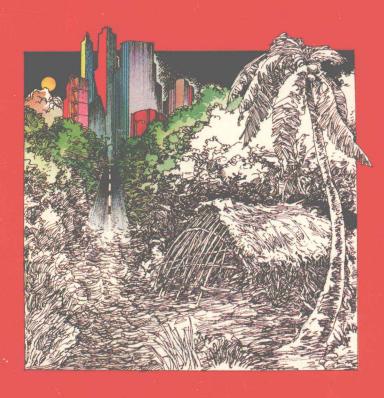
ANTHROPOLOGY 94/95



ANTHROPOLOGY 94/95

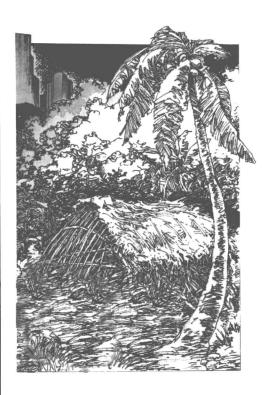
Seventeenth Edition

Editor

Elvio Angeloni Pasadena City College

Elvio Angeloni received his B.A. from UCLA in 1963, his M.A. in anthropology from UCLA in 1965, and his M.A. in communication arts from Loyola Marymount University in 1976. He has produced several films, including "Little Warrior," winner of the Cinemedia VI Best Bicentennial Theme, and "Broken Bottles," shown on PBS. He most recently served as an academic advisor on the instructional television series "Faces of Culture."





The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc. Sluice Dock, Guilford, Connecticut 06437

Cover illustration by Mike Eagle

The Annual Editions Series

Annual Editions is a series of over 60 volumes designed to provide the reader with convenient, low-cost access to a wide range of current, carefully selected articles from some of the most important magazines, newspapers, and journals published today. Annual Editions are updated on an annual basis through a continuous monitoring of over 300 periodical sources. All Annual Editions have a number of features designed to make them particularly useful, including topic guides, annotated tables of contents, unit overviews, and indexes. For the teacher using Annual Editions in the classroom. an Instructor's Resource Guide with test questions is available for each volume.

VOLUMES AVAILABLE

Africa Aging **American Foreign Policy American Government** American History, Pre-Civil War American History, Post-Civil War Anthropology Biology **Business Ethics Canadian Politics** Child Growth and Development **Comparative Politics** Computers in Education **Computers in Business** Computers in Society **Criminal Justice** Drugs, Society, and Behavior Dying, Death, and Bereavement Early Childhood Education **Economics Educating Exceptional Children** Education **Educational Psychology** Environment Geography Global Issues Health **Human Development Human Resources Human Sexuality** India and South Asia

Latin America Life Management Macroeconomics Management Marketing Marriage and Family Mass Media Microeconomics Middle East and the Islamic World Money and Banking **Multicultural Education** Nutrition Personal Growth and Behavior Physical Anthropology **Psychology Public Administration** Race and Ethnic Relations Russia, Eurasia, and Central/Eastern Europe Social Problems Sociology State and Local Government Third World **Urban Society** Violence and Terrorism Western Civilization. **Pre-Reformation** Western Civilization. Post-Reformation Western Europe World History, Pre-Modern World History, Modern **World Politics**



Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data

Main entry under title: Annual editions: Anthropology. 1994/95.

1. Anthropology—Periodicals. I. Angeloni, Elvio, comp. II. Title: Anthropology. 301.2

74–84595

ISBN 1–56134–265–3

GN 325.A53

International Business

Japan and the Pacific Rim

© 1994 by The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., Guilford, CT 06437

Copyright law prohibits the reproduction, storage, or transmission in any form by any means of any portion of this publication without the express written permission of The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc., and of the copyright holder (if different) of the part of the publication to be reproduced. The Guidelines for Classroom Copying endorsed by Congress explicitly state that unauthorized copying may not be used to create, to replace, or to substitute for anthologies, compilations, or collective works

Annual Editions® is a Registered Trademark of The Dushkin Publishing Group, Inc.

Seventeenth Edition

Printed in the United States of America



EDITOR

Elvio Angeloni Pasadena City College

ADVISORY BOARD

Ronald McIrvin

The University of North Carolina

Katherine T. Molohon Laurentian University

Jay V. Powell

University of British Columbia

Harald E. L. Prins

Kansas State University

Kevin Rafferty

Community College of Southern Nevada

Karl F. Rambo

University of Oklahoma

John Rashford

College of Charleston **Loudell Fromme Snow**

Michigan State University

Jay Sokolovsky

University of Maryland **Baltimore**

Vinson Sutlive, Jr.

The College of William and Mary

James M. Wallace

North Carolina State University

Scott Whiteford

Michigan State University

Juliana Arbo, Typesetter

STAFF

Ian A. Nielsen, Publisher Brenda S. Filley, Production Manager Roberta Monaco, Editor Addie Raucci, Administrative Editor Cheryl Greenleaf, Permissions Editor Diane Barker, Editorial Assistant Lisa Holmes-Doebrick, Administrative Coordinator Charles Vitelli, Designer Shawn Callahan, Graphics Steve Shumaker, Graphics Lara M. Johnson, Graphics Libra A. Cusack, Typesetting Supervisor

Editors/ Advisory

Members of the Advisory Board are instrumental in the final selection of articles for each edition of Annual Editions. Their review of articles for content. level, currentness, and appropriateness provides critical direction to the editor and staff. We think you'll find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

Nabeel Abraham Henry Ford Community College

> Walter R. Adams Kansas State University

> > James R. Bell

California State University Los Angeles

Jill Brody

Louisiana State University

Matthew Cooper McMaster University

Richley H. Crapo

Utah State University Phillip R. DeVita

SUNY, Plattsburgh

Josef Gamper Monterey Peninsula College

Barbara Harkness

Kent State University

Arthur W. Helweg Western Michigan University

Arthur S. Keene

University of Massachusetts Amherst

Roberta D. Lenkeit

Modesto Junior College

Diane Lichtenstein

Baldwin-Wallace College and Cleveland Institute of Art

iv

19

24

28

32



Unit **1**

To the Reader

Topic Guide Overview

Anthropological Perspectives

Five selections examine the role of anthropologists in studying different cultures. The innate problems in developing productive relationships between anthropologists and exotic cultures are considered by reviewing a number of fieldwork experiences.

Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö , Napoleon A. Chagnon, from <i>Yanomamö: The Fierce People</i> , Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1992.
Although an anthropologist's first experience may involve <i>culture shock</i> , Napoleon Chagnon reports that the long process of <i>participant observation</i> may transform personal hardship and frustration into confident understanding of exotic cultural patterns.

Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief, Richard Kurin, Natural History, November 1980.

In transforming an anthropologist into one of their own, villagers of Punjab say, "You never really know who a man is until you know who his grandfather and his ancestors were." In this way, Richard Kurin finds, selecting a village for *fieldwork* is a matter of mutual acceptance and mutual *economic* benefit.

 "The White Man Will Eat You!" William E. Wormsley, from The White Man Will Eat You! An Anthropologist among the Imbonggu of New Guinea, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1993.

While William Wormsley may have thought of himself as an anthropologist doing *fieldwork* among the Imbonggu of Papua New Guinea, the local people had other ideas regarding his *social position*, ranging from that of medical practitioner to eater of small children.

4. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari, Richard Borshay Lee, *Natural History,* December 1969.

Anthropologist Richard Borshay Lee gives an account of the misunderstanding and confusion that often accompany the cross-cultural experience. In this case, he violated a basic principle of the !Kung Bushmen's social relations—food sharing.

 The Naked Truth, Roger L. Welsch, Natural History, August 1993.

Notions of propriety are the result of mutually agreed upon *rules*. Enter persons who are not part of the shared consensus, and panic, embarrassment, and moral indignation are the inevitable result.



Unit 2

Culture and Communication

Five selections discuss communication as an element of culture. Ingrained social and cultural values have a tremendous effect on an individual's perception or interpretation of both verbal and nonverbal communication.



Unit 3

The Organization of Society and Culture

Six selections discuss the influence of the environment and culture on the organization of the social structure of groups.

verview	34

- 6. The World's Language, Bill Bryson, from *The Mother Tongue*, William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1990.

 English has become the most global of *languages*. Its ability to express subtlety of *thought* combined with its *flexibility* and relative simplicity of *pronunciation* have contributed to its becoming one of the greatest growth industries of our time.
- Language, Appearance, and Reality: Doublespeak in 1984, William D. Lutz, Et Cetera, Winter 1987.
 When language is used to alter our perception of reality, its main function—that of communication between people and social groups—is in grave danger.
- 8. Shakespeare in the Bush, Laura Bohannan, Natural History, August/September 1966.
 It is often claimed that great literature has cross-cultural significance. In this article, Laura Bohannan describes the difficulties she encountered and the lessons she learned as she attempted to relate the story of Hamlet to the Tiv of West Africa in their own language.
- 9. A Cross-Cultural Experience: A Chinese Anthropologist in the United States, Huang Shu-min, from Distant Mirrors: America as a Foreign Culture, Wadsworth Publishing, 1993.

 Being exposed to a variety of cultural experiences does more than lead to a greater awareness and understanding of others. It also helps us to better understand ourselves.
- 10. The F Word, Valerie Steele, Lingua Franca, April 1991. Even as academics deny the importance of fashion in the clothes they wear, stylistic choices seem to express certain values, ranging from an Anglican upper-class tradition to an American free-spirited proletarianism.

Overview 58

- Understanding Eskimo Science, Richard Nelson, Audubon, September/October 1993.
 The traditional hunters' insights into the world of nature may be different, but they are as extensive and profound as those of modern science.
- The Blood in Their Veins, Farley Mowat, from The Snow Walker, Little, Brown, & Company, 1975.
 They did what had to be done, to the point of forgiving what otherwise could not have been forgiven. This was the way of survival in traditional Inuit (Eskimo) culture—until its last flickering moments.





Other Families, Other Ways

Six selections examine some of the influences on the family structure of different cultures. The strength of the family unit is affected by both economic and social pressures.

13.	Mystique of	the	Masai,	Ettagale	Blauer,	The	World	&	1,
	March 1987.								

Living in the midst of tourist traffic and straddling two nations struggling to modernize, the Masai have retained their *traditional culture* longer than virtually any other group of people in East Africa

- 14. Too Many Bananas, Not Enough Pineapples, and No Watermelon at All: Three Object Lessons in Living With Reciprocity, David Counts, from The Humbled Anthropologist: Tales from the Pacific, Wadsworth, 1990. Among the lessons to be learned regarding reciprocity is that one may not demand a gift nor refuse it. Yet, even without a system of record-keeping or money involved, there is a long-term balance of mutual benefit.
- 15. Life Without Chiefs, Marvin Harris, New Age Journal, November/December 1989.
 Modern-day egalitarian bands of hunters share their food—and their political power—as did their forebears. But when agriculture was invented, people settled down, produced surpluses, and began to accumulate private property. As control of a group's resources fell to select individuals, big men, chiefs, and—with time—presidents emerged.
- 16. An Unsettled People, Amy Seidman, The World & I, June 1993.

The Travellers are a "homeless" minority in Ireland with a distinctive lifestyle and language. Having fulfilled a **social niche** for centuries, they now find themselves in danger of losing their **cultural identity**.

Overview

92

99

86

69

17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood, Marjorie Shostak, *Human Nature*, June 1978.

A woman of the *hunter-gatherers* recalls her *childhood*. Her remembrances are a reflection of a fading way of life as well as a reminder of the basic humanity that we all share.

18. When Brothers Share a Wife, Melvyn C. Goldstein, *Natural History,* March 1987.

While the custom of *fraternal polyandry* relegated many Tibetan women to spinsterhood, this unusual *marriage* form promoted personal security and economic well-being for its participants.

Young Traders of Northern Nigeria, Enid Schildkrout, 103
 Natural History, June 1981.

In Hausa society, women live in strict Muslim seclusion. *Children*, who are free from the rigid segregation that so restricts adults, play an active and indispensable *economic* role.





Sex Roles and Statuses

Six selections discuss some of the sex roles prescribed by the social, economic, and political forces of a culture.

20.	Family Planning, Amazon Style, Warren M. Hern, Natural	
	History, December 1992.	

Among the Shipibo of the Peruvian Amazon, the coming of the *market economy* has meant changes in *family structure* and methods of *population control*, and caused *resource depletion*. The result has been higher rates of fertility, disease, and poverty.

Death Without Weeping, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, Natural History, October 1989.

In the shantytowns of Brazil, the seeming indifference of mothers who allow some of their **children** to die is a **survival strategy** geared to circumstances in which only some may live.

Arranging a Marriage in India, Serena Nanda, from The Naked Anthropologist, Wadsworth, 1992.

Arranging a marriage in India is far too serious a business for the young and inexperienced. Instead the parents make decisions on the basis of the families' social position, reputation, and ability to get along.

Overview

122

124

134

107

 Society and Sex Roles, Ernestine Friedl, Human Nature, April 1978.

The author relates the extent of *male domination* over *women* to the degree to which men control the exchange of valued goods with people outside the family. As women gain increasing access to positions of power in industrial society, they may regain the *equality* that seems to have been prevalent among our foraging ancestors.

Why Don't We Act Like the Opposite Sex? Anthony
 Layng, USA Today Magazine (Society for the Advancement
 of Education), January 1993.

While the field of **sociobiology** has prompted arguments as to whether the behavioral differences between **men and women** are inherited or learned, Anthony Layng claims the truth to be somewhere in between.

 The Global War Against Women, Lori Heise, The Washington Post, April 9, 1989.

Violence against women is perhaps the most pervasive, yet least recognized, **human-rights** issue in the world. Although rooted in such traditions as **female infanticide** and **female circumcision** and, in some ways, made even more prevalent by **social change**, its seeming inevitability, says the author, can and must be challenged.





Religion, Belief, and Ritual

Eight selections examine the role of ritual, religion, and belief in a culture. The need to develop a religion is universal among societies.

26.	The Little	Emperors,	Daniela	Deane,	Los	Angeles	Times	137
	Magazine,	July 26, 199	92.					

A generation of spoiled brats, a tidal wave of **abortions**, and thousands of missing girls are just some of the unintended consequences of China's revolutionary **one-child policy**.

Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters, Lee Cronk, American Scientist, May/June 1993.

Parents of some cultures invest more in the offspring of one sex than the other. How and why they do this is richly illustrated in the case of the Mukogodo of Kenya, who contradict the general tendency in their *preference for girls*.

Blaming the Victim: Ideology and Sexual Discrimination in the Contemporary United States, Maxine Margolis, from Researching American Culture, University of Michigan Press, 1982.

A very important aspect of *culture* is its system-maintaining *ideology*. A case in point is the "*blaming the victim*" rationale that helps to keep American *women* in a subordinate social position.

Overview

158

166

169

Psychotherapy in Africa, Thomas Adeoye Lambo, Human Nature, March 1978.

In spite of the technological advances and material benefits of *modern medicine, traditional healing* methods are found to cope more effectively with the psychological and social aspects of illness. When the old and the new forms of treatment are combined, the consequences are beneficial for both the individual and society.

30. The Body's War and Peace, Ronald Grunloh, *The Quest,* Summer 1991.

Cultural models make a difference in the way we view nature and our place in it. In this light, the effectiveness of the **Western model of disease** needs to be reevaluated.

31. The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation, Colin M. Turnbull, from *The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983.

Although informal in appearance, the *ritual* life of the Mbuti Pygmies provides individuals with deep feelings of personal security, individual responsibility, and overall *social equality*.

The Initiation of a Maasai Warrior, Tepilit Ole Saitoti, from The Worlds of a Maasai Warrior, Random House, 1986.
 In virtually every society, there are certain rites or ceremonies that are used to signify adulthood. This article describes the Maasai circumcision ceremony that initiates an individual into adult-

hood.





Sociocultural Change: The Impact of the West

Eight articles examine the influence that the developed world has had on primitive cultures. Exposure to the industrial West often has disastrous effects on the delicate balance of a primitive society.

33.	The Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead, Gino Del Guercio,	177
	Harvard Magazine, January/February 1986.	
	In seeking scientific documentation of the existence of zombies,	
	anthropologist Wade Davis found himself looking beyond the	
	stereotypes and mysteries of voodoo and directly into a cohesive	
	system of social control in rural Haiti.	

- 34. Rituals of Death, Elizabeth D. Purdum and J. Anthony Paredes, from Facing the Death Penalty: Essays on a Cruel and Unusual Punishment, Temple University Press, 1989. In a parallel manner, capital punishment in the United States and human sacrifice among the Aztecs have a similar social function: to assure citizens that society is not out of control, and that God is indeed in his heaven.
- 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema, Horace Miner, American Anthropologist, June 1956.
 The ritual beliefs and taboos of the Nacirema provide us with a test case of the objectivity of ethnographic description and show us the extremes to which human behavior can go.
- 36. Superstition and Ritual in American Baseball, George Gmelch, Elysian Fields Quarterly, Volume 11, Number 3, 1992.
 Professional baseball players, like Trobriand Islanders, often resort to magic in situations of chance and uncertainty. As irrational as it may seem, magic creates confidence, competence, and control in the practitioner.

Overview 196

- 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, from Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity, Random House, 1977. When colonial governments force the conversion of subsistence farms to cash crop plantations, peasants are driven into marginal lands or into a large pool of cheap labor. In either case, the authors maintain, they are no longer able to feed themselves.
- 38. Growing Up as a Fore, E. Richard Sorenson, Smithsonian, May 1977.
 In the context of a bountiful subsistence system, Fore children were taught spontaneous expression and exploratory freedom. Hidden within this receptive character, however, was an Achilles' heel, for it permitted the willing adoption of a cash-crop economy and a consequent reformulation of the identity and practices of the Fore.
- 39. Civilization and Its Discontents, Katharine Milton, Natural History, March 1992.
 When forest-dwelling Indians are exposed to manufactured goods, it is love at first sight. The honeymoon is soon over, however, as a continuous supply of material possessions brings about the deterioration of their health and traditional culture.

40.	Dark Dreams About the White Man, Thomas Gregor, Natural History, January 1983. Although the culture of the Mehinaku Indians remains intact, their inner tranquility has been laid to waste by increased cross-cultural interaction with Brazilians. This is illustrated by Mehinaku dreams that are haunted by the white man.	213
41.	A People at Risk, Peter Gorman, <i>The World & I</i> , November 1991. The lure of gold has drawn hordes of miners onto Yanomami lands. Along with the miners have come an <i>ecological</i> nightmare and the prospect of tribal <i>extinction</i> .	217
42.	Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge, Eugene Linden, <i>Time</i> , September 23, 1991. Preserving <i>tribal wisdom</i> is increasingly being recognized not only as the key to saving traditional peoples and their lands, but also as good <i>science</i> and good <i>business</i> .	222
43.	Bicultural Conflict , Betty Lee Sung, <i>The World & I</i> , August 1989. In describing the <i>cultural conflicts</i> endured by Chinese immigrant children in America, Betty Lee Sung provides us with a better understanding of where China has been and where America is going.	228
44.	Easter Island: Scary Parable, Louise B. Young, World Monitor, August 1991. Although the people of Easter Island nearly destroyed their habitat and themselves, the decline of their mysterious culture contains a stunning lesson for all of humanity.	236
	ex cle Review Form cle Rating Form	241 244 245

To the Reader $oldsymbol{\mathbb{T}}$

In publishing ANNUAL EDITIONS we recognize the enormous role played by the magazines, newspapers, and journals of the public press in providing current, first-rate educational information in a broad spectrum of interest areas. Within the articles, the best scientists, practitioners, researchers, and commentators draw issues into new perspective as accepted theories and viewpoints are called into account by new events, recent discoveries change old facts, and fresh debate breaks out over important controversies.

Many of the articles resulting from this enormous editorial effort are appropriate for students, researchers, and professionals seeking accurate, current material to help bridge the gap between principles and theories and the real world. These articles, however, become more useful for study when those of lasting value are carefully collected, organized, indexed, and reproduced in a low-cost format, which provides easy and permanent access when the material is needed. That is the role played by Annual Editions. Under the direction of each volume's Editor, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an Advisory Board, we seek each year to provide in each ANNUAL EDITION a current, well-balanced, carefully selected collection of the best of the public press for your study and enjoyment. We think you'll find this volume useful, and we hope you'll take a moment to let us know what you think. The seventeenth edition of *Annual Editions: Anthropology* contains a variety of articles on contemporary issues in social and cultural anthropology. In contrast to the broad range of topics and minimum depth typical of standard textbooks, this anthology provides an opportunity to read firsthand accounts by anthropologists of their own research. By allowing scholars to speak for themselves about the issues on which they are expert, we are better able to understand the kinds of questions anthropologists ask, the ways in which they ask them, and how they go about searching for answers. Where there is disagreement among anthropologists, this format allows readers to draw their own conclusions.

Given the very broad scope of anthropology—in time, space, and subject matter—the present collection of highly readable articles has been selected according to certain criteria. The articles have been chosen from both professional and nonprofessional publications for the purpose of supplementing the standard textbook that is used in introductory courses in cultural anthropology. Some of the articles are considered classics in the field, while others have been selected for their timely relevance.

Included in this volume are a number of features designed to be useful for students, researchers, and professionals in the field of anthropology. While the articles are arranged along the lines of broadly unifying themes, the *topic guide* can be used to establish specific reading assignments tailored to the needs of a particular course of study. Other useful features include the *table of contents abstracts*, which summarize each article and present key concepts in bold italics, and a comprehensive *index*. In addition, each unit is preceded by an *overview* that provides a background for informed reading of the articles, emphasizes critical issues, and presents *challenge questions*.

Annual Editions: Anthropology 94/95 will continue to be updated annually. Those involved in producing this volume wish to make the next one as useful and effective as possible. Your criticism and advice are welcomed. Please fill out the article rating form on the last page of the book, and let us know your opinions. Any anthology can be improved. This continues to be—annually.

Elvio Angeloni

Editor

Topic Guide 3

This topic guide suggests how the selections in this book relate to topics of traditional concern to students and professionals involved with the study of anthropology. It can be very useful in locating articles that relate to each other for reading and research. The guide is arranged alphabetically according to topic. Articles may, of course, treat topics that do not appear in the topic guide. In turn, entries in the topic guide do not necessarily constitute a comprehensive listing of all the contents of each selection.

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
Aculturation	9. Cross-Cultural Experience 16. Unsettled People 38. Growing Up as a Fore 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 43. Bicultural Conflict	Cultural Relativity and Ethnocentrism	1. Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö 3. "White Man Will Eat You!" 4. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari 5. Naked Truth 9. Cross-Cultural Experience
Aggression and Violence	25. Global War Against Women 34. Rituals of Death 40. Dark Dreams About the White Man 41. People at Risk 43. Bicultural Conflict		22. Arranging a Marriage in India 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 43. Bicultural Conflict
Children and Child Care	17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood 19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria 20. Family Planning, Amazon Style 21. Death Without Weeping 24. Why Don't We Act Like the Opposite	Culture Shock	Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö Naked Truth Civilization and Its Discontents Bicultural Conflict
	Sex? 26. Little Emperors 27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 31. Mbuti Pygmies 43. Bicultural Conflict	Ecology and Society	11. Understanding Eskimo Science 12. Blood in Their Veins 13. Mystique of the Masai 15. Life Without Chiefs 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 20. Family Planning, Amazon Style
Cooperation, Sharing, and Altruism	Eating Christmas in the Kalahari Blood in Their Veins Too Many Bananas		23. Society and Sex Roles 27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 41. People at Risk
Cross-Cultural Experience	1. Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö 2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief 3. "White Man Will Eat You!" 4. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari 8. Shakespeare in the Bush 9. Cross-Cultural Experience 11. Understanding Eskimo Science 14. Too Many Bananas 21. Death Without Weeping 22. Arranging a Marriage in India 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 40. Dark Dreams About the White Man 43. Bicultural Conflict	Economic and Political Systems	42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 44. Easter Island 2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief 13. Mystique of the Masai 14. Too Many Bananas 15. Life Without Chiefs 16. Unsettled People 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria 21. Death Without Weeping 23. Society and Sex Roles 26. Little Emperors 27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves?
Cultural Diversity	 Naked Truth Cross-Cultural Experience Unsettled People Arranging a Marriage in India Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters Body's War and Peace 	Ethnographic Fieldwork	39. Civilization and Its Discontents 41. People at Risk 44. Easter Island 1. Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö 2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief
Cultural Identity	 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 43. Bicultural Conflict 5. Naked Truth 9. Cross-Cultural Experience 13. Mystique of the Masai 16. Unsettled People 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 43. Bicultural Conflict 	Health and Welfare	White Man Will Eat You!" Eating Christmas in the Kalahari Too Many Bananas People at Risk Death Without Weeping Global War Against Women Little Emperors Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN:
Health and Welfare (cont'd)	30. Body's War and Peace 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 41. People at Risk 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge	Rituals (cont'd)	31. Mbuti Pygmies 32. Initiation of a Maasai Warrior 33. Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead 34. Rituals of Death 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 36. Superstition and Ritual in American
Hunter-Collectors	11. Understanding Eskimo Science12. Blood in Their Veins15. Life Without Chiefs17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood31. Mbuti Pygmies	Sex Roles/Sexuality	Baseball 17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 23. Society and Sex Roles 24. Why Don't We Act Like the Opposite Sex?
Language	6. World's Language 7. Language, Appearance, and Reality 8. Shakespeare in the Bush 9. Cross-Cultural Experience 30. Body's War and Peace 43. Bicultural Conflict	Social, Cultural, and Industrial	25. Global War Against Women 26. Little Emperors 28. Blaming the Victim 43. Bicultural Conflict 16. Unsettled People 26. Little Emperors
Magic	 33. Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead 34. Rituals of Death 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 36. Superstition and Ritual in American Baseball 	Change	27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 29. Psychotherapy in Africa 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? 38. Growing Up as a Fore 39. Civilization and Its Discontents 40. Dark Dreams About the White Man 41. People at Risk
Marriage, Kinship, and Family Systems	9. Cross-Cultural Experience 16. Unsettled People 17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria 21. Death Without Weeping 22. Arranging a Marriage in India 23. Society and Sex Roles 24. Why Don't We Act Like the Opposite Sex?	Social Equality	42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 43. Bicultural Conflict 44. Easter Island 15. Life Without Chiefs 16. Unsettled People 25. Global War Against Women 28. Blaming the Victim 31. Mbuti Pygmies
	25. Global War Against Women 26. Little Emperors 27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 43. Bicultural Conflict	Social Relationships	Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief "White Man Will Eat You!" Eating Christmas in the Kalahari Naked Truth
Medicine and Healing	29. Psychotherapy in Africa 30. Body's War and Peace 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge		9. Cross-Cultural Experience 14. Too Many Bananas 16. Unsettled People 22. Arranging a Marriage in India 24. Why Don't We Act Like the Opposite
Participant Observation	 Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief "White Man Will Eat You!" Eating Christmas in the Kalahari Shakespeare in the Bush Too Many Bananas Civilization and Its Discontents 	Values	24. Why bort twe Act Like the Opposite Sex? 25. Global War Against Women 26. Little Emperors 28. Blaming the Victim 31. Mbuti Pygmies 33. Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead 4. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari 5. Naked Truth
Patriarchy	23. Society and Sex Roles 28. Blaming the Victim		9. Cross-Cultural Experience 16. Unsettled People 17. Memories of a !Kung Girlhood
Poverty	16. Unsettled People 20. Family Planning, Amazon Style 21. Death Without Weeping 27. Parental Favoritism Toward Daughters 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves?		21. Death Without Weeping 22. Arranging a Marriage in India 26. Little Emperors 31. Mbuti Pygmies 35. Body Ritual Among the Nacirema 38. Growing Up as a Fore
Rituals	16. Unsettled People 29. Psychotherapy in Africa		41. People at Risk 42. Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge 43. Bicultural Conflict

Anthropological Perspectives

For at least a century the goals of anthropology have been to describe societies and cultures throughout the world and to compare the differences and similarities among them. Anthropologists study in a variety of settings and situations, ranging from small hamlets and villages to neighborhoods and corporate offices of major urban centers throughout the world. They study hunters and gatherers, peasants, farmers, labor leaders, politicians, and bureaucrats. They examine religious life in Latin America as well as revolutionary movements.

Wherever practicable, anthropologists take on the role of the "participant observer," for it is through active involvement in the lifeways of the people that they hope to gain an insider's perspective without sacrificing the objectivity of the trained scientist. Sometimes the conditions for achieving such a goal may seem to form an almost insurmountable barrier, but anthropologists' persistence, adaptability, and imagination may be employed to overcome the odds against them.

The diversity of focus in anthropology means that it is earmarked less by its particular subject matter than by its perspective. Although the discipline relates to both the biological and social sciences, anthropologists also know that the boundaries drawn between such disciplines are highly artificial. For example, although it may be possible to examine only the social organization of a family unit or the organization of political power in a nation-state, in reality, it is impossible to separate the biological from the social from the economic from the political. The explanatory perspective of anthropology, as the articles in this section exemplify, is to seek out interrelationships among all these factors.

The articles in this section illustrate varying degrees of difficulty an anthropologist may encounter in taking on the role of the participant observer. Napoleon Chagnon's "Doing Fieldwork Among the Yanomamö" shows, for instance, the hardships imposed by certain physical conditions, the unwillingness of the people to provide needed

information, and the vast differences in values and attitudes to be bridged by the anthropologist just in order to get along.

Richard Kurin ("Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief"), Richard Lee ("Eating Christmas in the Kalahari"), and William Wormsley ("The White Man Will Eat You!") apparently had few problems with the physical conditions and the personalities of the people they were studying. However, they were not completely accepted by the communities until they modified their behavior to conform to the expectations of their hosts and found ways to participate as equals in the socioeconomic exchange systems.

Finally, as Roger Welsch shows, whenever anyone enters a new situation without understanding and abiding by the generally accepted rules, embarrassment and moral indignation are the inevitable results.

Much is at stake in these discussions, since the purpose of anthropology is not only to describe and explain, but to develop a special vision of the world in which cultural alternatives (past, present, and future) can be measured against one another and used as a guide for human action.

Looking Ahead: Challenge Questions

What is culture shock?

How can anthropologists who become personally involved with a community through participant observation maintain their objectivity as scientists?

In what ways do the results of fieldwork depend on the kinds of questions asked?

How does cross-cultural experience help us to understand ourselves?

In what sense is sharing intrinsic to egalitarianism?

How can we avoid the pitfalls of cultural relativity and ethnocentrism in dealing with what we think of as harmful practices in other cultures?

Who decides that human nakedness is an obscenity, and why?



Doing Fieldwork among the Yanomamö¹

Napoleon A. Chagnon

VIGNETTE

The Yanomamö are thinly scattered over a vast and verdant tropical forest, living in small villages that are separated by many miles of unoccupied land. They have no writing, but they have a rich and complex language. Their clothing is more decorative than protective. Well-dressed men sport nothing more than a few cotton strings around their wrists, ankles, and waists. They tie the foreskins of their penises to the waiststring. Women dress about the same. Much of their daily life revolves around gardening, hunting, collecting wild foods, collecting firewood, fetching water, visiting with each other, gossiping, and making the few material possessions they own: baskets, hammocks, bows, arrows, and colorful pigments with which they paint their bodies. Life is relatively easy in the sense that they can 'earn a living' with about three hours' work per day. Most of what they eat they cultivate in their gardens, and most of that is plantains—a kind of cooking banana that is usually eaten green, either roasted on the coals or boiled in pots. Their meat comes from a large variety of game animals, hunted daily by the men. It is usually roasted on coals or smoked, and is always well done. Their villages are round and open—and very public. One can hear, see, and smell almost everything that goes on anywhere in the village. Privacy is rare, but sexual discreetness is possible in the garden or at night while others sleep. The villages can be as small as 40 to 50 people or as large as 300 people, but in all cases there are many more children and babies than there are adults. This is true of most primitive populations and of our own demographic past. Life expectancy is short.

The Yanomamö fall into the category of Tropical Forest Indians called 'foot people'. They avoid large rivers and live in interfluvial plains of the major rivers. They have neighbors to the north, Carib-speaking Ye'kwana, who are true 'river people': They make elegant, large dugout canoes and travel extensively along the major waterways. For the Yanomamö, a large stream is an obstacle and can be crossed only in the dry season. Thus, they have traditionally avoided larger rivers and, because of this, contact with outsiders who usually come by river.

They enjoy taking trips when the jungle abounds with seasonally ripe wild fruits and vegetables. Then, the large village—the *shabono*—is abandoned for a few weeks and everyone camps out for from one to several days

away from the village and garden. On these trips, they make temporary huts from poles, vines, and leaves, each family making a separate hut.

Two major seasons dominate their annual cycle: the wet season, which inundates the low-lying jungle, making travel difficult, and the dry seasonthe time of visiting other villages to feast, trade, and politic with allies. The dry season is also the time when raiders can travel and strike silently at their unsuspecting enemies. The Yanomamö are still conducting intervillage warfare, a phenomenon that affects all aspects of their social organization, settlement pattern, and daily routines. It is not simply 'ritualistic' war: At least one-fourth of all adult males die violently in the area I lived in.

Social life is organized around those same principles utilized by all tribesmen: kinship relationships, descent from ancestors, marriage exchanges between kinship/descent groups, and the transient charisma of distinguished headmen who attempt to keep order in the village and whose responsibility it is to determine the village's relationships with those in other villages. Their positions are largely the result of kinship and marriage patterns; they come from the largest kinship groups within the village. They can, by their personal wit, wisdom, and charisma, become autocrats, but most of them are largely 'greaters' among equals. They, too,