

Cultural Anthropology

Fifteenth Edition

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Cover Designer: Jennifer Hart Design Cover Photo: Timothy Allen/Getty Images Manufacturing Buyer: Mary Ann Gloriande Printer/Binder: LSC Communications, Inc. Cover Printer: Phoenix Color/Hagerstown

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Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Ember, Carol R., author. | Ember, Melvin, author. Title: Cultural Anthropology / Carol R. Ember, Melvin Ember.

Description: Fifteenth Edition. | Hoboken, New Jersey: Pearson Education,

[2019] | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2017047227 | ISBN 9780134732831 | ISBN 0134732839

Subjects: LCSH: Ethnology.

Classification: LCC GN316 .E45 2019 | DDC 306—dc23 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2017047227

1 18



ISBN 10: 0-134-73283-9 ISBN 13: 978-0-134-73283-1

Revel Access Code: ISBN 10: 0-134-73401-7

ISBN 13: 978-0-134-73401-9 Books á la Carte Edition:

ISBN 10: 0-134-73398-3 ISBN 13: 978-0-134-73398-2

Instructor's Review Copy: ISBN 10: 0-134-89898-2 ISBN 13: 978-0-134-89898-8



www.pearsonhighered.com



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Preface

ne approach to studying cultural anthropology is to explore a few topics in depth; for example, gender, human use of the environment, or globalization. In Cultural Anthropology, Fifteenth Edition, we take a different approach and focus on the unique ways anthropologists look at humans, regardless of the topic. First, our chapters consider the scope of human history. Second, we take seriously the approach that culture needs to be considered in a broader context—this means considering the environments in which people live as well as the biological attributes that human populations possess. Third, anthropology is broadly a comparative and global discipline, paying greater attention than most disciplines to variation in all world regions. Wherever possible, we include research that tests theory across time and with a worldwide scope. Finally, in discussing the constants and variables of human life, we take a holistic approach, considering many facets of life to give as a more contextual picture.

In other words, our textbook is holistic, biocultural, historical, and cross-cultural. This approach and philosophy has characterized all of our editions. The fact that our emphases have not changed over editions does not mean that our content and organization has not improved with each new edition. It has. Indeed, we realized with the help of some very savvy reviewers that streamlining our materials by removing the part sections, eliminating a chapter, and trimming some content will help make the material easier to navigate. With the inclusion of these changes, we hope the organization of this edition is clearer than it may have been previously. And, as in every edition, we update the text with new research. In this edition, we have added nearly 200 new references.

We recognize that some topics are very important at this time—topics for which cultural anthropology provides important insights. In *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition, we not only increased coverage of these topics in the chapter text, but we also used our box features to highlight topics of current importance. Our boxes focus on *diversity*—gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation; *global issues*—including climate change and environmental degradation; *applied anthropology*; as well as *current research* on issues of particular importance to the field.

In contrast to other anthropological textbooks, *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition, is more comparative and cross-cultural. This means that we not only provide a variety of concrete ethnographic examples to give students a vivid picture of cultural variation, but we also integrate the results of more than 800 cross-cultural hypothesis-testing studies to give the broadest possible information about the universality of a trait or the general predictors of variation. We are aided in this endeavor by a new database that the Human Relations Area Files produces called *Explaining Human Culture*. So, for example, in Chapter 9: Sex and Gender, we discuss general patterns

in the division of labor by gender, cross-cultural predictors of the relative contribution of women and men to primary subsistence, and predictors of more restrictive rules about heterosexual and homosexual behavior.

Finally, we have always tried to go beyond descriptions to explain not only what humans are and were like, but also how they became that way, in all their variety. This edition is no different. An important part of updating is finding new explanations and new evidence. We take the effort to provide the most current evidence and explanations because we believe that ideas, including ideas put forward in academic materials, should not be accepted, even tentatively, without supporting tests that could have gone the other way. While we have always taken this approach in Cultural Anthropology, we feel our evidence-based approach is particularly important today since students need to be able to discern for themselves what are—and what are not—evidencebased understandings and explanations of both social and physical phenomena.

What's New to This Edition

A Streamlined Organization

In the last edition, we did a close reexamination of the text and added new pedagogy. Users responded very favorably to those changes. For this edition, our reviewers asked that we take a closer look at the overall organization as well as the length. Recognizing how difficult it is to cover all aspects of cultural anthropology in one semester or quarter, we decided to eliminate the global problems chapter and integrate that material into the remaining content. By placing global issues in context, our hope is that instructors will be able to illustrate the anthropological approach to these problems and cover more material in less time. We also eliminated the part structure since many reviewers told us it often made it difficult for them to determine how best to develop their syllabi.

Restructured Boxes Focusing on Issues Relevant in Today's World

While we have always discussed global issues and diversity, in this edition we have highlighted these important topics further with boxes spread throughout the text. Thus, we have added new Perspectives on Diversity and Global Issues boxes to better reflect issues of concern in the world today.

 Global Issues Boxes. Global Issues boxes discuss worldwide social problems such as terrorism, the effects of violence on children, global inequality, problems faced by refugees, environmental degradation,

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and accelerating climate change and its effects on culture. While some of these boxes are new, many were adapted from material in the global problems chapter of the last edition.

- Perspectives on Diversity Boxes. These boxes consider issues pertaining to gender, ethnicity, and the movement of people, both in anthropology and everyday life. Examples include the discussion of migrants working abroad to send money home, sexism in language, arranging marriages in the diaspora, unequal treatment of African Americans in medicine, and women in combat. All have been closely evaluated for this edition.
- Applied Anthropology Boxes. These boxes provide students with a better understanding of the vast range of issues to which anthropological knowledge can be usefully applied. Anthropology is not a discipline focused on pure research. Most anthropologists want their work to be actively used to help others. And, in our increasingly interconnected world, it would seem that anthropological knowledge has become increasingly valuable for understanding others. Examples include keeping languages from extinction, how subsistence practices affect the environment, preserving rock art, eating disorders and cultural ideas about beauty, and creating better business cultures.
- Current Research Boxes. Current Research boxes
 focus on pure research. Examples include asking
 whether communal ownership leads to economic disaster; variation in love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy
 in the husband-wife relationship; emotion expressed
 in masks; and whether religion is a force for cooperation and harmony.

Updated Research

The world is constantly changing, so taking a closer look at the references and citations is always essential to a new edition, and we did our best to update wherever possible. The seminal works remain, but we have included current citations and updates to ensure students are receiving the latest information. We have added coverage on issues such as whether language promotes sexist thinking in Chapter 5. There is also new information on environmental and climate change in Chapters 2, 5, and 6 and updated and new content on global inequality in Chapter 8. These are just a few of the many updates you will find in *Cultural Anthropology*, Fifteenth Edition.

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Highlights of the Text

Chapter 1: What Is Anthropology? Chapter 1 introduces the student to anthropology. We discuss what we think is 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 and the importance of understanding others in today's globalized world. To emphasize the importance of research, we include two Current Research boxes on individual researchers (an ethnographer and a physical anthropologist); and, to illustrate how anthropological research can provide insights into current issues, we've added a new Global Issues box on refugees.

Chapter 2: Culture and Culture Change After introducing the concept of culture and some of the controversies surrounding the concept, we emphasize that culture is always changing. Throughout the chapter, we discuss individual variation and how such variation may be the beginning of new cultural patterns. We also discuss attitudes that hinder the study of culture, cultural relativism and the issue of human rights, patterning of culture, culture and adaptation, and mechanisms of culture change, before getting to the emergence of new cultures and the impact of globalization. We have added a new section on the cumulative nature of culture, updated the discussion of acculturation to emphasize its generally coercive nature, and updated our discussion of the Arab Spring in discussing political change. The first box is a Current Research box on how much the Chinese government has been able to change culture. The second Applied Anthropology box, now updated, discusses an applied anthropologist's attempts to accommodate Bedouin needs in designed change programs with the Oman government. The new Global Issues box asks how much accelerating climate change will accelerate culture change.

Chapter 3: Culture and the Individual In this chapter, we discuss some of the universals of psychological development and the processes that contribute to differences in childhood experience and personality formation and have updated the section on children's work. We then turn to how understanding psychological processes may help us understand cultural variation. The chapter closes with a section on the individual as an agent of culture change.



The Current Research box addresses research on apparent cultural differences in emotional expressiveness. The Applied Anthropology box discusses the degree to which schools in different societies teach different values.

Chapter 4: Understanding and Explaining Culture In this chapter, we focus on what it means to explain and what kinds of evidence are needed to evaluate an explanation. We provide a brief introduction to some of the major ideas that have historically guided anthropological explanations in the United States and then turn to the major methods used in cultural anthropology to gather evidence to test explanations. The two boxes focus on evidence and explanation: The first Current Research box evaluates alternative theories; a second Applied Anthropology box illustrates how evidence from anthropology can help international development organizations implement effective policies.

Chapter 5: Communication and Language To place language in perspective, the chapter begins with a broader discussion of communication, including nonverbal human communication and communication in other animals. We discuss how language differs from other forms of communication and ideas about the origins of language. We then turn to some fundamentals of descriptive linguistics and linguistic divergence. We have added new research on tonal languages to the phonology section and in the section on processes of linguistic divergence extensively revised our discussion of the origin of Indo-European languages and the origin and spread of Bantu language families. Toward the end of the chapter, we discuss the postulated relationships between language and other aspects of culture, adding new research on language's effects on culture. Finally, we discuss the ethnography of speaking, writing, and literacy. The updated Applied Anthropology box discusses language extinction and what some anthropologists are doing about it. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box asks why some immigrant groups are more likely to retain their native languages. And, to stimulate thinking about the possible impact of language on thought, we ask in the considerably revised Perspectives on Diversity box whether some languages promote sexist thinking.

Chapter 6: Getting Food This chapter discusses how societies vary in getting their food, how they have changed over time, and how this variation seems to affect other kinds of cultural variation. Our updated Perspectives on Diversity box explores where particular foods came from and how different foods and cuisines spread around the world as people migrated. Our new Global Issues box addresses the effects of climate change on food getting, and our updated Applied Anthropology box deals with the negative environmental effects of irrigation, animal grazing, and overhunting in preindustrial times.

Chapter 7: Economic Systems Not only does this chapter describe variation in traditional economic systems and how much of it has been linked to ways of getting food, but there is also integrated discussion of change brought

about by local and global political and economic forces. This chapter begins with a discussion of how societies vary in the ways they allocate resources, convert or transform resources through labor into usable goods, and distribute and perhaps exchange goods and services. The sharing section and the section on cooperative work organization among pastoralists has been updated. The Current Issues box addresses the controversy over whether communal ownership leads to economic disaster. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box discusses the impact of working abroad and sending money home. The completely reworked Global Issues box illustrates the impact of the world system on local economies, with special reference to the deforestation of the Amazon.

Chapter 8: Social Stratification: Class, Ethnicity, and Racism This extensively revised chapter explores the variation in degree of social stratification and how the various forms of social inequality may develop. We point out concepts of how "race," racism, and ethnicity often relate to the inequitable distribution of resources. A new Global Issues box addresses the worldwide problem of inadequate housing and homelessness. The second Global Issues box that addresses the degree of global inequality and why the gap between rich and poor countries may have widened has been extensively revised. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses why there are disparities in death by disease between African Americans and European Americans.

Chapter 9: Sex and Gender This chapter opens with a section on culturally varying gender concepts, including diversity in what genders are recognized. After discussing universals and differences in gender roles in subsistence and leadership, we turn to theories about why men dominate political leadership and what may explain variation in relative status of women and men. We have updated how much housework women do compared to men and the seclusion of women in certain cultures and its influence on women's ability to work. The chapter continues with a discussion of the variation in attitudes and practices regarding various types of sexuality. The homosexuality section has been revised in light of different gender concepts in different societies. In the updated Perspectives on Diversity box, we examine why some societies allow women to participate in combat. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses 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. The Applied Anthropology box examines the impact of economic development on women's status.

Chapter 10: Marriage and the Family After discussing various theories and evidence 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 updated the section on couples choosing to live together, added a section on other types of marriage transaction, and updated the section on parallel cousin marriage. We close with a discussion of







variation in family form and customs of adoption. To better prepare students for understanding kinship charts in the chapter that follows, we have a diagram explaining different types of family structures. Our first Perspectives on Diversity box discusses arranged marriage and how it has changed among South Asian immigrants in England and the United States. The updated Current Research box discusses variation in love, intimacy, and sexual jealousy. The Global Issues box discusses why one-parent families are on the increase in countries like ours.

Chapter 11: Marital Residence and Kinship Rather than jumping right into principles of kinship, we broadly discuss the different functions of kinship, the consequences of different kinship systems, and how the importance of kin changes with economic fortunes. In addition to describing the variation that exists in marital residence, kinship structure, and kinship terminology, this chapter discusses theory and research that try to explain that variation. We now discuss alternative theories about what may explain variation in marital residence. The Perspectives on Diversity box explores how variation in residence and kinship affects the lives of women. The Applied Anthropology box, now updated, discusses how cross-cultural research on the floor area of residences in matrilocal versus patrilocal societies can be used to help archaeologists make inferences about the past. The Current Research box discusses the possible relationship between neolocality and adolescent rebellion.

Chapter 12: Associations and Interest Groups We distinguish associations by whether they are nonvoluntary (common in more egalitarian societies) or voluntary, and whether they are based on universally ascribed characteristics (like age and sex), variably ascribed characteristics (like ethnicity), or achieved characteristics. New data on the impact of social media has been added. The Current Research box discusses why street gangs may develop and why they often become violent. The updated Perspectives on Diversity box addresses the question of whether separate women's associations increase women's status and power and the updated Global Issues box looks at the importance of nongovernmental organizations in bringing about change at the local and international levels.

Chapter 13: Political Life: Social Order and Disorder In this extensively revised chapter, 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 emphasize change, including what may explain shifts from one type of organization to another, such as how colonialization and other outside forces have transformed legal systems and ways of making decisions. We then discuss the concepts of nation-states, nationalism, and political identity. We have expanded discussion of becoming a leader in egalitarian societies, added research on state terrorism, and expanded the section on explaining warfare. We added new sections

on leadership in complex societies, a culture of violence, and what a culture of peace would look like. The first Global Issues box is on the cross-national and cross-cultural relationship between economic development and democracy. We also added two new Global Issues boxes—one on terrorism and one on ethnic conflicts. The Perspectives on Diversity box deals with how new local courts among the Abelam of New Guinea are allowing women to address sexual grievances.

Chapter 14: Religion and Magic The chapter opens with a discussion of how the concepts of the supernatural and natural have varied over time and space and then turns to theories about why religion is universal. We go on to discuss variation in the types, nature, and structure of gods, spirits, and forces; human/god interactions, concepts of life after death; ways to interact with the supernatural; and the number and types of religious practitioners. A major portion of the chapter deals with religious change, religious conversion and revitalization, and fundamentalist movements. We have updated our discussion of religion among hunter-gatherers and our discussion of gods and their role in moral behavior. The revised Current Research box raises the question of whether, and to what degree, religion promotes moral behavior, cooperation, and harmony. The Perspectives on Diversity box discusses the role of colonialism in religious change.

Chapter 15: The Arts After discussing how art might be defined and the appearance of the earliest art (now updated), we discuss variation in the visual arts, music, and folklore and review how some of those variations might be explained. In regard to how the arts change over time, we discuss the myth that the art of "simpler" peoples is timeless as well as how arts have changed as a result of European contact. We address the role of ethnocentrism in studies of art in a section on how Western museums and art critics look at the visual art of less complex cultures. Similarly, we discuss the problematic and fuzzy distinctions made in labeling some art negatively as "tourist" art versus more positively as "fine" art. The thoroughly revised Applied Anthropology box explores ancient and more recent rock art and the methods that can be used to help preserve it. We updated and reworked material into a Global Issues box that discusses the global spread of popular music. The Current Research box deals with universal symbolism in art, particularly research on the emotions displayed in masks.

Chapter 16: Health and Illness This extensively revised chapter examines cultural understandings of health and illness, the treatment of illness (particularly from a biocultural rather than just a biomedical point of view), varying medical practitioners, and political and economic influences on health. To give a better understanding of what medical anthropologists do, we focus on AIDS, mental and emotional disorders (particularly susto and depression), and malnutrition, including both obesity and undernutrition. We discuss alternative forms of medicine in the United States, include sections on placebos and nocebos, more thoroughly







discuss the controversy about culture-bound syndromes, and in the section on depression include additional research on links for economic deprivation and inequality. We have updated the section on political and economic influences on health, updated the section on HIV, and reoriented and expanded the discussion of undernutrition and obesity as forms of malnutrition. The Current Research box discusses an anthropologist's attempt to evaluate why an applied medical project didn't work, a new Global Issues box addresses the impact of violence on children's mental health and well-being, and the updated Applied Anthropology box explores eating disorders, biology, and the cultural construction of beauty.

Chapter 17: Practicing and Applying Anthropology In this extensively updated chapter, an introductory section discusses specializations in practicing and applied anthropology. We move on to evaluating the effects of planned change and difficulties in bringing about change. Since most of the examples in the first part of the chapter have to do with development, the remainder of the chapter gives an introduction to a number of other applied specialties, including environmental anthropology, business and organizational anthropology, museum anthropology, cultural resource management, and forensic anthropology. We have updated our discussion of collaborative anthropology, revised our section on ethics, and updated the cultural resources section as well as the forensic anthropology section. The extensively revised Perspectives on Diversity box considers how women were and are treated by development programs. The new Global Issues box addresses the effects of worldwide sea-level rise on the viability of some societies. The extensively revised Applied Anthropology box is a case study of anthropologists who worked with General Motors to develop a better business culture.

Student-Friendly Pedagogy

Readability. We derive great pleasure from attempting to describe research findings in ways that introductory students can understand. We do our best 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 will enhance the reader's understanding but because it should make learning about anthropology more enjoyable. When new terms are introduced, they are set off in boldface type and defined in the text, set off in the margins for emphasis, and of course they also appear in the glossary at the end of the book.

Learning Objectives. Each chapter begins with learning objectives that indicate what students should know after reading the material. The learning objectives are tied to each major heading within the chapter and are reinforced at the end of each chapter in the summaries. The learning objectives also signal to students what topics they might have to reread to comprehend the material presented.

"Think on it" Critical Assessment Questions. Each chapter concludes with thought-provoking questions that ask students to take concepts presented in the chapter and move beyond rote answers. The questions engage students at a metacognitive level asking them to think critically about the questions posed to formulate their own responses.

Key Terms and Glossary. Important terms and concepts appearing in boldface type within the text are defined in the margins where they first appear. All key terms and their definitions are repeated in the glossary at the end of the book.

End-of-Chapter Summaries. In addition to the previously mentioned learning objectives, each chapter ends with a detailed summary organized in terms of the learning objectives that will help students review the major concepts and findings discussed.

End-of-Book Notes. Because we strongly believe in the importance of documentation, we think it essential to tell our readers, both professionals and students, upon what our conclusions are based. Usually, the basis is published research. The abbreviated notes in this edition provide information to find the complete citation in the bibliography at the end of the book.

Supplements

This textbook is part of a complete teaching and learning package that has been carefully created to enhance the topics discussed in the text.

Instructor's Resource Manual with Test Banks. For each chapter in the text, this valuable resource provides a detailed outline, list of objectives, discussion questions, and classroom activities. In addition, test questions in multiple-choice and short-answer formats are available for each chapter; the answers to all questions are referenced to the text.

MyTest. This computerized software allows instructors to create their own personalized exams, to edit any or all of the existing test questions, and to add new questions. Other special features of this program include random generation of test questions, creation of alternate versions of the same test, scrambling question sequence, and test preview before printing.

PowerPoint[™] *Presentation Slides.* These PowerPoint slides combine text and graphics for each chapter to help instructors convey anthropological principles in a clear and engaging way.

Strategies in Teaching Anthropology, Sixth Edition (0-205-71123-5). Unique in focus and content, this book concentrates on the "how" of teaching anthropology across all four fields and provides a wide array of associated learning outcomes and student activities. It is a valuable single-source compendium of strategies and teaching "tricks of the trade" from a group of seasoned teaching anthropologists, working in a variety of teaching settings, who share their pedagogical techniques, knowledge, and observations.



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Acknowledgments

In preparing this edition, we want to thank the team at Ohlinger Publishing Services and Integra, especially Barbara A. Heinssen and Jessica Wang-Strykowski, who have ably guided this revision. Carol Ember is also grateful to Kathy Ember Levy for her assistance in preparing the cultural chapters. Recognizing that any new edition rests on a critical foundation from the past, we want to thank our long-time editor, Nancy Roberts, for her long and steadfast stewardship over many editions. And we especially are grateful for the words and spirit that are still present from Mel Ember's contributions before his death. Always the optimist, Mel believed there were laws governing human behavior that could be found if you thought hard enough, worked hard enough, and tested ideas against the anthropological record.

We want to thank the following people for reviewing our chapters and offering suggestions for the fifteenth edition: Kanya Godde, University of LaVerne; Kenda

Honeycutt, Rowan Cabarrus Community College; Nzinga Mezger, Florida A & M University; and Larry Ross, Lincoln University of Missouri.

We continue to appreciate reviewers from previous editions: Alice Baldwin-Jones, City College of New York; Richard E. Blanton, Purdue University; James L. Boone, University of New Mexico; Beau Bowers, Central Piedmont Community College; Andrew Buckser, Purdue University; Gregory Campbell, University of Montana; Wanda Clark, South Plains College; Garrett Cook, Baylor University; Shepherd Jenks, Albuquerque TVI Community College; Heidi Luchsinger, East Carolina University; Daniel R. Maher, University of Arkansas-Fort Smith; Jim Mielke, University of Kansas; Kristrina Shuler, Auburn University; Max E. White, Piedmont College; Jean M. Wynn, Manchester Community College

Thank you all, named and unnamed, who gave us advice.

Carol R. Ember and Melvin Ember







About the Authors

CAROL R. EMBER began her career as a chemistry major at Antioch College. 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 PhD dissertation, she worked among the Luo of Kenya and studied the possible effects of task assignment on the social behavior of children. For most of her career, she has conducted cross-cultural research on topics such as 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. Her recent research funded by the National Science Foundation focuses on possible effects of climate-related hazards on cultural institutions and practices.

From 1970 to 1996, she taught at Hunter College of the City University of New York. She has 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 has recently served as President of the Society for Anthropological Sciences. Since 1996, she has been at the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency at Yale University, first serving as Executive Director and, since 2010, as President of that organization.

MELVIN EMBER majored in anthropology at Columbia College and went to Yale University for his PhD. 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 online as *eHRAF World Cultures* and *eHRAF Archaeology*, the HRAF databases currently cover more than 400 cultures and traditions, 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 served as president of the Society for Cross-Cultural Research. From 1987 until his death in September 2009, he was president of the Human Relations Area Files, Inc., a nonprofit research agency at Yale University.







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