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# ANTHROPOLOGY

97/98



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# ANTHROPOLOGY 97/98

*Twentieth Edition*

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## 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 adviser on the instructional television series *Faces of Culture*.



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Cover: Tibetan Buddhists conduct classic infant burial ceremony in the Himalayas.  
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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 that you will find their careful consideration well reflected in this volume.

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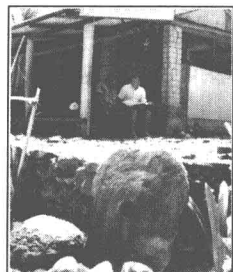
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## UNIT 1



### 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.

## UNIT 2



### Culture and Communication

Four 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.

### World Map To the Reader Topic Guide

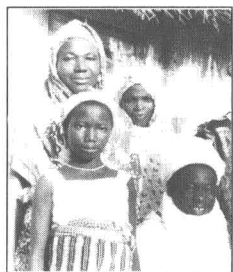
#### Overview

1. **Doing Fieldwork among the Yanomamö**, Napoleon A. Chagnon, from *Yanomamö: The Fierce People*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1992. 8  
Although an anthropologist's first experience may involve *culture shock*, Napoleon Chagnon reports that the long process of *participant observation* may transform personal hardship and frustration into confident understanding of exotic cultural patterns.
2. **Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief**, Richard Kurin, *Natural History*, November 1980. 21  
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.
3. **Eating Christmas in the Kalahari**, Richard Borshay Lee, *Natural History*, December 1969. 26  
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*.
4. **A Cross-Cultural Experience: A Chinese Anthropologist in the United States**, Huang Shu-min, from *Distant Mirrors: America as a Foreign Culture*, Wadsworth, 1993. 30  
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.
5. **Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights**, Carolyn Fluehr-Lobban, *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 9, 1995. 33  
There are, says the author, *universal human rights*; when there is a choice between defending such rights and defending *cultural relativism*, anthropologists should choose to protect human rights. We cannot just be bystanders.

#### Overview

6. **Language, Appearance, and Reality: Doublespeak in 1984**, William D. Lutz, *Et Cetera*, Winter 1987. 38  
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.
7. **Why Don't You Say What You Mean?** Deborah Tannen, *The New York Times Magazine*, August 28, 1994. 43  
As fundamental elements in human *communication*, *directness* is not necessarily logical or effective, and *indirectness* is not necessarily manipulative or insecure. Each has its place in the broader scheme of things, depending upon the culture and the relationship between the speakers.

# UNIT 3



## The Organization of Society and Culture

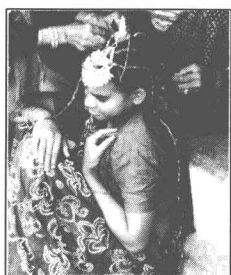
Eight selections discuss the influence of the environment and culture on the organization of the social structure of groups.

8. **Empire of Uniformity**, Jared Diamond, *Discover*, March 1996. 47  
With its vast area and long history of settlement, China ought to have hundreds of distinct *languages* and *cultures*. Since the evidence indicates that it once did, Jared Diamond tackles the question as to what happened to them all.
9. **Shakespeare in the Bush**, Laura Bohannon, *Natural History*, August/September 1966. 53  
It is often claimed that great literature has *cross-cultural* significance. In this article, Laura Bohannon 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*.

### Overview 58

10. **Understanding Eskimo Science**, Richard Nelson, *Audubon*, September/October 1993. 60  
Contrary to stereotype, the results of a *Mbuti net hunt* in large measure reflect the skill and efforts of the *women* in their traditional role of beaters and not just the men who mindlessly butcher whatever animals the women send their way. Moreover, if a hunt goes badly and no animals are killed, the food the women collect in their baskets during the hunt will be all there is to eat and will be generously shared with the men.
11. **Hunting, Gathering, and the Molimo**, Kevin Duffy, from *Children of the Forest*, Waveland Press, Inc. 1996. 63  
Contrary to stereotype, the results of a *Mbuti net hunt* in large measure reflect the skill and efforts of the *women* in their traditional role of beaters and not just the men who mindlessly butcher whatever animals the women send their way. Moreover, if a hunt goes badly and no animals are killed, the food the women collect in their baskets during the hunt will be all there is to eat and will be generously shared with the men.
12. **Why Women Change**, Jared Diamond, *Discover*, July 1996. 68  
As a woman ages in a traditional *hunting and gathering* society, she can do more to increase the number of people bearing her *genes* by devoting herself to her existing children and grandchildren than by producing yet another child. Thus, *menopause* developed.
13. **The Yanomami Keep on Trekking**, Kenneth Good, *Natural History*, April 1995. 73  
Lacking a more balanced range of crops and domesticated food animals, the Yanomami must get their meat and fat from the wild animals of the forest. *Trekking for game* thus helps to fulfill nutritional needs and maintain *social bonds* through the sharing of scarce commodities.
14. **Keepers of the Oaks**, Glen Martin, *Discover*, August 1996. 79  
Recent research indicates that natives of what is now California were not simply *hunters and gatherers* subsisting entirely on what nature offered them. Instead, they were the state's first *agriculturists*, painstakingly tending vast acorn orchards.
15. **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 Publishing Company, 1990. 83  
Among the lessons to be learned regarding *reciprocity* is that one may not demand a gift or refuse it. Yet, even without a system of record-keeping or money involved, there is a long-term balance of mutual benefit.

## UNIT 4



### Other Families, Other Ways

Five 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.

16. **From Shells to Money**, Karl F. Rambo, *The World & I*, May 1989. 87

High in the mountains of New Guinea, the once-secluded Simbu have increasingly adapted **money** as a medium of exchange. Still, the **economic strategy** of maximizing **social relationships** rather than individual wealth remains intact.

17. **Life without Chiefs**, Marvin Harris, *New Age Journal*, November/December 1989. 93

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.

### Overview 98

18. **When Brothers Share a Wife**, Melvyn C. Goldstein, *Natural History*, March 1987. 100

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.

19. **Young Traders of Northern Nigeria**, Enid Schildkrout, *Natural History*, June 1981. 104

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

20. **Death without Weeping**, Nancy Scheper-Hughes, *Natural History*, October 1989. 108

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 a few may live.

21. **Arranging a Marriage in India**, Serena Nanda, from *The Naked Anthropologist*, Wadsworth, 1992. 113

**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 both families' social position, reputation, and ability to get along.

22. **Who Needs Love! In Japan, Many Couples Don't**, Nicholas D. Kristof, *New York Times*, February 11, 1996. 117

Paradoxically, **Japanese families** seem to survive not because husbands and wives love each other more than do American couples, but rather because they perhaps love each other less. And as **love marriages** increase, with the compatibility factor becoming more important in the decision to marry, the **divorce rate** is rising.

# UNIT 5



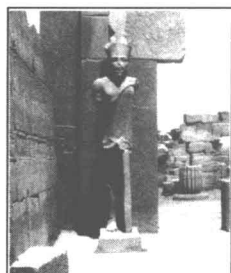
## Gender and Status

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

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| Overview  | 120 |
| 23. Society and Sex Roles, Ernestine Friedl, <i>Human Nature</i> , April 1978.  | 122 |
| Ernestine Friedl relates the extent of <i>male domination</i> over <i>women</i> to the degree to which men control the exchange of valued goods with people outside the family. As women gain increasing <i>access</i> to positions of power in industrial society, they may regain the <i>equality</i> that seems to have been prevalent among our foraging ancestors. |     |
| 24. Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit, Leslie Marmon Silko, <i>Los Angeles Times Magazine</i> , December 19, 1993.  | 128 |
| The traditional Pueblo societies were <i>communal</i> and strictly <i>egalitarian</i> . <i>Beauty</i> was manifested in behavior and in one's relationship with other living things. It was as much a feeling of <i>harmony</i> as it was a visual, aural, or sensual effect.   |     |
| 25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity, Alice Schlegel, from <i>The Other Fifty Percent: Multicultural Perspectives on Gender Relations</i> , Waveland Press, 1993.   | 132 |
| Wherever brides' families use <i>marital alliances</i> to maintain or enhance their <i>social status</i> , there is a strong emphasis upon <i>biological paternity</i> and the value of <i>virginity</i> .  |     |
| 26. Bundu Trap, Memuna M. Sillah, <i>Natural History</i> , August 1996.   | 138 |
| In discussing her childhood experiences in Sierra Leone, Memuna Sillah provides us with a glimpse of what it is like for a young girl to anticipate her own <i>circumcision ceremony</i> . In the "Afterword," Asha Samad summarizes the various perspectives regarding this controversial issue.   |     |
| 27. The War against Women, <i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i> , March 28, 1994.  | 145 |
| The political and economic gains made by women in the past decade have not always been to their benefit. In many places in the world, "progress" has actually meant even greater <i>abuse</i> and <i>discrimination</i> .   |     |
| 28. The Initiation of a Maasai Warrior, Tepilit Ole Saitoti, from <i>The Worlds of a Maasai Warrior</i> , Random House, 1986.   | 148 |
| In virtually every society, certain rites and ceremonies are used to signify adulthood. This article describes the Masai (Maasai) circumcision ceremony that <i>initiates an individual</i> into <i>adulthood</i> .   |     |
| 29. The Little Emperors, Daniela Deane, <i>Los Angeles Times Magazine</i> , July 26, 1992.  | 153 |
| A generation of spoiled brats, a tidal wave of <i>abortions</i> , and thousands of missing girls are just some of the unintended consequences of China's revolutionary <i>one-child policy</i> .  |     |



# UNIT 6



## Religion, Belief, and Ritual

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

### Overview

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30. **Psychotherapy in Africa**, Thomas Adeoye Lambo, *Human Nature*, March 1978. 160  
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.
31. **The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation**, Colin M. Turnbull, from *The Mbuti Pygmies: Change and Adaptation*, Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1983. 166  
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*.
32. **The Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead**, Gino Del Guercio, *Harvard Magazine*, January/February 1986. 169  
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.
33. **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. 173  
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.
34. **Body Ritual among the Nacirema**, Horace Miner, *American Anthropologist*, June 1956. 180  
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.
35. **Superstition and Ritual in American Baseball**, George Gmelch, *Elysian Fields Quarterly*, Volume 11, Number 3, 1992. 183  
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.

# UNIT 7



## Sociocultural Change: The Impact of the West

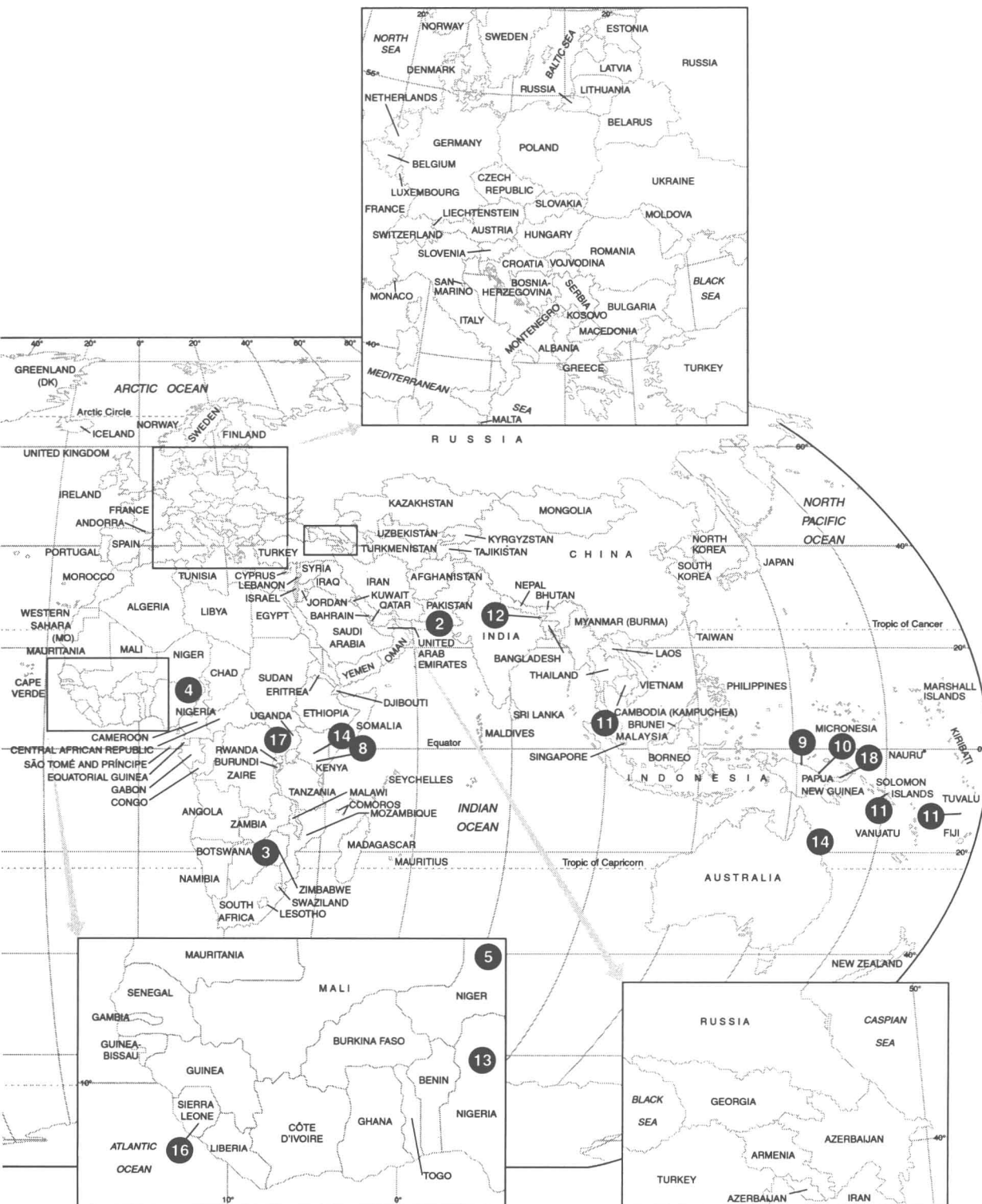
Nine articles examine the influence that the developed world has had on primitive culture. Exposure to the industrial West often has disastrous effects on the delicate balance of a primitive society.

### Overview

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36. **Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light**, Michael Ventura, *Los Angeles Times Magazine*, January 15, 1995. 190  
The explorers "had come to **change** the land, but the land changed them." Because this story does not fit the prevailing heroic vision of *Westerners*, it is a tale of lessons learned and lessons lost.
37. **Why Can't People Feed Themselves?** Frances Moore Lappé and Joseph Collins, from *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity*, Random House, 1977. 195  
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. **The Arrow of Disease**, Jared Diamond, *Discover*, October 1992. 200  
The most deadly weapon *colonial Europeans* carried to other continents was their germs. The most intriguing question to answer here is why the flow of *disease* did not move in the opposite direction.
39. **Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania**, Susan Charnley, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Spring 1996. 208  
The Tanzanian government's emphasis upon *national identity*, as opposed to *ethnic identity*, and *privatization* of grassland, as opposed to the traditional *communal property* system, is resulting in rangeland degradation, pastoral impoverishment, and dramatic changes in the *pastoral way of life*.
40. **Paavahu and Paanaqawu: The Wellsprings of Life and the Slurry of Death**, Peter Whiteley, *Cultural Survival Quarterly*, Winter 1996. 212  
To the *agricultural* Hopi, springs are not just a source of water, but are the focus of *ritual* and are vehicles of blessing and prayer. Progressive *economic development*, however, seems to be drying up the springs and, along with them, the essence of Hopi religious life and culture.
41. **A Pacific Haze: Alcohol and Drugs in Oceania**, Mac Marshall, *Contemporary Pacific Societies: Studies in Development and Change*, Prentice Hall, 1993. 219  
The relatively benign use of *psychoactive drugs*, such as betel and kava in the Pacific Islands, is deeply rooted in *cultural traditions* and patterns of social interaction. Today, as a result of new drugs and disruptive *social and economic changes* introduced from the outside, a haze hangs over Oceania.

42. Growing Up as a Fore, E. Richard Sorenson, <i>Smithsonian</i> , May 1977.	226
In the context of a bountiful <i>subsistence system</i> , Fore <i>children</i> 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 <i>cash-crop economy</i> and a consequent reformulation of the identity and practices of the Fore.	
43. Last Chance for First Peoples, Stephen Mills, <i>Omni</i> , March 1995.	231
The struggle of <i>indigenous peoples</i> to defend their rights and resources is also a struggle to safeguard an unequaled abundance and diversity of <i>food and medicinal plants</i> . Helping to save traditional peoples and their lands is, therefore, not only good <i>science</i> but good <i>business</i> .	
44. From Hammocks to Health, Mary Ann Simpkins, <i>Américas</i> , May/June 1996.	237
By developing the Rupununi Weavers Society, men and women of Rupununi have been able to use their time-honored techniques in <i>hammock weaving</i> as a means of preserving not only their <i>cultural heritage</i> , but also of preserving their renewable resources and improving the quality of life for themselves and other Amerindian peoples of southwestern Guyana.	
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# To the Reader

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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. Many of these articles 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 *academic editor*, who is an expert in the subject area, and with the guidance of an *Advisory Board*, each year we seek 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 that you will find this volume useful, and we hope that you will take a moment to let us know what you think.

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The twentieth 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. In allowing scholars to speak for themselves about the issues on which they are expert, we are better able to understand the kind of questions anthropologists ask, the ways in which they ask them, and how they go about searching for answers. Indeed, where there is disagreement among anthropologists, this format allows the 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 in cultural anthropology that is used in introductory courses. 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 make it useful for students, re-

searchers, 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 italics, and a comprehensive *index*. In addition, each unit is preceded by an overview, which provides a background for informed reading of the articles, emphasizes critical issues, and presents *challenge questions*.

*Annual Editions: Anthropology 97/98* will continue to be updated annually. Those involved in producing the 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.



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Editor

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# Topic Guide

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 is useful for 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
Acculturation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Cross-Cultural Experience</li> <li>14. Keepers of the Oaks</li> <li>16. From Shells to Money</li> <li>22. Who Needs Love!</li> <li>24. Yellow Woman</li> <li>38. Arrow of Disease</li> <li>39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania</li> <li>40. Paavahu and Paanaqawu</li> <li>41. Pacific Haze</li> <li>42. Growing Up as a Fore</li> <li>43. Last Chance for First Peoples</li> <li>44. From Hammocks to Health</li> </ul>	Cultural Identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Cross-Cultural Experience</li> <li>5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights</li> <li>8. Empire of Uniformity</li> <li>24. Yellow Woman</li> <li>26. Bundu Trap</li> <li>39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania</li> <li>40. Paavahu and Paanaqawu</li> <li>43. Last Chance for First Peoples</li> <li>44. From Hammocks to Health</li> </ul>
Aggression and Violence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights</li> <li>27. War against Women</li> <li>33. Rituals of Death</li> <li>36. Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light</li> <li>38. Arrow of Disease</li> </ul>	Cultural Relativity and Ethnocentrism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Doing Fieldwork among the Yānomamö</li> <li>3. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari</li> <li>4. Cross-Cultural Experience</li> <li>5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights</li> <li>7. Why Don't You Say What You Mean?</li> <li>21. Arranging a Marriage in India</li> <li>26. Bundu Trap</li> <li>34. Body Ritual among the Nacirema</li> </ul>
Children and Child Care	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>12. Why Women Change</li> <li>19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria</li> <li>20. Death without Weeping</li> <li>24. Yellow Woman</li> <li>26. Bundu Trap</li> <li>29. Little Emperors</li> <li>31. Mbuti Pygmies</li> <li>44. From Hammocks to Health</li> </ul>	Ecology and Society	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>8. Empire of Uniformity</li> <li>10. Understanding Eskimo Science</li> <li>11. Hunting, Gathering, and the Molimo</li> <li>12. Why Women Change</li> <li>13. Yānomami Keep on Trekking</li> <li>14. Keepers of the Oaks</li> <li>16. From Shells to Money</li> <li>17. Life without Chiefs</li> <li>18. When Brothers Share a Wife</li> <li>23. Society and Sex Roles</li> <li>37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves?</li> <li>38. Arrow of Disease</li> <li>39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania</li> <li>40. Paavahu and Paanaqawu</li> <li>43. Last Chance for First Peoples</li> </ul>
Cross-Cultural Experience	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Doing Fieldwork among the Yānamamö</li> <li>2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief</li> <li>3. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari</li> <li>4. Cross-Cultural Experience</li> <li>5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights</li> <li>7. Why Don't You Say What You Mean?</li> <li>9. Shakespeare in the Bush</li> <li>10. Understanding Eskimo Science</li> <li>15. Too Many Bananas</li> <li>20. Death without Weeping</li> <li>21. Arranging a Marriage in India</li> <li>36. Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light</li> <li>43. Last Chance for First Peoples</li> </ul>	Economic and Political Systems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief</li> <li>8. Empire of Uniformity</li> <li>11. Hunting, Gathering, and the Molimo</li> <li>13. Yānomami Keep on Trekking</li> <li>14. Keepers of the Oaks</li> <li>15. Too Many Bananas</li> <li>16. From Shells to Money</li> <li>17. Life without Chiefs</li> <li>18. When Brothers Share a Wife</li> <li>19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria</li> <li>20. Death without Weeping</li> <li>23. Society and Sex Roles</li> <li>24. Yellow Woman</li> <li>25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity</li> <li>29. Little Emperors</li> <li>37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves?</li> <li>38. Arrow of Disease</li> </ul>
Cultural Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Cross-Cultural Experience</li> <li>5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights</li> <li>7. Why Don't You Say What You Mean?</li> <li>8. Empire of Uniformity</li> <li>21. Arranging a Marriage in India</li> <li>24. Yellow Woman</li> <li>25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity</li> <li>39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania</li> <li>43. Last Chance for First Peoples</li> </ul>		

TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN	TOPIC AREA	TREATED IN
<b>Economic and Political Systems (continued)</b>	39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania 40. Paavahu and Paanaqawu 43. Last Chance for First Peoples 44. From Hammocks to Health	<b>Medicine and Healing</b>	30. Psychotherapy in Africa 34. Body Ritual among the Nacirema 36. Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light 43. Last Chance for First Peoples
<b>Gender/Sexuality</b>	5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights 12. Why Women Change 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 22. Who Needs Love! 23. Society and Sex Roles 24. Yellow Woman 25. Status, Property, and the Value of Virginity 26. Bundu Trap 27. War against Women 29. Little Emperors	<b>Poverty</b>	20. Death without Weeping 27. War against Women 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? 39. Pastoralism and the Demise of Communal Property in Tanzania
<b>Health and Welfare</b>	5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights 20. Death without Weeping 26. Bundu Trap 27. War against Women 29. Little Emperors 30. Psychotherapy in Africa 34. Body Ritual among the Nacirema 37. Why Can't People Feed Themselves? 38. Arrow of Disease 41. Pacific Haze 43. Last Chance for First Peoples 44. From Hammocks to Health	<b>Rituals</b>	5. Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights 16. From Shells to Money 26. Bundu Trap 28. Initiation of a Maasai Warrior 30. Psychotherapy in Africa 31. Mbuti Pygmies 32. Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead 33. Rituals of Death 34. Body Ritual among the Nacirema 35. Superstition and Ritual in American Baseball 40. Paavahu and Paanaqawu
<b>Hunter-Collectors</b>	10. Understanding Eskimo Science 11. Hunting, Gathering, and the Molimo 12. Why Women Change 14. Keepers of the Oaks 17. Life without Chiefs 31. Mbuti Pygmies	<b>Social Equality</b>	7. Why Don't You Say What You Mean? 16. From Shells to Money 17. Life without Chiefs 22. Who Needs Love! 24. Yellow Woman 25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity 27. War against Women 31. Mbuti Pygmies
<b>Language</b>	4. Cross-Cultural Experience 6. Language, Appearance, and Reality 7. Why Don't You Say What You Mean? 8. Empire of Uniformity 9. Shakespeare in the Bush	<b>Social Relationships</b>	1. Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö 2. Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief 3. Eating Christmas in the Kalahari 4. Cross-Cultural Experience 11. Hunting, Gathering, and the Molimo 12. Why Women Change 15. Too Many Bananas 16. From Shells to Money 21. Arranging a Marriage in India 22. Who Needs Love! 24. Yellow Woman 25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity 26. Bundu Trap 27. War against Women 29. Little Emperors 31. Mbuti Pygmies 32. Secrets of Haiti's Living Dead 36. Heart of Darkness, Heart of Light
<b>Marriage, Kinship, and Family Systems</b>	4. Cross-Cultural Experience 12. Why Women Change 16. From Shells to Money 18. When Brothers Share a Wife 19. Young Traders of Northern Nigeria 20. Death without Weeping 21. Arranging a Marriage in India 22. Who Needs Love! 23. Society and Sex Roles 24. Yellow Woman 25. Status, Property, and the Value on Virginity 26. Bundu Trap 27. War against Women 29. Little Emperors		

# 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 "participant observer." Through active involvement in the lifeways of people, they hope to gain an insider's perspective without sacrificing the objectivity of the trained scientist. Sometimes the conditions for achieving such a goal seem to form an almost insurmountable barrier, but anthropologists call on persistence, adaptability, and imagination 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 know that the boundaries drawn between disciplines are highly artificial. For example, while in theory it is 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 unit demonstrate, is to seek out interrelationships among all these factors. The first four 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 essay, "Doing Fieldwork among the Yñnomamö," for instance, shows 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, in "Doctor, Lawyer, Indian Chief," and Richard Lee, in "Eating Christmas in the Kalahari," appar-

ently 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.

Huang Shu-min, in "A Cross-Cultural Experience: A Chinese Anthropologist in the United States," shows how "culture shock" can work both ways, as he learns the importance of personal hygiene in the expression of American middle-class values.

The final article in this unit, "Cultural Relativism and Universal Rights," goes to the heart of one of the key issues in anthropology: How does one maintain the objectivity of cultural relativism while not becoming a party to the violation of human rights? Taking the matter one step further, the author argues that anthropologists are in a unique position to actively promote human rights and are ethically bound to do so.

Much is at stake in these discussions, since the purpose of anthropology is not only to describe and explain, but also 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 guides 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?

# UNIT 1

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