



# CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

**APPRECIATING** Cultural Diversity

Conrad Phillip Kottak

# To my mother, Mariana Kottak Roberts

The McGraw-Hill Companies



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# About the Author

Conrad Phillip Kottak (A.B. Columbia College, 1963; Ph.D. Columbia University, 1966) is the Julian H. Steward Collegiate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Michigan, where he has taught since 1968. He served as Anthropology Department chair from 1996 to 2006. In 1991 he was honored for his teaching by the university and the state of Michigan. In 1992 he received an excellence in teaching award from the College of Literature, Sciences, and the Arts of the University of Michigan. In 1999 the American Anthropological Association (AAA) awarded Professor Kottak the AAA/Mayfield Award for Excellence in the Undergraduate Teaching of Anthropology. In 2005 he was elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and in 2008 to the National Academy of Sciences.

Professor Kottak has done ethnographic fieldwork in Brazil (since 1962), Madagascar (since 1966), and the United States. His general interests are in the processes by which local cultures are incorporated—and resist incorporation—into larger systems. This interest links his earlier work on ecology and state formation in Africa and Madagascar to his more recent research on globalization, national and international culture, and the mass media.

The fourth edition of Kottak's popular case study *Assault on Paradise: The Globalization of a Little Community in Brazil*, based on his continuing field work in Arembepe, Bahia, Brazil, was published in 2006 by McGraw-Hill. In a research project during the 1980s, Kottak blended ethnography and survey research in studying "Television's Behavioral Effects in Brazil." That research is the basis of Kottak's book *Prime-Time Society: An Anthropological Analysis of Television and Culture* (revised edition published by Left Coast Press in 2010)—a comparative study of the nature and impact of television in Brazil and the United States.

Kottak's other books include *The Past in the Present: History, Ecology and Cultural Variation in Highland Madagascar* (1980), *Researching American Culture: A Guide for Student Anthropologists* (edited 1982) (both University of Michigan Press), and *Madagascar: Society and History* (edited 1986) (Carolina Academic Press). His most recent editions (14th) of *Anthropology: Appreciating Human Diversity* and *Cultural*

*Anthropology: Appreciating Cultural Diversity* (this book) are being published by McGraw-Hill in 2010. He also is the author of *Mirror for Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Cultural Anthropology* (7th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2010) and *Window on Humanity: A Concise Introduction to Anthropology* (4th ed., McGraw-Hill, 2010). With Kathryn A. Kozaitis, he wrote *On Being Different: Diversity and Multiculturalism in the North American Mainstream* (3rd ed., McGraw-Hill, 2008).

Conrad Kottak's articles have appeared in academic journals, including *American Anthropologist*, *Journal of Anthropological Research*, *American Ethnologist*, *Ethnology*, *Human Organization*, and *Luso-Brazilian Review*. He also has written for more popular journals, including *Transaction/SOCIETY*, *Natural History*, *Psychology Today*, and *General Anthropology*.

In recent research projects, Kottak and his colleagues have investigated the emergence of ecological awareness in Brazil, the social context of deforestation and biodiversity conservation in Madagascar, and popular participation in economic development planning in northeastern Brazil. Professor Kottak has been active in the University of Michigan's Center for the Ethnography of Everyday Life, supported by the Alfred P. Sloan Foundation. In that capacity, for a research project titled "Media, Family, and Work in a Middle-Class Midwestern Town," Kottak and his colleague Lara Descartes have investigated how middle-class families draw on various media in planning, managing, and evaluating their choices and solutions with respect to the competing demands of work and family. That research is the basis of his recent book *Media and Middle Class Moms: Images and Realities of Work and Family* (Descartes and Kottak 2009, Routledge/Taylor and Francis).

Conrad Kottak appreciates comments about his books from professors and students. He can be reached by e-mail at the following Internet address:

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*Conrad Phillip Kottak*

# Preface

When I wrote the first edition of this book in the 1970s, the field of anthropology was changing rapidly. Anthropologists were writing about a “new archaeology” and a “new ethnography.” Studies of language as actually used in society were revolutionizing overly formal and static linguistic models. Symbolic and interpretive approaches were joining ecological and materialist ones. I strove to write a book that addressed all these changes, while also providing a solid foundation of core concepts and the basics.

Anthropology continues to be an exciting field. Profound changes—including advances in communication and transportation, the expansion of global capitalism, and the challenges of a changing climate—have affected the people and societies that anthropologists study. While any competent text must present anthropology’s core, it must also demonstrate anthropology’s relevance to today’s world.

## APPRECIATING THE EXPERIENCES STUDENTS BRING TO THE CLASSROOM

One of my main goals for this edition has been to show students why anthropology should matter to them. Previous editions included short boxed sections titled “**Understanding Ourselves.**” I’ve expanded these essays and moved them to the beginning of each chapter. These introductions, which draw on student experience, using familiar examples, illustrate the relevance of anthropology to everyday life and set the stage for the content that follows.

Another feature that draws on student experience, “**Through the Eyes of Others,**” offers short accounts by foreign students of how they came to perceive and appreciate key differences between their own cultures of origin and contemporary culture in the United States. These accounts point out aspects of U.S. culture that may be invisible to students who are from the United States, because they are understood as being “normal,” or “just the way things are.” As these examples illustrate, the viewpoint of an outsider can help to make visible particular features of one’s own culture.

Both the “Understanding Ourselves” introductions and “Through the Eyes of Others” boxes tie into a key theme of this book; namely, that *anthropology helps us understand ourselves.* By studying other cultures, we learn to appreciate, to question, and to reinterpret aspects of our own. As one cultural variant among many, American culture is worthy of anthropological study and analysis. Any adequate study of contemporary American culture must include popular culture. I keep up with developments in American—and, increasingly, international—popular culture, and use popular culture examples to help my students, and my readers, understand and appreciate anthropological concepts and approaches. To cite just a few examples, the anthropology of *Star Wars*, *The Wizard of Oz*, and

*Desperate Housewives* are explored in this book, along with more traditional aspects of American culture.

## APPRECIATING CULTURAL DIVERSITY

No academic field has a stronger commitment to, or respect for, human cultural diversity than anthropology does. Anthropologists routinely listen to, record, and attempt to represent voices and perspectives from a multitude of times, places, countries, and cultures. Through its various subfields, anthropology brings together biological, social, cultural, linguistic, and historical approaches. Multiple and diverse perspectives provide a fuller appreciation of what it means to be human.

Newly imagined for this edition, chapters now contain boxes titled “**Appreciating Diversity,**” which focus on the various forms of human cultural diversity, in time and space that make anthropology so fascinating. Some of these explorations of diversity, for example the recent popularity of hugging in U.S. high schools, will likely be familiar to students. Others, like the story of a Turkish man with five wives and 55 children, will prompt them to consider human societies very different from their own.

A key feature of today’s student body that makes anthropology more relevant than ever is its increasing diversity. Anthropologists once were the experts who *introduced* diversity to the students. The tables may have turned. Sometime during the 1990s the most common name in my 101 class shifted from Johnson to Kim. Today’s students already know a lot about diversity and cultural differences, often from their own backgrounds as well as from the media. For instructors, knowing one’s audience today means appreciating that, compared with us when we first learned anthropology, the undergraduate student body is likely to be (1) more diverse; (2) more familiar with diversity; and (3) more comfortable with diversity. We’re very lucky to be able to build on such student experience.

## APPRECIATING THE FIELD OF ANTHROPOLOGY

I want students to appreciate the field of anthropology and the various kinds of diversity it studies. How do anthropologists work? How does anthropology contribute to our understanding of the world? To help students answer these questions, chapters now contain boxed sections titled “**Appreciating Anthropology,**” which focus on the value and usefulness of anthropological research and approaches.

Anthropology is grounded in both the sciences and the humanities. As a science, anthropology

relies on systematic observation, careful record-keeping, and evidence-based analysis. Anthropologists apply these tools of the scientific method to the study of human cultures. In the words of Clyde Kluckhohn (1944), "Anthropology provides a scientific basis for dealing with the crucial dilemma of the world today: how can peoples of different appearance, mutually unintelligible languages, and dissimilar ways of life get along peaceably together?"

Anthropology reveals its roots in the humanities through the comparative and cross-cultural perspec-

tive it brings to bear on the full range of human endeavors and creative expressions. In fact, I see anthropology as one of the most humanistic academic fields because of its fundamental appreciation of human diversity. Anthropologists routinely listen to, record, and attempt to represent voices and perspectives from a multitude of times, places, countries, cultures, and fields. Multiple and diverse perspectives provide a fuller appreciation of what it means to be human.



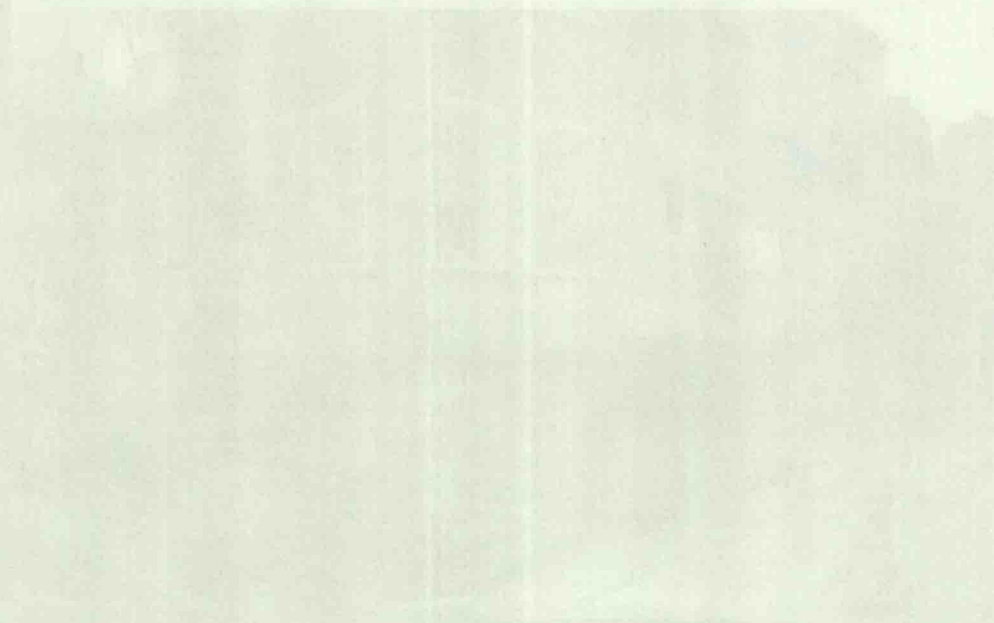
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## What is Anthropology?



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# Appreciating Cultural Diversity

## “Appreciating Diversity” Boxes

These boxes explore the rich diversity of cultures that anthropologists study. Hugging in U.S. high schools, women-only commuter trains in large cities in India, and Googling in local languages are just a few of the topics explored in these sections.

## appreciating

## DIVERSITY

### Five Wives and 55 Children

Diversity in marriage customs has been a prominent topic in anthropology since its origin. Many societies, including Turkey, that once allowed plural marriage have banned it. Polygyny is the form of polygamy (plural marriage) in which a man has more than one wife. Marriage usually is a domestic partnership, but under polygyny secondary wives may or may not reside near the first wife. In this Turkish case the five wives have their own homes. Polygamy, although formally outlawed, has survived in Turkey since the Ottoman period, when having several wives was viewed as a symbol of power, wealth, and sexual prowess. Unlike the past, when the practice was customary (for men who could afford it) and not illegal, polygamy can put contemporary women at risk. Because their marriages have no official status, secondary wives who are abused or mistreated have no legal recourse. Like all institutions studied by anthropologists, customs involving plural marriage are changing in the contemporary world and in the context of nation-states and globalization.

ISIKLAR, Turkey, July 6—With his 5 wives, 55 children and 80 grandchildren, 400 sheep, 1,200 acres of land and a small army of ser-

vants, Aga Mehmet Arslan would seem an unlikely defender of monogamy.

Though banned, polygamy is widespread in the Isiklar region. Yet if he were young again, said Mr. Arslan, a sprightly, potbellied, 64-year-old Kurdish village chieftain, he would happily trade in his five wives for one.

“Marrying five wives is not sinful, and I did so because to have many wives is a sign of power,” he said, perched on a divan in a large cushion-filled room at his house, where a portrait of Turkey’s first president, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, who outlawed polygamy in 1926, is prominently displayed.

“But I wouldn’t do it again,” he added, listing the challenges of having so many kin—like the need to build each wife a house away from the others to prevent friction and his struggle to remember all of his children’s names. “I was uneducated back then, and God commands us to be fruitful and multiply.”

Though banned by Ataturk as part of an effort to modernize the Turkish republic and empower women, polygamy remains widespread



Many societies, including Turkey (as described here), that once permitted plural marriage have outlawed it. The Turkish bride shown here—Kubra Gul, the daughter of Turkey’s president Abdullah Gul—will not have to share her bridegroom, Mehmet Sarimermer. The photo shows the couple on their wedding day (October 14, 2007) in Istanbul.

in this deeply religious and rural Kurdish region of southeastern Anatolia, home to one-third of Turkey’s 71 million people. The practice is generally accepted under the Koran.

Polygamy is creating cultural clashes in a country struggling to reconcile the secularism

## Chapter Openers

Each chapter opens with a carefully-chosen photograph representing the chapter content. These photos present a wide variety of cultural practices and backgrounds. Three thought-provoking questions orient students to key chapter themes and topics.

What distinguishes anthropology from other fields that study human beings?

How do anthropologists study human diversity in time and space?

Why is anthropology both scientific and humanistic?

Street scene with soccer in Istanbul, Turkey. Culture, including sports, helps shape our bodies, personalities, and personal health.



## What Is Anthropology?

# 1

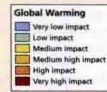
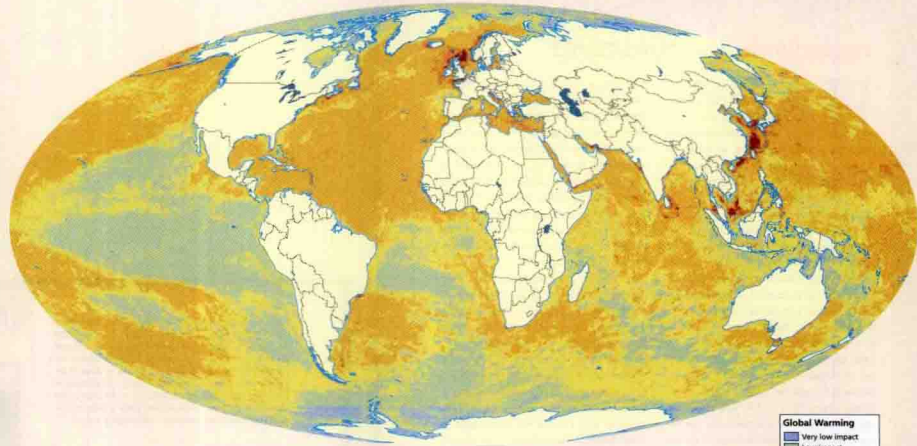
## MAP 18 Global Warming

Since the early 20th century, the Earth's surface temperatures have risen about 1.4° F (0.7° C). Rising temperatures, shrinking glaciers, and melting polar ice provide additional evidence for global warming. Scientists prefer the term climate change to global warming. Scientific measurements confirm that global warming is not due to increased solar radiation, but rather are mainly anthropogenic—caused by humans and their activities. Because our planet's climate is always changing, the key question becomes: How much global warming is due to human activities versus natural climate variability? Most scientists agree that human activities play a major role in global climate change. Given population growth and rapidly increasing use of fossil fuels, the human factor is significant. The map represents the relative impact of global warming in different regions of the world.

### QUESTIONS

Look at Map 18, "Global Warming."

1. Which geographical regions of the world show noticeable effects of global warming? Which show the least? What about the polar regions? Why are certain major sections of the oceans affected?
2. Widespread and long-term trends toward warmer global temperatures and a changing climate are referred to as "fingerprints." Researchers look for them to detect and confirm that climate change. What are some of the recent fingerprints that have been covered in the media?
3. "Harbingers" refer to such events as fires, exceptional droughts, and downpours. They can also include the spread of disease-bearing insects and widespread bleaching of coral reefs. Any and all may be directly or partly caused by a warmer climate. Have you noticed any recent harbingers in the U.S. in the past year? Have they been confined to any specific geographical regions?



## Anthropology Atlas

Comprising 18 maps, this atlas presents a global view of topics and issues important to anthropologists and to the people they study, such as world forest loss, gender inequality, and the distribution of world religions. Cross references in the text tie the maps to relevant chapter discussions.

# Appreciating the Experiences Students

## chapter outline

### WHAT IS CULTURE?

Culture Is Learned  
Culture Is Symbolic  
Culture Is Shared  
Culture and Nature  
Culture Is All-Encompassing  
Culture Is Integrated  
Culture Can Be Adaptive and Maladaptive

### CULTURE'S EVOLUTIONARY BASIS

What We Share with Other Primates  
How We Differ from Other Primates

### UNIVERSALITY, GENERALITY, AND PARTICULARITY

Universality  
Generality  
Particularity: Patterns of Culture

### CULTURE AND THE INDIVIDUAL: AGENCY AND PRACTICE

Levels of Culture  
Ethnocentrism, Cultural Relativism, and Human Rights

### MECHANISMS OF CULTURAL CHANGE

### GLOBALIZATION



## understanding OURSELVES

How special are you? To what extent are you “your own person” and to what extent are you a product of your particular culture? How much does, and should, your cultural background influence your actions and decisions? Americans may not fully appreciate the power of culture because of the value their culture places on “the individual.” Americans like to regard everyone as unique in some way. Yet individualism itself is a distinctive shared value, a feature of American culture, transmitted constantly in our daily lives. In the media, count how many stories focus on individuals versus groups. From the late Mr. (Fred) Rogers of daytime TV to “real-life” parents, grandparents, and teachers, our enculturative agents insist we all are “someone special.” That we are individuals first and members of groups second is the opposite of this chapter’s lesson about culture. Certainly we have distinctive features because we are individuals, but we have other distinct attributes because we belong to cultural groups.

For example, as we saw in the “Appreciating Diversity” box in Chapter 1 (pp. 6–7), a comparison of the United States with Brazil, Italy, or virtually any Latin nation reveals striking contrasts between a national culture (American) that discourages physical affection and national cultures in which the opposite is true. Brazilians touch, embrace, and kiss one another much more frequently than North Americans do. Such behavior reflects years of

exposure to particular cultural traditions. Middle-class Brazilians teach their kids—both boys and girls—to kiss on the cheek, two or three times, coming and going every adult relative they ever see. Given the size of Brazilian extended families, this can mean hundreds of people. Women continue kissing all those people throughout their lives. Until they are adolescents, boys kiss all adult relatives. Men typically continue to kiss female relatives and friends, as well as their fathers and uncles throughout their lives.

Do you kiss your father? Your uncle? Your grandfather? How about your mother, aunt, or grandmother? The answer to these questions may differ between men and women, and for male and female relatives. Culture can help us to make sense of these differences. In America, a cultural homophobia (fear of homosexuality) may prevent American men from engaging in displays of affection with other men; similarly, American girls typically are encouraged to show affection, while American boys typically aren’t. It’s important to note that these cultural explanations rely upon example and expectation, and that no cultural trait exists because it is natural or right. *Ethnocentrism* is the error of viewing one’s own culture as superior and applying one’s own cultural values in judging people from other cultures. How easy is it for you to see beyond the ethnocentric blinders of your own experience? Do you have an ethnocentric position regarding displays of affection?

features correlate with social factors, including class and gender differences (Tannen 1990)? One reason for variation is geography, as in regional dialects and accents. Linguistic variation also is expressed in the bilingualism of ethnic groups. Linguistic and cultural anthropologists collaborate in studying links between language and many other aspects of culture, such as how people reckon kinship and how they perceive and classify colors.

### ANTHROPOLOGY AND OTHER ACADEMIC FIELDS

As mentioned previously, one of the main differences between anthropology and the other fields that study people is holism, anthropology’s unique blend of biological, social, cultural, linguistic, historical, and contemporary perspectives. Paradoxically, while distinguishing anthropology, this breadth is what also links it to many other disciplines. Techniques used to date fossils and artifacts have come to anthropology from physics, chemistry, and geology. Because plant and animal remains often are found with human bones and artifacts, anthropologists collaborate with botanists, zoologists, and paleontologists.

As a discipline that is both scientific and humanistic, anthropology has links with many other academic fields. Anthropology is a science—a “systematic field of study or body of knowledge that aims, through experience, observation, and deduction, to produce reliable explanations of phenomena, with reference to the material and physical world” (Webster’s *New World Encyclopedia* 1993, p. 397). The following chapters present anthropology as a humanistic science devoted to discovering, describing, understanding, and explaining similarities and differences in time and space among humans and our ancestors. Clyde Kluckhohn (1944) described anthropology as “the science of human similarities and differences” (p. 9). His statement of the need for such a field still stands: “Anthropology provides a scientific basis for dealing with the crucial dilemma of the world today: how can peoples of different appearance, mutually unintelligible languages, and dissimilar ways of life get along peaceably together?” (p. 9). Anthropology has compiled an impressive body of knowledge that this textbook attempts to encapsulate.

Besides its links to the natural sciences (e.g., geology, zoology) and social sciences (e.g., sociology, psychology), anthropology also has strong links to the humanities. The humanities include English, comparative literature, classics, folklore, philosophy, and the arts. These fields study languages, texts, philosophies, arts, music, performances, and other forms of creative expression. Ethnomusicology, which studies forms of musical expression on a worldwide basis, is especially closely related to anthropology. Also linked is folklore, the systematic

## through the eyes of OTHERS



STUDENT: Maria Alejandra Pérez, Ph.D.  
Candidate in Cultural Anthropology  
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN: Venezuela  
SUGGESTED PROFESSORS: Erik Mauggler and Fernando Coronil  
SCHOOL: University of Michigan

### Changing Places, Changing Identities

I was born and lived in Venezuela’s capital, Caracas, for 15 years. Caracas was large and chaotic, but wonderfully cosmopolitan. Years of relatively stable democracy and a state infrastructure fueled by oil made this city attractive to many immigrants, not just from rural areas, but from the rest of South America and Europe as well. While growing up, I never thought much about how the place where we live impacts, often in very small ways, who we are. As I later came to realize, it is amazing how much what is familiar to us comes into focus when we travel and live elsewhere, far from the people and customs we are used to. Elements of our identity change, too, in different situations. In fact, plunging ourselves into a different context and carefully evaluating the complexity of this experience are a fundamental part of anthropological research.

Moving from Caracas as a teenager was bad enough, but when my family and I arrived in Trinidad, a small town in southern Colorado, one blustery November night, I wondered what I had done wrong to deserve such a fate! In Trinidad, my father joked that you’d miss the town limits if you biked too fast. Many of my new high school classmates had never flown on an airplane, much less seen the ocean. Most of them had last names such as Gonzales and Salazar, and their families had lived in the area for several generations. As different as I felt from them, we shared, in the American social context, identifiers such as Hispanic or Latino, terms that never made much sense to me, since they purportedly bundled together people I viewed as not having much in common. Just as I noticed how different my classmates were from me, elements that I felt made my family “distinctly Venezuelan” stood out, both tinted and amplified, no doubt, by my nostalgia for the people and places left behind. We stayed up late, danced to salsa on Christmas Eve and New Year’s, lamented the lack of homemade hallacas (a traditional Venezuelan Christmas dish) and blabbed and joked in a Spanish that is characteristically Caraqueño (from Caracas). These seemingly trivial stereotypes became for me, during that first holiday away from home, the essence of our identity.

Years later, while conducting fieldwork in rural eastern Venezuela, I would again face the challenge of defining my identity both to myself and to local people who viewed me as a foreigner. This time, after several years of graduate school, I could better understand my reactions. I now appreciate what it means to be part of one culture and not another and that what it means to be local is contextual and dynamic.

study of tales, myths, and legends from a variety of cultures. One might well argue that anthropology is among the most humanistic of all academic fields because of its fundamental respect for human diversity. Anthropologists listen to, record, and represent voices from a multitude of nations and cultures. Anthropology values local knowledge.

science  
Field of study that seeks reliable explanations, with reference to the material and physical world.

## “Understanding Ourselves” Introductions

These new chapter introductions, which expand on a feature previously spread throughout the book, prompt students to relate anthropology to their own culture and their own lives. Students learn that anthropology provides insights into nearly every aspect of daily life, from what we eat for breakfast to how often baseball players spit, to cite just two examples.

## “Through the Eyes of Others” Essays

Written by students raised outside of the United States, these essays contrast aspects of life in contemporary American culture with similar aspects in the authors’ cultures of origin. The observations within these essays show students how cultural practices that seem familiar or natural are not seen as such by others.



# Bring to the Classroom

## RECAP 12.2 Anthony F. C. Wallace's Typology of Religions

TYPE OF RELIGION (WALLACE)	TYPE OF PRACTITIONER	CONCEPTION OF SUPERNATURAL	TYPE OF SOCIETY
Monotheistic	Priests, ministers, etc.	Supreme being	States
Olympian	Priesthood	Hierarchical pantheon with powerful deities	Chiefdoms and archaic states
Communal	Part-time specialists; occasional community-sponsored events, including rites of passage	Several deities with some control over nature	Food-producing tribes
Shamanic	Shaman = part-time	Zoomorphic practitioner	Foraging band (plants and animals)

**polytheism**  
Belief that multiple deities control aspects of nature.

**Olympian religions**  
State religions with professional priesthoods.

**monotheism**  
Worship of a single supreme being.

ceremonies and rites of passage. Although communal religions lack *full-time* religious specialists, they believe in several deities (**polytheism**) who control aspects of nature. Although some hunter-gatherers, including Australian totemists, have communal religions, these religions are more typical of farming societies.

Olympian religions, which arose with state organization and marked social stratification, add full-time religious specialists—professional *priest-hoods*. Like the state itself, the priesthood is hierarchically and bureaucratically organized. The term *Olympian* comes from Mount Olympus, home of the classical Greek gods. Olympian religions are

polytheistic. They include powerful anthropomorphic gods with specialized functions, for example, gods of love, war, the sea, and death. *Olympian pantheons* (collections of supernatural beings) were prominent in the religions of many nonindustrial nation-states, including the Aztecs of Mexico, several African and Asian kingdoms, and classical Greece and Rome. Wallace's fourth type—**monotheism**—also has priesthoods and notions of divine power, but it views the supernatural differently. In monotheism, all supernatural phenomena are manifestations of, or are under the control of, a single eternal, omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent supreme being. Recap 12.2 summarizes the four types and their features.

### RELIGION IN STATES

Robert Bellah (1978) coined the term “world-rejecting religion” to describe most forms of Christianity, including Protestantism. World-rejecting religions arose in ancient civilizations, along with literacy and a specialized priesthood. These religions are so named because of their tendency to reject the natural (mundane, ordinary, material, secular) world and to focus instead on a higher (sacred, transcendent) realm of reality. The divine is a domain of exalted morality to which humans can only aspire. Salvation through fusion with the supernatural is the main goal of such religions.

### Protestant Values and the Rise of Capitalism

Notions of salvation and the afterlife dominate Christian ideologies. However, most varieties of Protestantism lack the hierarchical structure of earlier monotheistic religions, including Roman Catholicism. With a diminished role for the priest (minister), salvation is directly available to individuals. Regardless of their social status, Protestants have unmediated access to the supernatural. The



We'wha, a Zuni berdache, in 1885. In some Native American societies, certain ritual duties were reserved for berdaches, men who rejected the male role and joined a third gender.

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## “Recap” Tables

These tables systematically summarize major points of a section or chapter, giving students an easily accessible studying and learning tool.



rather than mainly for subsistence. Indigenous peoples and traditional cultures have devised various

strategies to deal with threats to their autonomy, identity, and livelihood. New forms of political mobilization and cultural expression are emerging from the interplay of local, regional, national, and international cultural forces (see Ong and Collier, eds. 2005).

## Acing the COURSE

### Summary

1. Culture, which is distinctive to humanity, refers to customary behavior and beliefs that are passed on through enculturation. Culture rests on the human capacity for cultural learning. Culture encompasses rules for conduct internalized in human beings, which lead them to think and act in characteristic ways.
2. Although other animals learn, only humans have cultural learning, dependent on symbols. Humans think symbolically—arbitrarily bestowing meaning on things and events. By convention, a symbol stands for something with which it has no necessary or natural relation. Symbols have special meaning for people who share memories, values, and beliefs because of common enculturation. People absorb cultural lessons consciously and unconsciously.
3. Cultural traditions mold biologically based desires and needs in particular directions. Everyone is cultured, not just people with elite educations. Cultures may be integrated and patterned through economic and social forces, key symbols, and core values. Cultural rules don't rigidly dictate our behavior. There is room for creativity, flexibility, diversity, and disagreement within societies. Cultural means of adaptation have been crucial in human evolution. Aspects of culture also can be maladaptive.
4. The human capacity for culture has an evolutionary basis that extends back at least 2.6 million years—to early tool makers whose products survive in the archaeological record (and most probably even further back—based on observation of tool use and manufacture by apes). Humans share with monkeys and apes such traits as manual dexterity (especially opposable thumbs), depth and color vision, learning ability based on a large brain, substantial parental investment in a limited number of offspring, and tendencies toward sociality and cooperation.
5. Many hominin traits are foreshadowed in other primates, particularly in the African apes, which

like us, belong to the hominid family. The ability to learn, basic to culture, is an adaptive advantage available to monkeys and apes. Chimpanzees make tools for several purposes. They also hunt and share meat. Sharing and cooperation are more developed among humans than among the apes, and only humans have systems of kinship and marriage that permit us to maintain lifelong ties with relatives in different local groups.

6. Using a comparative perspective, anthropology examines biological, psychological, social, and cultural universals and generalities. There also are unique and distinctive aspects of the human condition (cultural particularities). North American cultural traditions are no more natural than any others. Levels of culture can be larger or smaller than a nation. Cultural traits may be shared across national boundaries. Nations also include cultural differences associated with ethnicity, region, and social class.
7. Ethnocentrism describes judging other cultures by using one's own cultural standards. Cultural relativism, which anthropologists may use as a methodological position rather than a moral stance, is the idea of avoiding the use of outside standards to judge behavior in a given society. Human rights are those based on justice and morality beyond and superior to particular countries, cultures, and religions. Cultural rights are vested in religious and ethnic minorities and indigenous societies, and IPR, or intellectual property rights, apply to an indigenous group's collective knowledge and its applications.
8. Diffusion, migration, and colonialism have carried cultural traits and patterns to different world areas. Mechanisms of cultural change include diffusion, acculturation, and independent invention. Globalization describes a series of processes that promote change in a world in which nations and people are interlinked and mutually dependent.

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## “Acing the Course” Sections

These end-of-chapter sections include summaries, key terms, and self-quizzes that encourage students to review and retain the chapter content. Self-grading quizzes on the book's online learning center ([www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e](http://www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e)) provide further opportunities for practice and review.

# Appreciating the Field of Anthropology

## "Appreciating Anthropology" Boxes

These accounts explore ways in which anthropologists are actively engaged with some of our most urgent 21st century concerns. From studying the culture of terrorist subcultures to helping to preserve the architecture and archaeology of New Orleans after Hurricane Katrina, these boxes demonstrate that topics raised in every chapter can be found in today's headlines.

## appreciating ANTHROPOLOGY

### Should Anthropologists Study Terrorism?

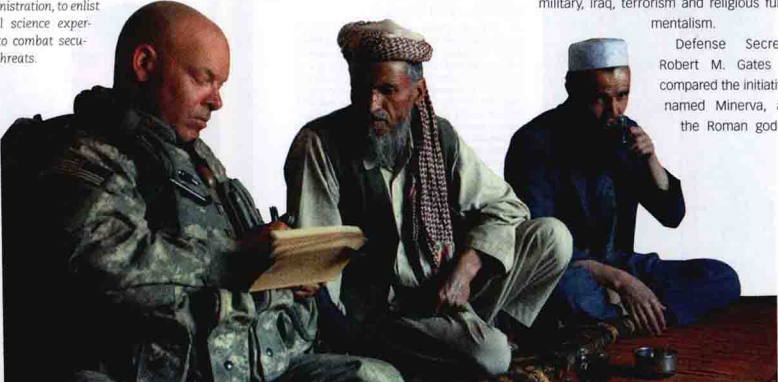
*How and how much should anthropology matter? For decades I've heard anthropologists complain that government officials fail to appreciate, or simply are ignorant of, findings of anthropology that are relevant to making informed policies. The American Anthropological Association deems it of "paramount importance" that anthropologists study the roots of terrorism and violence. How should such studies be conducted? This account describes a Pentagon program, Project Minerva, initiated late in the (George W.) Bush administration, to enlist social science expertise to combat security threats.*

*Project Minerva has raised concerns among anthropologists. Based on past experience, scholars worry that governments might use anthropological knowledge for goals and in ways that are ethically problematic. Government policies and military operations have the potential to bring harm to the people anthropologists study. Social scientists object especially to the notion that Pentagon officials should determine which projects are worthy of funding. Rather, anthropologists favor a (peer review) system in which panels of their profes-*

*ssional peers (other social scientists) judge the value and propriety of proposed research, including research that might help identify and deter threats to national security. Can you appreciate anthropology's potential value for national security? Read the Code of Ethics of the American Anthropological Association at [www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm](http://www.aaanet.org/committees/ethics/ethcode.htm). In the context of that code, can you also appreciate anthropologists' reluctance to endorse Project Minerva and its procedures?*

Eager to embrace eggheads and ideas, the Pentagon has started an ambitious and unusual program to recruit social scientists and direct the nation's brainpower to combating security threats like the Chinese military, Iraq, terrorism and religious fundamentalism.

Defense Secretary Robert M. Gates has compared the initiative—named Minerva, after the Roman goddess



## "Living Anthropology"

### Video Icons

These icons reference a set of videos that show anthropologists at work and that can be viewed on the open-access online learning center ([www.mhhe.com/kottacka14e](http://www.mhhe.com/kottacka14e)). Students hear anthropologists describe the research they are doing and are given a glimpse of the many sites and peoples that anthropologists study.

and discovery, cultural advances have overcome many "natural" limitations. We prevent and cure diseases such as polio and smallpox that felled our ancestors. We use Viagra to restore and enhance sexual potency. Through cloning, scientists have altered the way we think about biological identity and the meaning of life itself. Culture, of course, has not freed us from natural threats. Hurricanes, floods, earthquakes, and other natural forces regularly challenge our wishes to modify the environment through building, development, and expansion. Can you think of other ways in which nature strikes back at people and their products?



**living anthropology VIDEOS**

Being Raised Canela, [www.mhhe.com/kottack](http://www.mhhe.com/kottack)

This clip focuses on Brazil's Canela Indians. One of the key figures in the clip is the boy Carampele, who was four years old in 1975. Another is the "formal friend" of a small boy whose finger has been burned and who has been disciplined by his mother. The clip depicts enculturation among the Canela—various ways in which children learn their culture. How does the footage of Carampele show his learning of the rhythms of Canela life? The clip shows that children start doing useful work at an early age, but that the playfulness and affection of childhood are prolonged into adulthood. How does the behavior of the formal friend illustrate that playfulness? Notice how Canela culture is integrated in that songs, dances, and tales are interwoven with subsistence activity. From an emic perspective, what is the function of the hunters' dance? Think about how the clip shows the formal and informal, the conscious and unconscious aspects of enculturation.

**Culture Is All-Encompassing**

For anthropologists, culture includes much more than refinement, taste, sophistication, education, and appreciation of the fine arts. Not only college graduates but all people are "cultured." The most interesting and significant cultural forces are those that affect people every day of their lives, particularly those that influence children during enculturation. Culture, as defined anthropologically, encompasses features that are sometimes regarded as trivial or unworthy of serious study, such as "popular" culture. To understand contemporary North American culture, we must consider television, fast-food restaurants, sports, and games. As a cultural manifestation, a rock star may be as interesting as a symphony conductor, a comic book as significant as a book-award winner. (Describing the multiple ways in which anthropologists have studied the Atrial of northern Kenya, this chapter's "Appreciating Anthropology" demonstrates how anthropology, like culture, is all encompassing.)




Cultures are integrated systems. When one behavior pattern changes, others also change. During the 1950s, most American women expected to have careers as wives, mothers, and domestic managers. As more and more women have entered the workforce, attitudes toward work and family have changed. On the left, Mom and kids do the dishes in 1952. On the right (taken in January 2005), nuclear expert and deputy director of ISIS (Institute for Science and International Security) Corey Hinderstein uses her office in Washington, D.C., to monitor nuclear activities all over the globe. What do you imagine she will do when she gets home?



# Highlights of the 14th Edition

## CHAPTER 1

- New content on the cultural practice of friendly hugging among high school students in America
- New material on Dr. Stanley Ann Dunham Soetoro's work and philosophy, and her influence on her son, Barack Obama

## CHAPTER 2

- Updated coverage of the role of individualism in American culture

## CHAPTER 3

- Revised coverage of cultural anthropologists in a global community
- New material on Clyde Kluckhorn's views on the public service role of anthropology
- New content on anthropologists studying terrorism

## CHAPTER 4

- Revised discussion of culturally-appropriate innovation

## CHAPTER 5

- Revised coverage on the relationships between language and culture
- New material on the demand for Web content in local languages

## CHAPTER 6

- Updated coverage of ethnicity as a shifting, culturally-determined identity

- New content on the confusion between race and ethnicity in the popular discourse, including a discussion of the Sotomayer confirmation hearings and controversy

- Expanded content on genotype and phenotype in Brazil

## CHAPTER 7

- Updated content on the conflict between work and family in American culture
- New content on the impacts of deforestation and climate change on native cultures

## CHAPTER 8

- Expanded content on the various levels of political control (local/tribal vs. state/national) that many peoples live under
- Expanded discussion of diwaniyas of Kuwait

## CHAPTER 9

- Updated discussion of gender equality in America today
- Expanded discussion of gender roles and the division of labor
- New content on women-only commuter trains in major Indian cities
- Expanded discussion of gender alternatives

## CHAPTER 10

- Expanded discussion of the definition of family in the contemporary United States

## CHAPTER 11

- Updated information on gay-marriage laws in the U.S.
- Expanded discussion on dowries

## CHAPTER 12

- Expanded content on baseball players and magical thinking
- New material on the celebration of Claude Lévi Strauss's 100th birthday, and an assessment of his life's work

## CHAPTER 13

- Expanded discussion of the splintering of U.S. mass media and U.S. culture
- Revised coverage of the departmentalization of art in western culture
- Updated discussion of class in American and Brazilian mass media

## CHAPTER 14

- Updated discussion of the globalization of culture and commerce

## CHAPTER 15

- Expanded coverage of the earth as a global unit, rather than a compilation of national units

# Support for Students and Instructors

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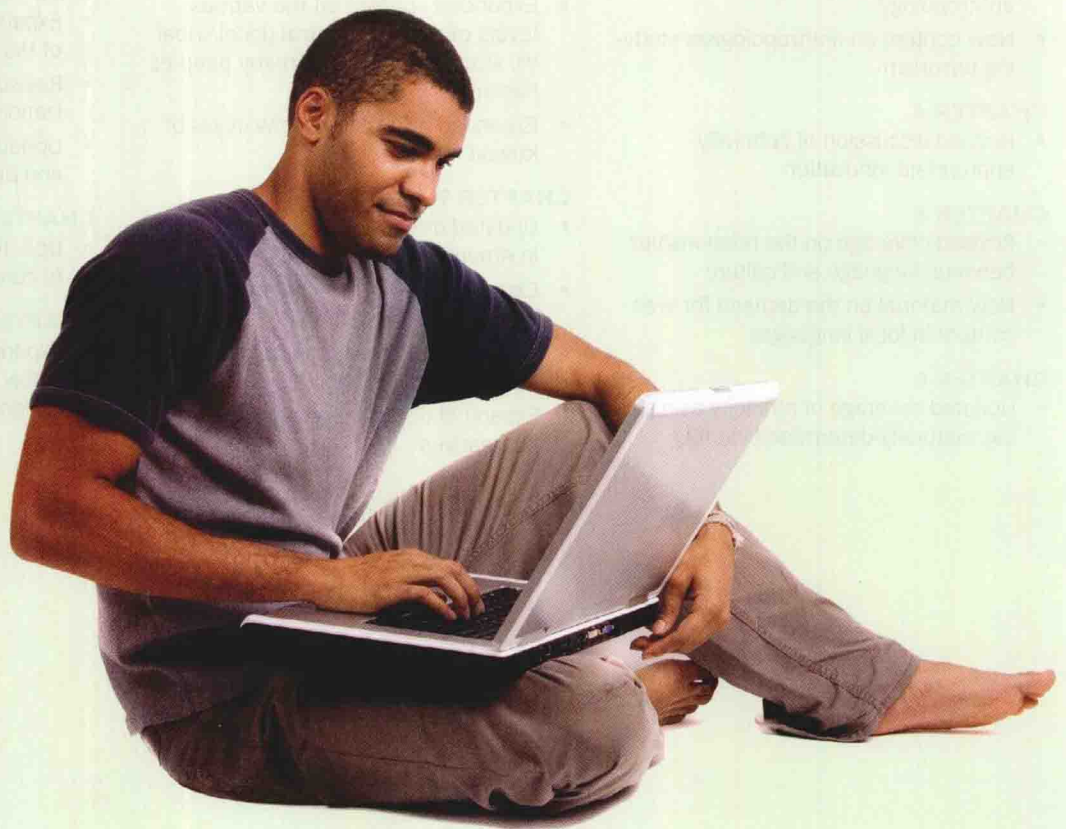
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## For the Student

### **The Student Online Learning Center website ([www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e](http://www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e))**

is a free Web-based student supplement featuring video clips, self-quizzes, interactive exercises and activities, anthropology Web links, and other useful tools. Designed specifically to complement the individual chapters of the 14th edition text, the Kottak Online Learning Center website gives students access to material such as the following:

- Video Library
- Appendix: "Ethics and Anthropology"
- Appendix: "American Popular Culture"
- An electronic version of the in-text Anthropology Atlas
- Student Self-Quizzes
- Virtual Exploration Activities
- Interactive Exercises
- Chapter Outlines and Objectives
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- FAQs





## For the Instructor

**The Instructor Online Learning Center website ([www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e](http://www.mhhe.com/kottakca14e))** is a password-protected, instructor-only site, which includes the following materials:

- Instructor's Manual
- PowerPoint Lecture Slides
- Computerized Test Bank
- Question Bank for the Classroom Performance System (CPS)
- Image Bank
- Links to Professional Resources
- **Faces of Culture** Video Correlation Guide

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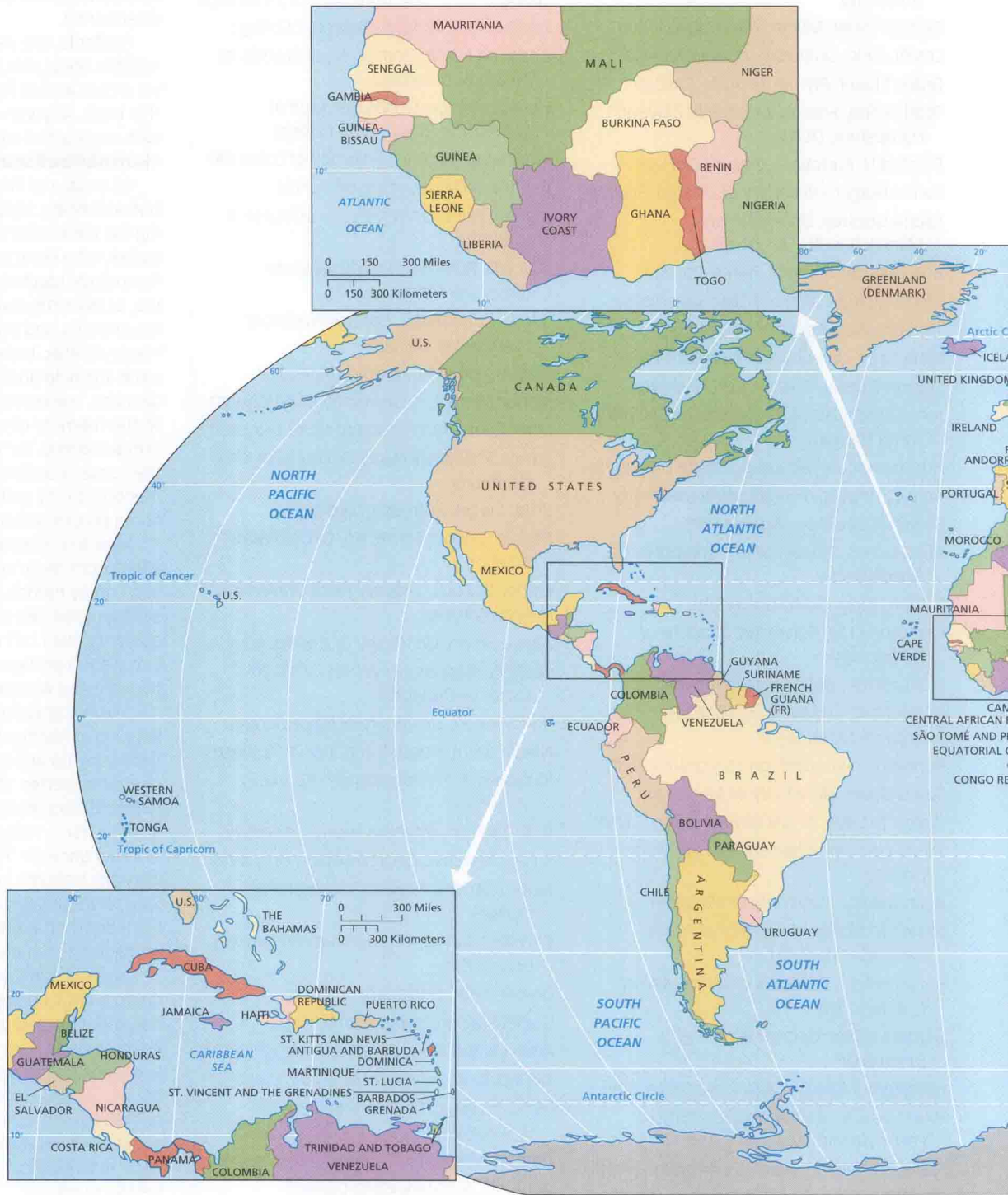
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