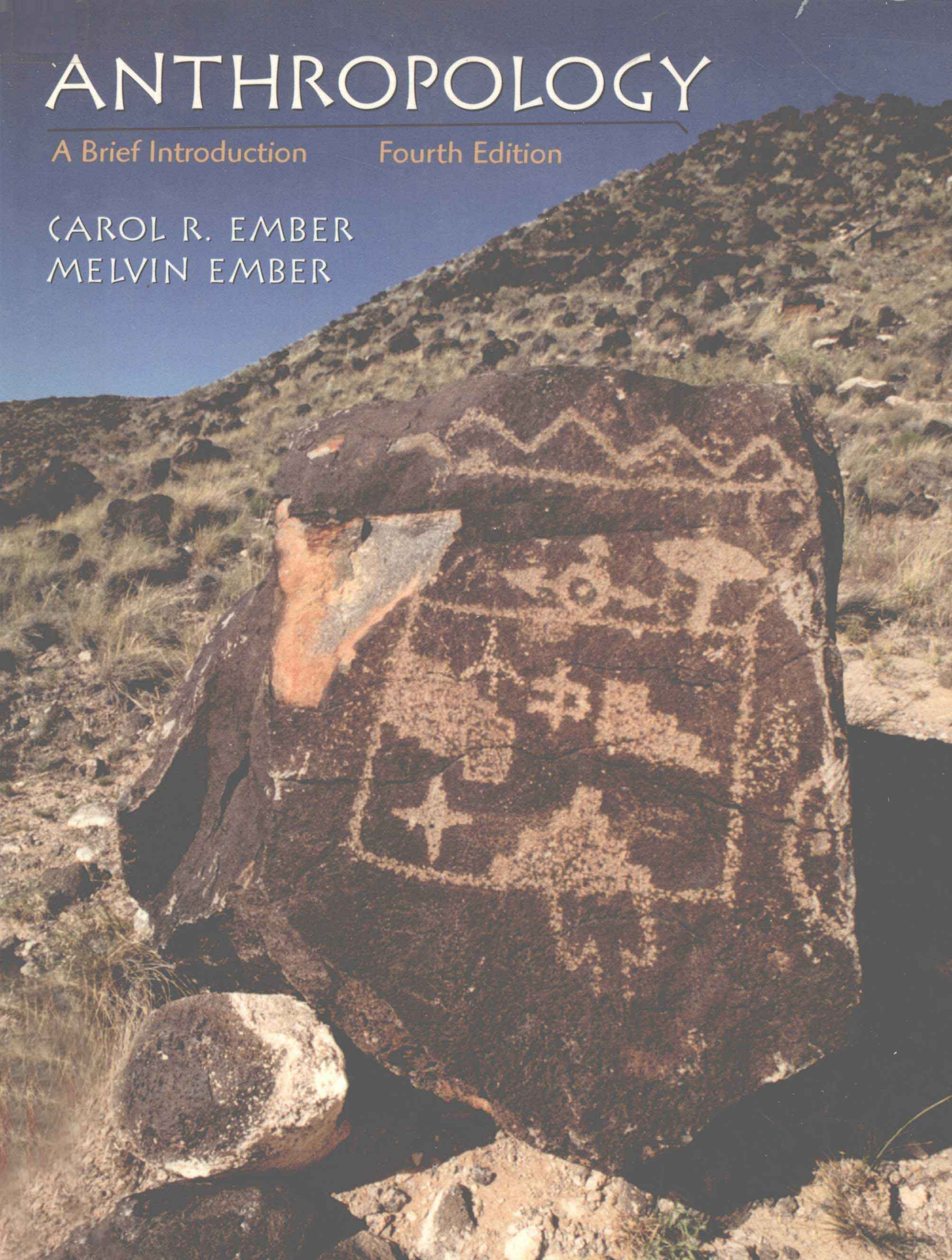


ANTHROPOLOGY

A Brief Introduction

Fourth Edition

CAROL R. EMBER
MELVIN EMBER



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HUMAN RELATIONS AREA FILES

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Preface

One out of two anthropologists in this country is now employed outside of academia. This situation reflects an increasing realization that anthropology, and what it has discovered about humans, is useful. Why else would so many anthropologists be hired to help solve practical problems? It is appropriate, therefore, that this edition focus more on applied and practicing anthropology than in the past. We do so in many of the chapters, particularly in a new set of boxes that highlight how anthropological knowledge has been used to solve problems in the real world.

This book is an abridged version of the latest edition of our *Anthropology*. In updating the book, we go beyond descriptions, as always. We are interested not only in what humans were and are like; we are also interested in why humans are the way they are, why they got to be that way, and why they vary. When there are alternative explanations, we try to communicate the necessity to evaluate them on logical grounds as well as on the basis of the available evidence. Throughout the book, we note when the available evidence is still lacking or is not clear. We would be pleased if we succeeded in helping students understand that no idea, including ideas put forward in textbooks, should be accepted simply as authority.

NEW FEATURES

Internet Exercises

With the help of Ramesh Krishnamurthy of Oregon State University, Internet exercises have been developed to provide students with Web-based resources on topics covered in each chapter. Students are encouraged to use the Internet addresses (URLs) provided to discover more about the dynamic changes that are occurring in the field of anthropology.

Boxes on Applied Anthropology

This edition includes selected boxes from *Anthropology* that highlight how anthropology has been applied to practical problems (examples: deforestation of the Amazon, bringing the trees back to Haiti).

HIGHLIGHTS OF THE CHAPTERS AND WHAT IS NEW IN THIS EDITION

Chapter 1: What Is Anthropology?

Chapter 1 introduces the student to anthropology. We discuss what we think is special and distinctive about anthropology in general, and about each of its subfields in particular. We outline how each of the subfields is related to other disciplines such as biology, psychology, and sociology. We direct attention to the increasing importance of applied anthropology by expanding the section on applied anthropology, with a revised Figure 1–1 to show how applied anthropology relates to other subfields.

Chapter 2: Evolution

This chapter discusses evolutionary theory as it applies to all forms of life, including humans. Following an extensive review of natural selection and what it means, we discuss how natural selection may operate on behavioral traits and how cultural evolution differs from biological evolution. The box examines the evidence suggesting that evolution proceeds abruptly rather than slowly and steadily.

Chapter 3: Primate Evolution: From Early Primates to Hominoids

This chapter starts with the common primate traits and then describes what is distinctive about humans. Then we discuss the emergence of the early primates. The chapter ends with what we know or suspect about the Miocene apes, one of whom (known or unknown) was ancestral to bipedal hominids. To highlight how theory is generated and revised, the box deals with how a paleoanthropologist has reexamined his own theory of primate origins.

Chapter 4: Early Hominids and Their Cultures

This chapter starts with the emergence of the first bipedal hominids. Before getting to the available fossil evidence, we first discuss trends in, and possible explanations of, the distinctive developments in the hominid line—bipedalism, the expansion of the brain, and the reduction of the face, teeth, and jaws. We update and discuss the latest fossil finds, including the recent finds of australopithecines

and a possible precursor, namely, *Ardipithecus ramidus* from 4.5 million years ago, who may have been mostly or intermittently bipedal. The box discusses research evaluating the claim that *Homo erectus* should be divided into two species. We discuss how the earliest dating of *Homo erectus* may affect ideas about when hominids first moved out of Africa.

Chapter 5: The Emergence of *Homo sapiens* and Their Cultures

This chapter discusses the transition between *Homo erectus* and *Homo sapiens* and the emergence of modern-looking humans. In keeping with our global orientation, we discuss fossil and archaeological evidence from many areas of the world, not just Europe and the Near East. We discuss the new evidence—preserved wooden spears—indicating that people were hunting big game at least 400,000 years ago. The box describes the evidence from mitochondrial DNA regarding the “Out-of-Africa” theory of modern human origins.

Chapter 6: Human Variation

This chapter brings the discussion of human evolution into the present, dealing with biological variation in living human populations and how biological anthropologists study such variation. In a much revised section on race and racism, we discuss why many anthropologists think that the concept of race as applied to humans is not scientifically useful. In this view, human variation is more usefully studied in terms of clinal variation in particular traits. For example, we indicate how differences between populations—in body build, skin color, height, susceptibility to disease, lactase deficiency, and so on—can be explained as adaptations to differences in the physical and cultural environment. We discuss the myths of racism and how race is largely a social category in humans. The box deals with differences in average IQ scores and what they mean.

Chapter 7: The Emergence of Food Production and the Rise of States

This chapter first deals with the emergence of broad-spectrum collecting and settled life, and the domestication of plants and animals in various parts of the world. Our discussion focuses mainly on the possible causes and consequences of these developments in southeast Asia, Africa, the Andes, and eastern North America, as well as the Near East and Europe. We discuss puzzles such as why much of Native North America switched to a dependence on corn even though the earlier agricultural diet was apparently adequate. Then we discuss the rise of civilizations in various areas of the world and the theories that have been offered to explain the development of state-type political systems. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the decline and collapse of states. For example, environmental degradation may at least partly account for the fall of the Akkadian empire and other civilizations not far away after 2300 A.D.

Environmental degradation may be due to events in the natural world, but the behavior of humans may sometimes be responsible. Civilizations may also decline because human behavior has increased the incidence of disease. The box discusses the consequences of ancient imperialism for women's status.

Chapter 8: The Concept of Culture

This chapter introduces the concept of culture. We first try to convey a feeling for what culture is before dealing more explicitly with the concept and some assumptions about it. We have added a new section on cultural relativism, putting the concept in its historical context and discussing recent thinking on the subject. We discuss the fact that individual behavior varies in all societies and how such variation may be the beginning of new cultural patterns. The first box, which asks whether Western countries are ethnocentric in their ideas about human rights, has been extensively revised to incorporate the debate within anthropology about cultural relativism. The second box shows how an anthropologist enabled the government of Oman to evaluate the needs of the Bedouin.

Chapter 9: Communication and Language

We begin by discussing communication in humans and other animals. We have added new information on human nonverbal communication. After discussing the origins of language and how creoles and children's language acquisition may help us understand the origins, we move on to structural linguistics and the processes of linguistic divergence. After discussing the interrelationships between language and other aspects of culture, we end with the ethnography of speaking, including differences in speech by status, gender, and ethnicity.

We have greatly revised the sections on phonology and morphology, including new research on consonant-vowel syllables, and have added a new discussion of research on linguistic relativity. The first box deals with the problem of language extinction and what some anthropologists are doing about it. To stimulate thinking about the possible impact of language on thought, we ask in the second box whether the English language promotes sexist thinking, referring to new research on the subject.

Chapter 10: Getting Food

This chapter discusses how societies vary in getting their food, how they have changed over time, and how such variation seems to affect other kinds of cultural variation—including variation in economic systems, social stratification, and political life. We include a discussion of “market foragers” to emphasize that most people in a modern market economy are not in fact producers of food. Although it is commonly thought that industrialization is mainly to blame for negative developments in the environment, our box deals with the negative effects in preindustrial times of irrigation, animal grazing, and overhunting.

Chapter 11: Economics and Social Stratification

This chapter discusses how societies vary in the ways they allocate resources (what is “property” and what ownership may mean), convert or transform resources through labor into usable goods, and distribute and perhaps exchange goods and services. We discuss the effects of political systems (including colonialism) on land ownership and use, and we distinguish between gift and commodity exchanges. We have added a discussion of why children in some foraging societies do more work than in others. After the discussion of commercialization, the box illustrates the impact of the world-system on local economies, with special reference to the deforestation of the Amazon.

Chapter 12: Sex, Gender, and Culture

In the first part of this chapter we discuss how and why sex and gender differences vary cross-culturally; in the second part we discuss variation in sexual attitudes and practices. We explain how the concepts of gender do not always involve just two genders. We emphasize all the ways women contribute to work, and how conclusions about contributions by gender depend on how you measure “work.” In the box, we discuss research on why women’s political participation may be increasing in some Coast Salish communities of western Washington State and British Columbia now that they have elected councils. We have incorporated new survey results on the United States in the section on variation in sexual attitudes and practices.

Chapter 13: Marriage and the Family

After discussing various theories about why marriage might be universal, we move on to discuss variation in how one marries, restrictions on marriage, whom one should marry, and how many one should marry. We close with a discussion of variation in family form. The box discusses why one-parent families are on the increase in countries like ours.

Chapter 14: Marital Residence and Kinship

In addition to explaining the variation that exists in marital residence, kinship structure, and kinship terminology, this chapter emphasizes how understanding residence is important for understanding social life. The box discusses the possible relationship between neolocality and adolescent rebellion.

Chapter 15: Political Life: Social Order and Disorder

We look at how societies have varied in their levels of political organization, the various ways people become leaders, the degree to which they participate in the political process, and the peaceful and violent methods of resolving conflict. We discuss how colonialization has transformed legal systems and ways of making deci-

sions. We have expanded the discussion of peaceful resolution of conflict and now discuss research that casts doubt on the notion that wars are fought over women. The box deals with how new local courts among the Abelam of New Guinea are allowing women to address sexual grievances and democracy.

Chapter 16: Religion and Magic

We discuss variation in religious belief and practice with extensive examples. We have added a discussion on revitalization movements and a discussion of how humans tend to anthropomorphize in the face of unpredictable events. The first box discusses research on New England fishermen that suggests how their taboos, or “rituals of avoidance,” may be anxiety reducing.

Chapter 17: Applied Anthropology and Social Problems

After pointing out that about half of our profession is now engaged in applied and practicing anthropology, the first part of this extensively revised chapter reviews the interaction between basic and applied research, the types of jobs outside of academia, the ethical issues involved in trying to improve people’s lives, and the difficulties in evaluating whether a program is beneficial. The two boxes shows how anthropologists can help improve medical care and reforestation. Finally, we discuss how research may suggest possible solutions to various global social problems, including AIDS, disasters, homelessness, crime, family violence, and war. The section on famine pays increased attention to social factors involved in producing famine.

CONTINUING FEATURES

Readability

We derive a lot of pleasure from trying to describe research findings, especially complicated ones, in ways that introductory students can understand. Thus, we try to minimize technical jargon, using only those terms students must know to appreciate the achievements of anthropology and to take advanced courses. We think readability is important, not only because it may enhance the reader’s understanding of what we write, but also because it should make learning about anthropology more enjoyable! When new terms are introduced, which of course must happen sometimes, they are set off in boldface type and defined.

Glossary Terms

At the end of each chapter we list the new terms that have been introduced; these terms were identified by boldface type and defined in the text. We deliberately do

not repeat the definitions at the end of the chapter to allow students to test themselves against the definitions provided in the Glossary at the end of the book.

Critical Questions

We also provide three or four questions at the end of each chapter that may stimulate thinking about the implications of the chapter. The questions do not ask for repetition of what is in the text. We want students to imagine, to go beyond what we know or think we know.

Summaries

In addition to the outline provided at the beginning of each chapter, there is a detailed summary at the end of each chapter that will help the student review the major concepts and findings discussed.

A Complete Glossary

As noted above, important glossary terms for each chapter are listed (without definitions) at the end of each chapter, so students can readily check their understanding after they have read the chapter. A complete Glossary is provided at the back of the book to review all terms in the book and serve as a convenient reference for the student.

Notes

Because we believe firmly in the importance of documentation, we think it essential to tell our readers, both professional and student, what our conclusions are based on. Usually the basis is published research. References to the relevant studies are provided in complete notes by chapter at the end of the book and the Index to the Notes alphabetically lists the authors cited and the pages for the citations.

SUPPLEMENTS

The supplements package for this textbook is of exceptional quality.

Instructor's Manual with Tests

For each chapter of the text this manual provides chapter outlines, resources for discussion, discussion questions, paper topics and research projects, additional web sites, and supplementary materials for films and additional readings. Also contained in the manual is a test bank with over 1000 multiple-choice, true/false, and essay questions that are page referenced to the text.

Prentice Hall Color Transparencies for Anthropology, Series II

Full color illustrations, charts, and other visual materials have been selected to make up this useful lecture tool.

Prentice Hall Anthropology PowerPoint Transparencies, Version I

Created by Roger J. Eich of Hawkeye Community College, this PowerPoint slide set combines graphics and text in a colorful format to help the instructor convey anthropological principles in a new and exciting way. Created in PowerPoint, an easy-to-use widely available software program, this set contains over 300 content slides.

1999–2000 Anthropology on the Internet

This brief guide introduces students to the origin and innovations behind the Internet and provides clear strategies for navigating the complexity of the Internet and World Wide Web. Exercises within and at the end of the chapters allow students to practice searching for the myriad of resources available to the student of anthropology. This supplementary book is free when packaged with *Ember/Ember*.

Videos

A selection of high-quality, award-winning videos from *Filmmaker's Library* and *Films for the Humanities and Sciences* is available to qualified adopters upon adoption. Please contact your Prentice Hall representative for more information.

The New York Times/Prentice Hall Themes of the Times: Anthropology

Through this program, the core subject matter provided in the text is supplemented by a collection of timely articles from one of the world's most distinguished newspapers, *The New York Times*. These articles demonstrate vital ongoing connections between what is learned in the classroom and what is happening in the world around us.

Custom On-Demand Resources (CORE)

The authors have commissioned three series of original chapters from which instructors can choose supplemental readings to accompany this text: *Portraits of Culture: Ethnographic Originals*; *Research Frontiers in Anthropology*; and *Cross-Cultural Research for Social Science*. The instructor can mix and match chapters from one or more of these series. (Many of these chapters are referred to in this edition.) Please see your local Prentice Hall representative or telephone 1-888-847-1737 or

e-mail **CORE_Anthropology@prenhall.com** to receive more information about these series.

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We are grateful to a number of people, including a few who wish to remain anonymous, for agreeing to review our chapters and make suggestions. These reviewers include: Ben G. Blount, University of Georgia; Daniel E. Brown, University of Hawaii at Hilo; Audrey Choh, SUNY at Albany; Heather J. H. Edgar, The Ohio State University; S. Homes Hogue, Mississippi State University; Ralph L. Holloway, Columbia University; Lyle W. Konigsberg, University of Tennessee; Gilbert Kushner, University of South Florida; Pia Nystrom, University of Sheffield; Shawn Phillips, SUNY at Albany; Jeffrey H. Schwartz, University of Pittsburgh; Andris Skreija, University of Nebraska–Omaha; John H. Steinbring, Ripon College; Suzanne Strait, Marshall University; William Wedenoja, Southwest Missouri State University; Sharon R. Williams, The Ohio State University.

We thank all of you, named and unnamed, who gave us advice.

Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember

About the Authors

Carol R. Ember started at Antioch College as a chemistry major. She began taking social science courses because some were required, but she soon found herself intrigued. There were lots of questions without answers, and she became excited about the possibility of a research career in social science. She spent a year in graduate school at Cornell studying sociology before continuing on to Harvard, where she studied anthropology primarily with John and Beatrice Whiting.

For her Ph.D. dissertation she worked among the Luo of Kenya. While there, she noticed that many boys were assigned “girls’ work,” such as babysitting and household chores, because their mothers (who did most of the agriculture) did not have enough girls to help out. She decided to study the possible effects of task assignment on the social behavior of boys. Using systematic behavior observations, she compared girls, boys who did a great deal of girls’ work, and boys who did little such work. She found that boys assigned girls’ work were intermediate in many social behaviors, compared with the other boys and girls. Later, she did cross-cultural research on variation in marriage, family, descent groups, and war and peace, mainly in collaboration with Melvin Ember, whom she married in 1970. All of these cross-cultural studies tested theories on data for worldwide samples of societies.

From 1970 to 1996, she taught at Hunter College of the City University of New York. She has also served as president of the Society of Cross-Cultural Research and was one of the directors of the Summer Institutes in Comparative Anthropological Research, which were funded by the National Science Foundation. She is now executive director of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency of Yale University.

After graduating from Columbia College, Melvin Ember went to Yale University for his Ph.D. His mentor at Yale was George Peter Murdock, an anthropologist who was instrumental in promoting cross-cultural research and building a full-text database on the cultures of the world to facilitate cross-cultural hypothesis testing.

This database came to be known as the Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) because it was originally sponsored by the Institute of Human Relations at Yale. Growing in annual installments and now distributed in electronic format, the HRAF database currently covers more than 365 cultures, past and present, all over the world.

Melvin Ember did fieldwork for his dissertation in American Samoa, where he conducted a comparison of three villages to study the effects of commercialization on political life. In addition, he did research on descent groups and how they changed with the increase of buying and selling. His cross-cultural studies focused originally on variation in marital residence and descent groups. He has also done cross-cultural research on the relationship between economic and political development, the origin and extension of the incest taboo, the causes of polygyny, and how archaeological correlates of social customs can help us draw inferences about the past.

After four years of research at the National Institute of Mental Health, he taught at Antioch College and then Hunter College of the City University of New York. He has served as president of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. Since 1987 he has been president of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency of Yale University.

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