



CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Fifth Edition

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Cultural Anthropology

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Goals of this Book: Past and Present

When *Cultural Anthropology* was first written, it had two major objectives: to present a holistic view of sociocultural systems that shows the interconnectedness of various aspects of culture, and to provide a unified theoretical framework for explaining sociocultural systems based on the premise that material constraints, such as technology and the environment, are a primary force in the evolution of sociocultural systems. Subsequent editions remain faithful to the belief that the work that anthropologists do has enduring relevance and is crucial to making informed decisions. The issues discussed in the text relate to the core of human biological and psychological health and well-being as well as the continued viability of the global environment.

The holistic approach used in the text provides a framework for explaining how the parts of sociocultural systems interrelate and change over time. This approach is based on attempts to draw rational connections among three core recurrent behavioral aspects of the sociocultural system, called the universal pattern:

- **INFRASTRUCTURE**—*production and reproduction* (how people obtain food and shelter, maintain a population base, and satisfy other basic biological and emotional needs and drives)
- **STRUCTURE**—*the domestic and political economy* (how people are organized to exchange and allocate goods and labor)
- **SUPERSTRUCTURE**—*the ideological and symbolic sectors of culture* (the religious, symbolic, intellectual, and artistic endeavors)

The current edition carries forward the effort to identify the many causal strands that explain the process of sociocultural change. The goal is to show how cultural materialism can make sense of the many seemingly irrational or arbitrary customs and institutions in small, technologically simple societies as well as in complex nation-states. Examples include how Hindu taboos against cattle slaughter have a positive effect on agricultural productivity in India, how religion and monumental architecture in early states sanctified the privileges of the ruling elite, and how the emergence of the feminist movement in the United States during the 1960s resulted from broad changes in the mode of production.

The text consistently draws the reader's attention to the basic premises of cultural materialism:

1. The importance of understanding the connections among the three realms universal pattern: *infrastructure, structure, and superstructure*.
2. The need to distinguish between people's thoughts and ideas and their actual behavior—because often people say one thing and do another.
3. The difference between *emic* (actor oriented) and *etic* (observer oriented) views and interpretations—because the world often looks different to the observer than it does to the participant.

What's New in the Fifth Edition

1. Each chapter includes **Key Concept statements** set in italics and called out with an icon to enable the student to focus in on main ideas described in the chapter. The Key Concepts are meant to provide a concise statement of the material that follows or to summarize the issues being discussed. We intend to have students use the “key concepts” as though they themselves highlighted them in yellow to pull out the most important ideas in each chapter.
2. The text includes new **ethnographic case studies**. These Profiles are designed to help the student understand the importance of ethnography in describing and explaining key issues. The Profiles also illustrate how societies use culture to adapt to local conditions of their environment.
3. Several chapters contain **new boxes** outlining the definitions of key concepts. These charts are intended to provide the students with summaries of terms such as *emic* and *etic*, egalitarian and stratified, bigman and chief, and the features of Yanomami warfare.
4. We provide a list of **Key Terms and Questions to Think About** at the end of each chapter. These are meant to help students review the most important ideas or understand the theoretical arguments described in the text.
5. The **America Now** features have been expanded and updated. These materials show the relevance of anthropology to the study of contemporary social issues. These examples are intended to help

students see that anthropological concepts can be applied to their daily lives.

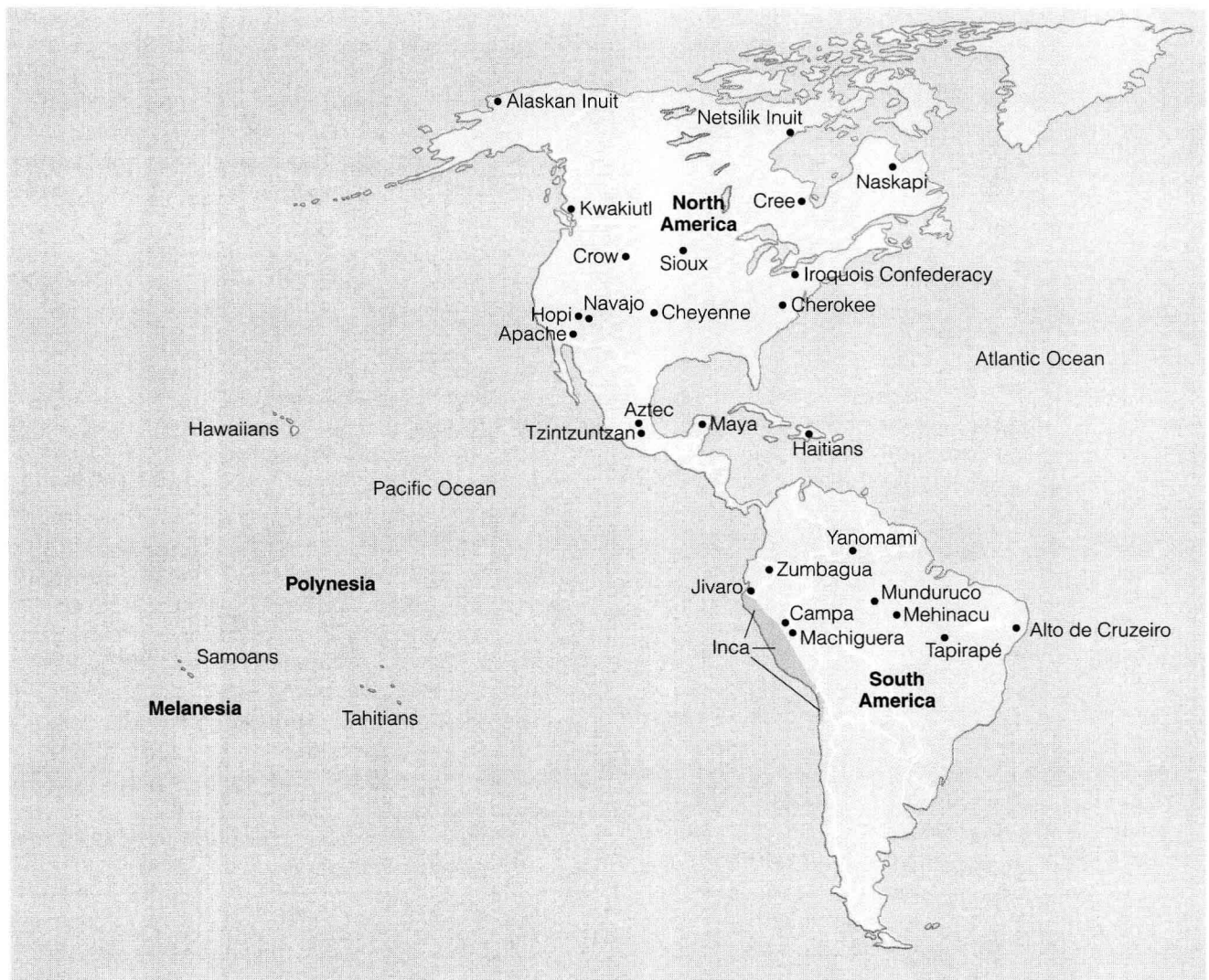
6. The revisions attempt to clarify the role of symbolic-ideational features. We emphasize that not all structural and superstructural features can be explained in terms of material constraints, but we believe that cultural materialism provides the best available approach to explaining why customs and beliefs differ from one society to another and why, despite such differences, remarkable similarities exist in the way human beings live in even the most distant parts of the globe.
7. Eighteen chapters have been rewritten, updated, and expanded. The updates include new citations and references to research that is provocative and cause for thought and discussion. The goal of the updates is to keep the text theoretically current on the course of globally vital concerns.

Chapter Overview

- **Chapter 1, "Introduction,"** provides an overview of the branches of anthropology, the distinctive features of cultural anthropology, and how anthropology is used in academic and nonacademic settings.
- **Chapter 2, "The Nature of Culture,"** introduces the concept of culture and the ways anthropologists define it. Culture is discussed in terms of mental and behavioral patterns to show how anthropology uses scientific methods to carry out objective studies of cultural phenomena. Emic and etic ways of studying culture are outlined, and the cultural materialist viewpoint is introduced to explain how the universal pattern (infrastructure, structure, and superstructure) can be used to explain sociocultural differences and similarities.
- **Chapter 3, "The Evolution of the Capacity for Culture,"** lays the groundwork for understanding the human biological heritage and what makes people distinctly human. The chapter summarizes the principles of natural selection and adaptation, discusses learning and tool use among nonhuman primates, and shows how the capacity for language is closely linked to "Cultural Takeoff." The chapter also shows that the capacity for aggression as well as peacemaking is part of our human heritage and that there is a biological basis for peaceful coexistence.
- **Chapter 4, "Language and Culture,"** provides a revised and simplified overview of the universal features of language and structural linguistics. A new discussion of biological and cultural aspects of language leads into an overview of symbolic thought and how it may have sparked the emergence of language. An updated section on sociolinguistics addresses the speech patterns of people in ethnically diverse communities and how speech can inform us about social relationships within cultures. An ethnographic profile of African American Vernacular English shows the internal consistency and logic of AAVE and its use in the public domain is discussed in the context of whether AAVE should be taught in school.
- **Chapter 5, "Production,"** brings infrastructure into focus by describing the major food-producing strategies (hunting and gathering, agriculture, and pastoralism), using seven ethnographic profiles (the !Kung, Kwakiutl, Machiguenga, Tsembaga, Luts'un and the Turkana) to illustrate how differences in technology and environment influence social life. Intensification of food production is discussed in terms of diminishing returns, possibilities for new productive technologies, and long-term implications of technological innovations.
- **Chapter 6, "Reproduction,"** continues to discuss infrastructure in terms of population growth and its implications for the mode of production. The costs and benefits of raising children under different modes of production are described as a key factor regulating reproduction. These factors also explain why people in poverty-stricken situations such as the shantytowns of Brazil, continue to have large families and why high rates of infant mortality persist. Conversely, education and improved economic opportunities for women are directly associated with reduced fertility.
- **Chapter 7, "Human Sexuality,"** defines the difference between sex and gender in terms of biological versus culturally defined identities. A new section of female sexuality has been added and the discussion of sex in Mangaia has been revised to reflect more current research. Ethnographic profiles of the Mehinacu and Sambia provide examples of variation in sexual practices. The ecological and social conditions associated with sexual restrictiveness versus permissiveness and tolerance for homosexuality are discussed in terms of procreation and the control of property and social status.
- **Chapter 8, "Economic Organization,"** elaborates on how the !Kung, Trobriand Islanders, and the Kwakiutl manage exchange within their varied ecological contexts and how the infrastructure correlates with egalitarian versus stratified patterns of exchange. The chapter points out the important role of access to resources and how this access relates to differences in distribution, stratification, and reactions to capitalism. The ethnographic case of the Kaupauku illustrates that despite individual ownership

ship of land, true capitalism is not possible without central political controls to defend the rich. Finally, new time-allocation data consistently show that people in more technologically complex economic systems work longer hours, despite the assumption that modern affluence brings greater leisure.

- **Chapter 9, "Domestic Organization,"** clarifies the relationship between infrastructure (modes of production and reproduction) and domestic organization. We relate differences in family and household organization to labor patterns and access to resources. The chapter elaborates on the economic dynamics of polygamy, extended families, and single-parent families. An ethnographic profile of the Nyinba illustrates the economic and social dynamics of polyandry and profile of Chinese extended families discusses the costs and benefits of large families. The sections on marriage and incest avoidance have also been updated and expanded.
- **Chapter 10, "Kinship,"** clarifies the definitions of the principal varieties of kinship groups and illustrates key kinship concepts with examples from specific cultures. We relate varieties of kinship to particular kinds of domestic groups and infratrustural conditions. A new discussion of fictive kinship is added to show how kinship is extended to non-biological kin and examples of contemporary American families show how economic change affects family structure.
- **Chapter 11, "Law, Order, and War in Nonstate Societies,"** describes the variation in political institutions and leadership roles in societies where law and order specialists do not exist. Emphasis is placed on how peaceful relations are maintained and on likely causes of warfare. Ethnographic profiles of the Mehinacu, Yanomami, and the Mae Enga are used to describe the conditions associated with peace and warfare.
- **Chapter 12, "Origins and Anatomy of the State,"** outlines the infrastructural context in which political systems evolve from bigman systems to chiefdoms and states. As leaders gain control over food through staple finance, they increase their ability to support military and administrative specialists. They further expand their control over production through intensification, trade, and incorporation of new territories. Ethnographic examples of the Suiai, Trobriand Islands, Hawaii, Bonyoro and the Inca show the range of political complexity from a bigman system, simple and complex chiefdom, to state.
- **Chapter 13, "Class and Caste,"** examines the varieties of stratified groups. Emic and etic aspects of class and caste are discussed. The cultural values and traditions of peasants and the urban poor are discussed in terms of lack of access to resources, economic opportunities and employment. Examples from the Indian caste system show that individuals from lower castes struggle for upward mobility and attempt to improve their position whenever possible.
- **Chapter 14, "Ethnicity, Race, and Racism,"** outlines the difference between ethnicity, social race, and biological race to show the effects of linking race and culture. We discuss how race is culturally constructed in the United States and describe the social effects of this system of classification on assimilation, intermarriage, class-consciousness, and the social isolation of ethnic and racial minorities. An ethnographic profile of Hispanic Americans shows the diversity in the Latino population and a profile of a multi-ethnic community in Queens, New York shows how increased political activism aimed at improving neighborhood conditions can bring people from diverse backgrounds together to work for a common cause.
- **Chapter 15, "Gender Hierarchies,"** has been revised to describe ideological aspects of gender and to show the ways men and women benefit differently in a variety of economic settings. Past systems of gender equality show that women have generally fared better in peaceful, noncompetitive environments, whereas female subordination developed in sociocultural contexts that included hand-to-hand combat against neighboring groups and animal-drawn plow agriculture. More recent research on Trobriand women reveals that important aspects of women's culture were previously overlooked and examples of female Dahomey warriors and American businesswomen show the conditions under which women have been able to achieve status.
- **Chapter 16, "Psychological Anthropology,"** has been greatly expanded to include new material on the Oedipus complex and the influence of subsistence patterns on childcare and personality, cultural schemas, and mental illness. The difficulty of defining national character is shown in the ethnographic case of Japanese personality, and the cultural effects on schizophrenia are illustrated in an ethnographic profile of rural Ireland.
- **Chapter 17, "Religion,"** outlines various definitions of religion and illustrates the principal varieties of beliefs and rituals that correlate with particular political and economic organization. An ethnographic profile of the Ndembu shows the process of communal rites of passage and a profile of the Aztecs discusses the role of ceremonial sacrifice in state religion. We also describe how religious beliefs and rituals exhibit adaptive relationships in



Reference Maps for Ethnographic Profiles

the form of sanctified messages and taboos, specifically in relation to the incest taboo, the taboo on eating pork, and the sacred cow in India.

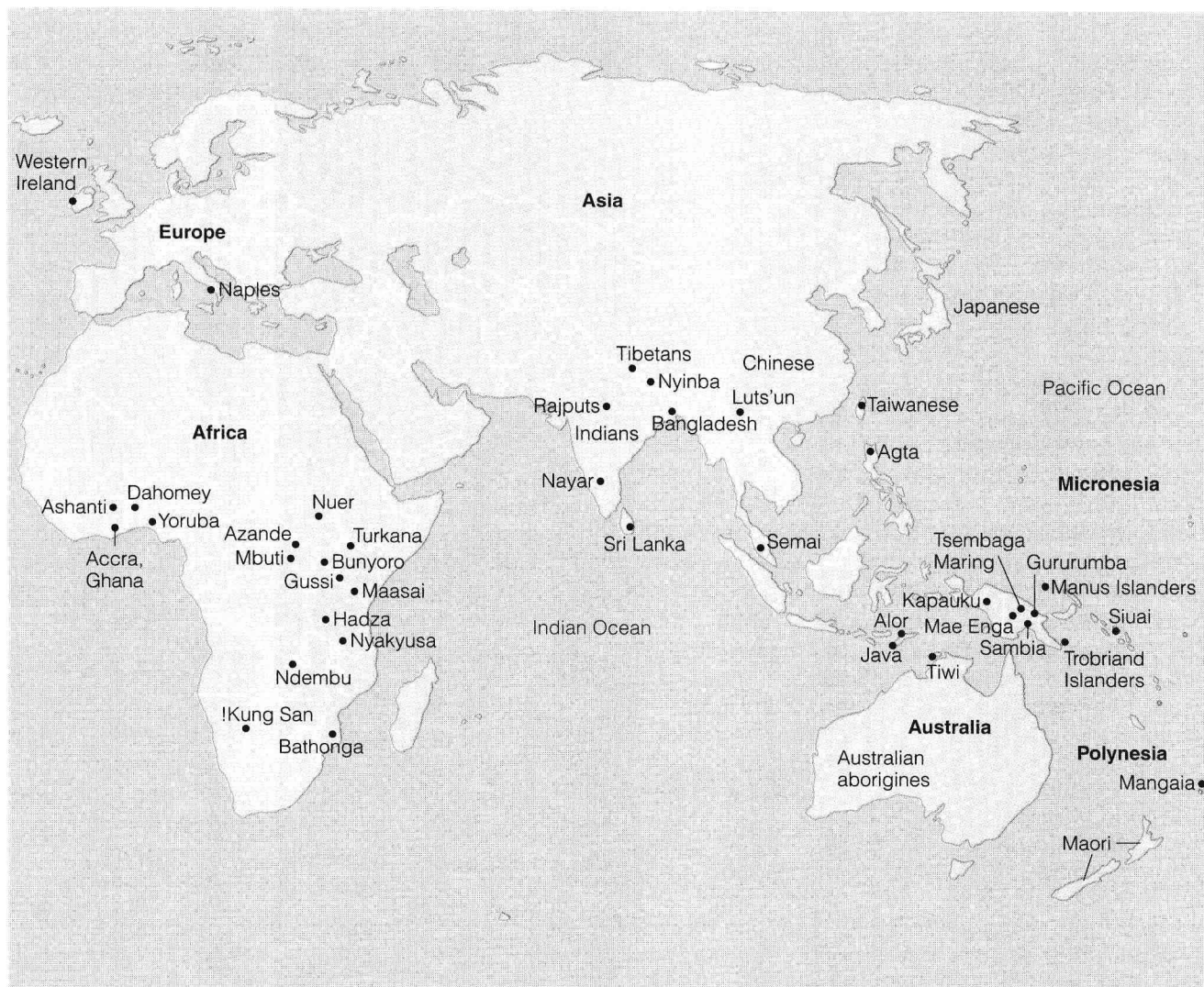
- **Chapter 18, “Art,”** describes the creative, innovative aspects of art as well as the formal continuity displayed in artistic traditions. We show how art is functionally related to technology, economy, politics, and religion and how it has undergone changes over time.
- **Chapter 19, “Applied Anthropology,”** shows the practical applications of anthropology, including research, implementation, and advocacy. A number of applications are described, including economic development among Haitian peasants, the health care needs of Vietnamese refugees, business relations between Euroamerican managers and Hispanic workers, attempts to slow the spread of

AIDS in Africa and the United States, and how the bureaucratic machinery hinders poor people’s ability to receive assistance.

- **Appendix, “A History of Theories of Culture,”** provides a brief overview of theoretical orientations in anthropology.

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction



Diversity in the U.S.A. Children wearing ethnic clothing.

The Five Fields of General Anthropology

What Is Distinctive about Cultural Anthropology?

Holism
Fieldwork and Participant Observation

Ethnography
Ethnology
Anthropology and Science

Why Study Anthropology?

Summary

Anthropology is the study of humankind—of ancient and modern people and their ways of living. Different branches of anthropology focus on different aspects of the human experience. One branch focuses on how our species evolved from earlier species. Other branches focus on how we developed our facility for language, how languages evolved and diversified, and how modern languages serve the needs of human communication. Still others focus on the learned traditions of human thought and behavior, how ancient cultures evolved and diversified, and how and why modern cultures change or stay the same.

People from different continents who speak different languages and possess different values and religions find themselves living closer and closer together in a new global village. To all members of this new community, anthropology offers a unique invitation to examine, explain, and celebrate human diversity. At the same time, anthropology reminds us that, despite our different languages and cultures, we are all members of the same species and share a common nature and a common destiny.

The Five Fields of Anthropology

Departments of anthropology in the United States offer courses in five major fields of knowledge about humankind: cultural anthropology, archaeology, anthropological linguistics, physical anthropology, and applied anthropology.

- **Cultural anthropology** (sometimes called *social anthropology*) deals with the description and analysis of cultures—the socially learned traditions of past and present ages. It has a subdiscipline, ethnography, that describes and interprets present-day cultures. Comparing these interpretations and descriptions can generate hypotheses and theories about the causes of past and present cultural similarities and differences.
- **Archaeology** and cultural anthropology possess similar goals but differ in the methods they use and the cultures they study. Archaeology examines the material remains of past cultures left behind on or below the surface of the earth. Without the findings of archaeology, we would not be able to understand the human past, especially where people have not left any books or other written records.
- **Anthropological linguistics** is the study of the great variety of languages spoken by human beings. Anthropological linguists attempt to trace the history of all known families of languages. They are concerned with the way language influences and is influenced by other aspects of human life, and with the relationship between the evolution of language and the evolution of our species, whose

scientific name is *Homo sapiens*. Anthropological linguists also study the relationship between the evolution and change of languages and the evolution and change of cultures.

- **Physical anthropology** (also called *biological anthropology*) connects the other anthropological fields to the study of animal origins and the biologically determined nature of *Homo sapiens*. Physical anthropologists seek to reconstruct the course of human evolution by studying the fossil remains of ancient human and humanlike species. They also seek to describe the distribution of hereditary variations among contemporary human populations and to sort out and measure the relative contributions to human life made by heredity, the natural environment, and culture.
- **Applied anthropology** uses the findings of cultural, archaeological, linguistic, and biological studies to solve practical problems affecting the health, education, security, and prosperity of human beings in many cultural settings.

What Is Distinctive about Cultural Anthropology?

The common thread that ties the fields of anthropology together is the broad focus on humankind viewed across time and space. The purpose of anthropology is to understand all of humankind by studying all aspects of human behavior and ideas. Anthropologists recognize that immense differences lie between people—differences in physical traits, language, lifestyles, beliefs, values, and behavior. By studying these differences, we come to understand that ways of behaving and believing are intelligible in terms of the overall context in which they occur. By adopting this broad view of the human experience, perhaps we humans can tear off the blinders put on us by our local lifestyles. Thus anthropology is incompatible with the view that a particular group—and no one else—represents humanity, stands at the pinnacle of progress, or has been chosen by God or history to fashion the world in its own image.

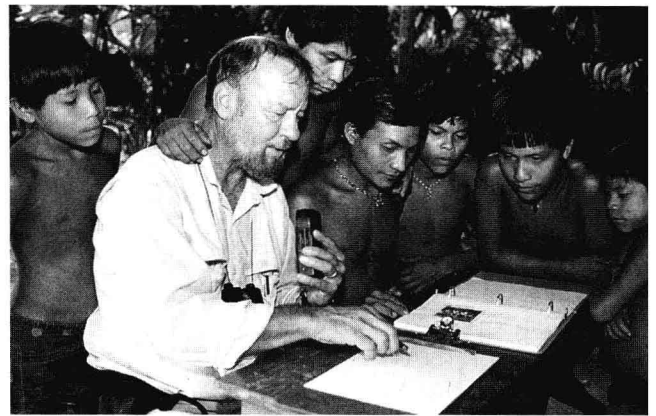
Holism

The distinction of anthropology among the social sciences is that it is **holistic**; it tries to understand the processes that influence and explain all aspects of human thought and behavior.

Other disciplines in the social sciences are concerned with a particular segment of human experience or a particular time or phase of cultural processes. In contrast, anthropology uses a **holistic** approach that em-



A.



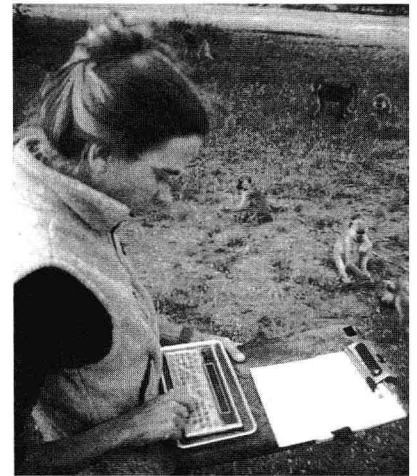
B.



C.



D.



E.

Anthropologists at Work

A. Ethnographer Nancy Scheper-Harris with the engineer of the Aguas Pretas Sugar Mill in Timbauka, Brazil. B. Ethnographer Napoleon Chagnon charts kinship relationships among the Yanomami. C. Jerald T. Milanich, archaeologist, Florida Museum of Natural History, with prehistoric (A.D. 200–900) Native American bird vessel. D. Linguist Francesca Merlin with the speakers of a previously unknown language near Mt. Hagen, New Guinea. E. Biological Anthropologist, Joan Silk records baboon behavior Amboseli, Kenya.

braces all the components and processes of social life; for example, the physical environment, methods of food production, family patterns, the political system, religious customs, and artistic endeavors. Because anthropologists study the interaction between biological and cultural differences, it is strategically equipped to address key issues concerning the origins of social inequality in the form of racism, sexism, exploitation, poverty, and international underdevelopment. Thus anthropology has much to contribute to our understanding of the major issues that divide contemporary society and threaten national and ethnic conflict.

Fieldwork and Participant Observation

In the early twentieth century, researchers studied cultures with the goal of describing them in as much de-

tail as possible. In recent decades, anthropologists have been focusing more on problem-oriented research. Some are committed to scientific and causal research to explain aspects of culture that sometimes seem “unexplainable” (Murphy and Margolis 1995), such as why some cultures prohibit eating certain foods for religious reasons. Other anthropologists favor more intuitive research that avoids hypothesis testing and favors evocative interpretationist descriptions in search of symbols, motivation, and meaning; for example how apparently elusive conceptions of personhood are revealed in ceremonial conduct (Geertz 1973).*

Cultural anthropologists collect their primary data through **fieldwork**, an extended period of involvement

*See the first page of the References for an explanation of the system of citations used in this book.

that typically entails living in the community and immersion in the culture being studied. The fieldworker typically gathers information through **participant observation**, living close to the people and participating in their lives as much as possible. Just as children learn a great deal by observing family members, anthropologists learn about a culture by observing the behavior of others and participating in routine activities. However, coming from another culture, anthropological fieldworkers must keep an open mind and not let preconceptions get in the way of understanding the culture they are studying (DeWalt, DeWalt, and Wayland 1998).

Data collected by anthropologists are called *fieldnotes*. These include journals, daily logs, diaries, interviews, behavioral observations, and transcriptions of audiotapes. Some fieldnotes include everything the anthropologist writes down as she or he sees or hears it, as a source of background information, whereas others are devoted to more systematic records such as household census, life histories, gift exchange, or land tenure histories. The voluminous data collected in the field generally require many hours of analysis for each hour spent collecting them (Sanjek 1990).

During the beginning of new fieldwork research, anthropologists and other strangers to the culture commonly feel awkward and unsure. This feeling of anxiety and disorientation that develops in an unfamiliar situation when there is confusion about how to behave or what to expect is called **culture shock**. Once the initial period of adjustment passes, anthropologists often develop lifelong friendships with individual members of the community and may be adopted into local families through a relationship known as *fictive kinship* (see Chapter 10).

Anthropologists refer to the people who share information about their language and culture as **informants**, **participants**, or **respondents**. The process of working with informants is a painstaking effort to sort out information and knowledge. It is important to choose informants who are knowledgeable and articulate; moreover, no matter how reliable the source, anthropologists find it advisable to explore the same topics with several informants and to use a variety of interview techniques and methods appropriate to the goal of the study (Weller 1998).

Besides talking to informants, anthropologists commonly undertake **direct observations of behavior** as a traditional method of fieldwork. Although expensive in terms of field and analysis time, systematic observations are the only way to obtain accurate data on what people are doing and how much time they spend in various activities. Informant recall—or even the researcher's writeup of fieldnotes at the end of the day—will be shaped by selective remembering or forgetting that make descriptions based only on memory highly inaccurate (Johnson and Sackett 1998).



"Anthropologists! Anthropologists!"

THE FAR SIDE cartoon by Gary Larson is reprinted by permission of Chronicle Features, San Francisco, CA. All rights reserved.

Ethnography

Ethnography literally means "a portrait of a people." An **ethnography** is a written description of a particular culture—the customs, beliefs, and behavior—based on information collected through fieldwork. Anthropologists have tried to study small-scale societies before they had disruptive culture contact with modern societies. The resulting ethnographies often consisted of descriptions of traditional cultures as if they existed in the present. Ethnographies are still often written in the **ethnographic present**, and readers are cautioned that most cultures described may no longer exist.

Today anthropologists no longer restrict themselves to studying small traditional societies. Moreover, traditional anthropological approaches and methods are now used to study communities in complex nation-states. Today's research also tends to be more specialized and often focuses on more specific topics of interest. A few topics covered in this book are

- *Ecological anthropology*, which considers the interaction between environment and technology to study human adaptation and change
- *Economic anthropology*, which studies how goods and services are distributed through formal and informal institutions

- *Political anthropology*, which focuses on political integration, stratification, methods of conflict resolution, leadership, and social control
- *Medical anthropology*, which studies biological and sociocultural factors that affect health and illness
- *Psychological anthropology*, which is concerned with how culture affects personality, child rearing, emotions, attitudes, and social behavior

Nonetheless, the discipline tries to retain its holistic orientation. For example, people who identify themselves as political anthropologists are concerned with the effects of environments or economies on political behavior or on how people raise their children.

More recent social changes, resulting from increased globalization, have led ethnographers to describe local cultures as embedded in the regional and global economy. This movement has led to the concept of transnational research, which recognizes that the world is not a mosaic of isolated cultures, but a network of communities linked by immigration, tourism, media, and now cyberspace. This situation may require multisited field studies; for example, migrants must be studied both at home and abroad to understand the diverse cultural influences they experience (Hannerz 1998).

Ethnology

Anthropologists use the comparative method to understand patterns of thought or behavior that occur in a number of societies.

Anthropologists insist first and foremost that conclusions based on the study of a particular culture be checked against the evidence of other groups. In this way anthropologists hope to control biases and generalize their findings to specific kinds of societies.

Whereas ethnography presents the details and particulars of a single community or culture, **ethnology** is the comparative study of customs and beliefs that tries to formulate theories about the similarities and differences between cultures. Comparative research can provide answers to a number of theoretical questions. For example, certain customs and practices, such as writing systems, tool use, and folktale motifs, tend to recur in different societies. Sometimes this recurrence is the result of geographical proximity, but in other cases, where there has been no known contact, we find independent occurrences of certain traits due to similar governing conditions. Cross-cultural comparisons provide evidence for such patterns and help explain them.

Anthropology and Science

Anthropology is handled as a social science by some and as one of the humanities by others. The humanistic side of anthropology focuses on the rich, complex descriptions of human experience through life histories, personal narratives, and the contemplation of religious and aesthetic meanings. Science, in contrast, entails an explanatory framework and observational procedures for testing that framework.

Scientific theory is based on hypotheses that systematically explain phenomena.

A **hypothesis** is a proposition or tentative explanation of the relationship between certain phenomena. An explanation can be validated (or invalidated) by evidence collected according to explicit procedures. However, the social sciences do not yield precise and reliable long-range predictions. Scientific truth is not absolute, but what is considered to be most probable.

Science does not yield **certainties** or laws; it yields **probabilities**.

As our knowledge expands, some theories may prove better than others, and sometimes old truths are discarded as new theories become more probable.

Why Study Anthropology?

Most anthropologists make their living by teaching in universities, colleges, and community colleges and by carrying out university-based research. But a substantial and increasing proportion of anthropologists find employment in nonacademic settings. Museums, for example—especially museums of natural history, archaeology, and art and folklore—have long relied on the expertise of anthropologists. In recent years, anthropologists have been welcome in a greater variety of public and private positions in government agencies concerned with welfare, drug abuse, mental health, environmental impact, housing, education, foreign aid, and agricultural development; in the private sector as personnel and ethnic relations consultants and as management consultants for multinational firms; and as staff members of hospitals and foundations (see Box 1.1 on page 6).

In recognition of the growing importance of these nonacademic roles as a source of employment for anthropologists, many university departments of anthropology have started or expanded programs in applied anthropology. These programs supplement traditional anthropological studies with training in

Box 1.1 An Anthropological Scorecard

Anthropologists frequently identify themselves with one or more specialized branches of the five major fields. The following is only a partial listing. Starred items have strong applied focus.

Cultural Anthropology

Ethnography. Description of contemporary cultures.

**Medical anthropology.* Study of biological and cultural factors in health, disease, and the treatment of the sick.

**Urban anthropology.* Study of city life, gangs, drug abuse.

**Development anthropology.* Study of the causes of underdevelopment and development among the less developed nations.

Archaeology

Historical archaeology. Study of cultures of the recent past, using both written records and archaeological excavations.

Industrial archaeology. Historical archaeology that focuses on industrial factories and facilities.

**Contract archaeology.* Conduct of archaeological surveys for environmental impact statements and protection of historic and prehistoric sites.

Physical (Biological) Anthropology

Primatology. Study of social life and biology of monkeys, great apes, and other primates.

Human paleontology. Search for and study of fossil remains of early human species and their ancestors.

**Forensic anthropology.* Identification of victims of murders and accidents; establishing identity of criminals.

Population genetics. Study of hereditary differences in human populations.

Linguistics

Historical linguistics. Reconstruction of the origins of specific languages and of families of languages.

Descriptive linguistics. Study of the grammar and syntax of languages.

Sociolinguistics. Study of the actual use of language in the communication behavior of daily life.

*Applied Anthropology

statistics, computers, and other skills suitable for solving practical problems in human relationships under a variety of natural and cultural conditions.

Despite the expanding opportunities in applied fields, the study of anthropology remains valuable not so much for the opportunities it presents for employment as for its contribution to the basic understanding of human variations and relationships. Just as most students who study mathematics do not become mathematicians, so too most students who study anthropology do not become anthropologists. For human relations fields, such as law, medicine, nursing, education, government, psychology, economics, business administration, and communication media, anthropology has a role to play that is as basic as mathematics. Only by becoming sensitive to the cultural dimensions of human existence and learning to cope with them can one hope to become really effective in any of these fields.

Anthropology has much to contribute to the educational philosophy known as *multiculturalism*, which stresses the importance of viewing the world from the perspectives of all the cultures, races, and ethnic groups present in modern nations. As part of their attempt to broaden the cultural horizons of their stu-

dents and combat ethnocentrism, many colleges have developed required "cultural diversity" courses. Cultural anthropology is the original multicultural approach to human social life, and it remains by far the most systematic and comprehensive alternative to traditional curriculums that view the world primarily in terms of "dead, White, European males." In anthropological perspective, multiculturalism consists not merely of the knowledge that cultures are different and worthy of respect, but also of a commitment to analyzing the causes of similarities as well as differences (Paredes and Pohl 1995).

Summary

1. Anthropology is the study of humankind. Its five major branches are cultural or social anthropology, anthropological linguistics, physical (or biological) anthropology, archaeology, and applied anthropology.
2. Anthropology is distinctive in its commitment to holism and to understanding all factors that influence human thought and behavior.