural symbols for its continued material survival. If this issue is not raised at the outset, students are left with the view that cultural forms are determined, in some unspecified way, 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 upon culture would be favored, thus grounding the biocultural approach taken in the rest of the book.

Chapter 3 on microevolution and macroevolution discusses population genetics and provides detailed discussions of variation in such human traits as body shape and size, skin color, and intelligence. 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.* There are two chapters on primates, the first on the living primates (Chapter 4) and the second on primate evolution (Chapter 6). In addition to standard descriptive material about each major primate category, the first chapter includes a 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.* Chapter 5 examines theory and method both in paleo-anthropology and archaeology, noting how they overlap (for example, as regards methods of dating) and where they diverge (for example, problems associated with the interpretation of artifacts and relating them to the hominids/humans who may have made them). This chapter includes material on recent developments in feminist archaeology and archaeological collaboration with indigenous peoples.
- *Hominids.* Chapters 7 and 8 cover hominids from the australopithecines to *Homo erectus* and the evolution of *Homo sapiens*. The current debate about the origin of anatomically modern *Homo sapiens* is discussed in some detail.
- *Prehistory.* Two chapters examine issues in prehistory: Chapter 9 discusses domestication and agriculture and Chapter 10 covers complex societies. The first chapter presents recent reevaluations of the circumstances under which domestication of plants and of animals may have occurred. The second chapter describes evidence used to infer the appearance of complex societies in the archaeological record and the classification of social forms used by archaeologists to interpret that record.

## Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics

- This section is based on our *Cultural Anthropology: A Perspective on the Human Condition* text, now in its third edition. The presentation of cultural anthropology derives from our perspective on the interplay of cultural creativity and material constraint. We begin with three introductory chapters on the concept of culture; ethnographic fieldwork; and history, anthropology, and the explanation of cultural diversity (Chapters 11–13). This is followed by a set of chapters that focus on human creativity (Chapters 14–17). Next come three chapters that deal with the organization of human interdependence (Chapters 18–20) where we look at the ways kinship, marriage, family, and nonkin social forms offer tools for pursuing individual interests even as people channel individual creativity into patterns of group life. Chapters 21–23 focus on the most inclusive social patterns: modes of power, modes of livelihood, and the pressures of the world system. The final chapter examines anthropology in everyday life, not only in the applied sense, but also in a more philosophical way.

## FEATURES AND LEARNING AIDS

- 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 such physical anthropologists as Linda Fedigan, Donna Haraway, and Barbara Smuts, and such archaeologists 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, nonreproductive sexual practices, 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; Kinship; Marriage and the Family; Social Organization and Power; Making a Living; and The World System.
- We take an explicitly world-system 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 the world system and their degrees of incorporation in it. Cultures cannot be studied out of the broader context that shapes people's lives. (In the chapters on biological anthropology, we draw students' attention to the degree to which broader concerns have shaped discussions in such areas as sociobiology, evolutionary theory, and race.)
- New voices, including those of indigenous peoples, anthropologists, and non-anthropologists, are presented in the text in commentaries called "In Their Own Words." These short commentaries provide alternative perspectives—always readable and sometimes controversial—on topics featured in the chapter in which they occur.
- Carried over from earlier editions of the cultural textbook, the newly renamed EthnoProfiles provide a consistent, brief information summary for each society discussed at length in the text. They emerged from our sense as teachers that students could not be expected to know readily the locations of different societies, 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. It also contains a map of the area in which the society is found. EthnoProfiles are not intended to be a substitute for reading ethnographies or for in-class lectures, but they provide a consistent orientation for the reader.
- Additional learning aids include key terms that are boldfaced in the text and defined in a running glossary at the bottom of the page. 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. We would particularly draw your attention to the maps that open each chapter, which include the locations of all major sites and societies discussed in the chapter.
- We have tried to indicate where the ideas of anthropology come from and have tried to avoid being omniscient narrators for three major reasons. First, students need to know about the heteroglossic nature of academic disciplines. Anthropology is constructed by the work of many, and no one should attempt to impose a single voice

on our field. Second, we cannot expect students to take academic honesty seriously if their textbook authors do not cite sources. Third, we want students to see where anthropologists' conclusions come from. We have avoided, as much as we could, predigested statements that students must take on faith. We try to give them the information that they need to reach conclusions.

- A *Study Guide*, written with Margaret Rauch, director of the Academic Learning Center at St. Cloud State University, is unusual in that 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 also contains a review of key terms, sample multiple-choice exams, and an innovative "Arguing Anthropology" section with questions for students to argue with their friends.
- An *Instructor's Manual* offers test-bank questions, chapter outlines, key terms, suggestions for class discussions, and film suggestions. The test-bank questions are also available to qualified adopters in a computerized class management system that provides all test items 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. The system also includes a gradebook module that enables the instructor to keep detailed performance records for individual students and for the entire class; maintain student averages; graph each student's progress; and set the desired grade distribution and curve, maximum score, and weight for each test. The system has extensive reporting options for tests, individual students, and entire classes.

We take students seriously. In our experience, although students may 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 very hard to make this book readable and to present anthropology in all of its diversity, as a vibrant, lively 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 who are willing to be challenged and make an effort when it is clear to them that anthropology has something to offer. 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.

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our thanks to Clark Baxter who provided the spark for this book. We would like to thank Jan Beatty, our editor at Mayfield, for bringing that spark to life. We appreciate her eagerness to publish both this book and the cultural anthropology book, and we

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We continue to be impressed by the level of involvement of most of the reviewers of this manuscript. It is clear that reviewers understand how important they are to the authors of textbooks and recognize that authors may have more than time invested in their work. We have found that even when we didn't follow reviewers' suggestions their work caused us to think and rethink the issues they raised. We would like therefore to recognize Katherine Dettwyler, Texas A & M University; David F. Draper, Delgado College; H. Edwin Jackson, University of Southern Mississippi; David A. Kideckel, Central Connecticut State University; Cynthia Mahmood, University of Maine; Ester G. Maring, Southern Illinois University; James Mielke, University of Kansas; Peer H. Moore-Jensen, Wichita State University; Patricia Rice, West Virginia University; Susan M. Riches, Fort Lewis College; Marea Teski, Stockton State University (N.J.); John R. White, Youngstown State University; and Nancy Marie White, University of South Florida.

Paul Jameson, our teacher at Indiana University, read several of the biological anthropology chapters at a very early, pre-review stage, and his comments were of signal importance in getting us off to a good start. 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 for our children, Daniel and Rachel, both Mom and Dad have had to spend 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 that we undertook this project. When they finally come to read the result, we hope that they will understand why we spent so much time on it, and be pleased.

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