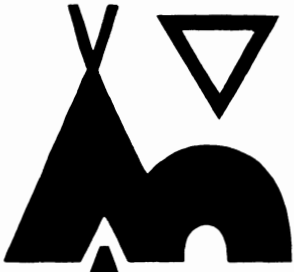
Volume XXXIII
Number 1-2
1991



Anthropologica

The Anthropology of Deviance

FEATURE ARTICLES

Editorial Policy

Open to contributors from Canada and abroad, *Anthropologica* publishes, in French and English, articles and reviews in all areas of cultural and social anthropology. All manuscripts are refereed anonymously by two reviewers.

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La revue *Anthropologica* publie, en français et en anglais, des articles et comptes rendus produits par des chercheurs canadiens and étrangers oeuvrant dans les divers domaines de l'étude académique de l'anthropologie culturelle et sociale. Chaque manuscrit est soumis pour évaluation à deux lecteurs anonymes.

Anthropologica **ISSN 0003-5459**

Published at Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario
Publiée à Wilfrid Laurier University Press, Waterloo, Ontario.
Published with the assistance of Wilfrid Laurier University.
Publiée avec l'aide de l'Université Wilfrid Laurier.

Printed in Canada / Imprimé au Canada.
This journal has been produced from a manuscript supplied in electronic form by the editors. / Cette revue a été produite d'un manuscrit en forme électronique fournit par les rédacteurs.

ANTHROPOLOGICA

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INTRODUCTION

Richard A. Brymer
McMaster University

David R. Counts
McMaster University

Abstract: Sociology and Anthropology developed in the latter part of the 19th century. The development of sociology and anthropology coincided with the rise of an industrial urban society, and the spread of that society, via colonial contact with other cultures at less institutionally complex levels of integration. These two disciplines followed different drummers, with sociologists staying home and observing the development of industrial society, and anthropologists venturing forth to observe the newly contacted smaller scale societies. This empirical difference has had consequences for the kinds of theories that the respective disciplines have developed. In this introduction we will focus on one of these theories – deviance – and how it has and has not developed. First, we briefly review the sociology of deviance, and its narrow base in the industrial world; then we examine the *absence* of such a body of systematic theory in anthropology and what it might take for deviance. Then, we suggest ways of remedying the problems of both disciplines with a reconciliation and, finally, provide a brief outline of the articles in this volume.

Résumé: La sociologie et l'anthropologie se développèrent dans la dernière partie du 19^{e} siècle. Le développement de la sociologie et de l'anthropologie coïncida avec celui de la société urbaine industrielle, et l'expansion de cette société à travers les contacts coloniaux établis avec d'autres cultures parvenues à des niveaux d'intégration institutionnelle moins complexes. Ces deux disciplines suivirent alors des pistes différentes; les sociologues restant sur place et observant l'évolution de la société industrielle, et les anthropologues se dispersant à la surface du globe pour observer les sociétés à petite échelle nouvellement découvertes. Cette différence empirique entre les approches respectives a eu des conséquences sur les théories élaborées respectivement par ces deux disciplines. Dans cette introduction, nous nous concentrerons sur une de ces théories – déviance – et comment elle a été developpée dans un cas, et ne l'a pas été dans l'autre. Nous

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faisons d'abord une brève revue de la sociologie de la déviance et son étroite fondation dans le monde industriel; puis nous examinons l'absence d'un fonds théorique, systématique correspondant en anthropologie, et ce par quoi celle-ci peut alors remplacer la déviance. Ensuite, nous suggérons des moyens de remédier les problèmes de ces deux disciplines en les réconciliant et, finalement, nous donnons un aperçu des articles contenus dans ce volume.

The Sociology of Deviance

Sociology is much taken with deviance as a substantive problem and as a theoretical issue. Introductory courses and their accompanying texts always contain at least one section about such matters. Every Sociology department also has a course in deviance and/or social problems. Associations such as the Society for the Study of Social Problems have grown up and now have their own specialized journals. The study of deviance has become almost a sociology-within-Sociology.

Sociology has organized its approach to deviance around two basic foci. One focus is on substantive deviance where the particular problem is conceptualized as "violence," or "sexual behaviour," etc.. These problem areas are then analyzed, using a variety of theories, in a very eclectic fashion. Again, this approach has often generated special journals and substantively organized text books.[1]

The other focus emphasizes a single theoretical approach and attempts to explain a variety of substantive forms of deviance with one theory. The history of these theories begins with "demonology theory," moves through "social pathology theory," "social disorganization," "value conflict," various "functionalist" theories, to the more or less currently popular, if not dominant, "labelling" theory[2] (also known as social reaction, constructionist or symbolic interactionist theory). Each of the theories began as a critique of prior theories, and each now contains responses to those critiques, so that currently sociology is characterized by a complex array of theories purporting to explain deviance. Sociologists spend a *lot* of time worrying about deviance, and their view of it is theoretically, substantively and organizationally complex. It is as if the problems of dis-order were as difficult to account for as the problems of order.

In spite of the competition between various approaches and the vociferousness of their differences, there may be a rough and broad consensus as to how deviance may be characterized and how knowledge about deviance may be organized and discussed across the various divisions of sociology. Generally, there seem to be various *organizational settings* within which deviant activity occurs, and an associated set of *behavioural processes* which

create the setting and guide the deviant activity. We use the approach favoured by "labelling" theory because we are most familiar with it and because it is the latest theory on the market, although it is so increasingly under attack that it may no longer be correct to assert its dominance. It is at least a point of departure and that is how we will use it in this volume.

The strength of labelling theory lies in the

> classic shift in figure and ground out of which [it] grew: from the "offender" to the cultural matrix in which he/she functions. We no longer pay attention to the act itself, but to how the act is socially constructed or "reacted" to in the case of the synonym, social reaction theory. (Ben-Yehuda, Brymer, et al. 1989:476)

This shift removes the necessity for debating whether something is "really" deviant or not. Rather, anything can be deviant if a group of people create a symbolic category for it, use this category to put certain people into it and then treat them *as* deviant. Paradoxically, it also allows for actors to react to themselves as deviant and thereby organize their activities as deviants in the face of a straight audience. This approach is relevant for a cross-cultural survey of deviance because deviance is deemed highly relative and situational; what may be universal are the various behavioural processes and constructed settings.

In labelling theory in particular, and sociological theories generally, there are at least five major organizational settings within which deviance is organized, at least in the industrial societies within which the theory has been used.[3]

1. *Society-at-Large.* The general focus here is on the largest possible body within which *what* is labelled as deviant is created. Given the historical and situational relativity of what is substantively deviant, labelling theorists have turned their focus to the more or less "political" construction of deviance. The political process that creates deviance is held to begin with various and competing "moral crusaders" who pursue campaigns to have something or other viewed as deviant. Their goal is to bring their case to the attention of those who are empowered to act on behalf of society at large and urge the creation of legal codes *and* institutions which enforce the newly created category of "deviance." They thereby discover and create concrete instances of the new legal category or label. Simply put, this conceptualization allows us to examine the source of generic labels and historical changes affecting such labels and, consequently, what is and is not deviant. Industrial society has thousands of such laws and labels, often based in various kinds of scientific expertise and knowledge (Becker 1963:147ff.; Spector and Kitsuse 1977). Some examples of "moral entrepreneurial processes" in North America include the "discovery"' of child abuse (Pfohl 1985),

the legislative construction of marijuana use as a social problem (Becker 1963; Duster 1970) as well as both left and right wing crusades against pornography (Zurcher et al. 1971).

2. *Regulatory Organizations.* In contemporary industrial society, there is an increasing number of large-scale organizations whose primary business is the location of particular individuals and their processing as deviants. These organizations are institutionally differentiated, bureaucratic and formally organized and contain many levels and jurisdictions which coordinate space, time and deviants. As well, the regulating process itself is sequentially arranged within and across organizations such that the individual deviant may have the possibility of a deviant "career," *viz.,* roles in various levels of a legal system that may include policing and judicial organizations, penal/rehabilitative organizations, "half-way houses" and so forth. The complexity of these organizations in turn generates a complexity of deviance itself, with the possibility that large collectivities of people may be multiply and permanently identified as deviant, as, for example, the poor (Hawkins and Tiedeman 1975:342-345), the mentally incompetent (Edgerton 1967) and, especially, the ghettoized black poor (Wilson 1987, 1991).
3. *Deviant Sub-Cultures* usually refer to the organization of communities of deviants as sub-sets of a heterogeneous society. Such groups may be set aside by society, as in the case of AIDS victims within both the gay world and the straight world (Shilts 1987), or may set themselves aside in the case of outlaw bikers (Wolf 1991). Sub-cultural groups organize deviance in social and cultural patterns which sometimes transcend generations. They may be organizationally sophisticated (Best and Luckenbill 1982) and range from simple collegial relations such as are found among prostitutes, through more formal organizations like those that are alleged to characterize organized crime, to deviant worlds, such as "the Gay world," which, in turn, organize space and time and include multiple communities and *their* formal organizations (McCarthy-Smith 1990). Sociology has concentrated much effort on describing and analyzing sub-cultures, and this preoccupation has contributed to the view of deviance as very complex and intricate.
4. *Small, Informal Groups.* Private groups such as families, peer groups, work groups etc. are a fourth arena within which deviant behaviours are generated, organized and remedied along particularistic and personalized lines. Behaviours in such groups are often labelled and regulated internally so that they may escape the detection of regulatory agencies. Emerson and Messinger (1977) argue that deviance is generated initially in such private settings as "trouble," and only becomes "mental illness," "fatness," "alcoholism" or "domestic violence" when—or

if—such troubles reach the official level of public regulation and public labelling. Thus deviance in modern industrial society may fall along a continuum from private and personal to public and bureaucratic (Short and Strodbeck 1965; Dentler and Erickson 1959).

5. *The Individual.* Finally, sociologists interested in social psychology have paid a great deal of attention to the role of individuals in the various settings described above and to the process by which deviant roles become part of an individual's total identity or personality. In large-scale societies, deviance is often "involuntary" and, in Hughes terms, a *master status* (Hughes 1945:353ff.; Becker 1963:32ff.). Thus, identity in general, and deviant identity in particular, are *special units of analysis.* For example, Lemert (1962) has discussed the dynamics of paranoid identities, Goffman (1963) has analyzed "spoiled" identities and Lofland (1966) has examined the role of religious cults in changing identities and in promoting and maintaining deviant identities, as well as the more general problem of deviant identities (1969).

In summary, sociology has developed a view of deviance that is extremely complex, conceptually elaborate and empirically detailed. As stated above, the deviant world may be as complex as its straight analogue. It has also influenced the formation of social policy regarding the processing and rehabilitation of deviants. Nevertheless, there remains an elusiveness about deviance that has made many uncomfortable with the state of the field (Downes and Rock 1982:251; Gibbs 1966).

In our view, at least one source of this unease is in the unexplicated and unexamined assumption that many sociologists make about the cultural relativity or universality of the very deviance that they examine. Most sociologists espouse an ethical commitment to cultural relativism in principle. In their written works, they usually assert this principle early on by quoting an example of deviance from another culture to demonstrate this commitment, but, the bow made, they then confine their empirical examination of deviance to Western society and argue its relativity *within* that society.[4]

Avowed universalists also attend to the principle of relativism, but they do it by asserting the more primary universality of a phenomenon. They then argue that culture is simply a "veneer" over an underlying unity of human behaviour. When they do occasionally examine deviance in other cultures, it is to strip away this veneer, or to increase the empirical generalizability of their findings. Should such scholars find contradictory evidence, they can usually dismiss it or attribute it to methodological deficiencies, leaving the theory itself unchallenged.

In both cases, the issue is handled to the *logical* satisfaction of the sociologists involved, while *empirical*, cross-cultural materials remain unexamined. While this leaves both positions more or less consistent in their logic, the empirical world is more recalcitrant than they admit. Thus, we argue, their theoretical generalizations are essentially ethnocentric (Becker 1986:384, 1974:vii). In many conversations about deviance with scholarly colleagues, Brymer has noticed the increasing befuddlement with which anthropologists have met his pronouncements about the nature of deviance. This is what this piece of work is all about. But now we must turn to anthropological views of deviance.

Anthropology and Deviance

Sociocultural anthropology has been true to its commitment to relativism and has systematically pursued cross-cultural studies. Until the last few decades, anthropology has focussed almost exclusively on small-scale societies. This focus has often entailed anthropologists ignoring large-scale ones and many profess to have difficulty integrating such societies into their theoretical paradigms. Perhaps as a result of this concentration, and also because of its commitment to a normative paradigm, anthropology has, until recently, ignored any *systematic* treatment of deviance as a major concept organizing ethnographic materials. Hence deviance is ignored in their theory.[5]

A detailed examination of introductory anthropology texts reveals little or no attention to deviance as a concept. Even a text with such a provocative title as *Conformity and Conflict* (Spradley and McCurdy 1984) contains no systematic treatment of deviance, although many of the articles include behaviours that a sociologist might think of as deviant.

A classic example of this anthropological astigmatism is David Schneider's widely read and cited article entitled "Political Organization, Supernatural Sanctions and the Punishment for Incest on Yap" (Schneider 1957:791-800). Schneider discussed incest, fratricide, patricide and assault, yet never once used the term deviance. We must add the proviso that he did in fact say that he makes "no pretence of presenting a full and complete theory of punishment"(1957:791) and states that "I don't focus on what *you* call deviance at all . . . I was not interested in it . . . it is about the *punishment for incest*" (personal communication 1984). The work has an admirable depth of ethnographic detail and much to offer, but it is organized entirely around how political and social organization is maintained in the face of "deviance" (our term), with the dominant focus on the order and not on the incest. Order and disorder exist simultaneously, yet Schneider examines only order, and does not even note the order of *dis*order.

Other anthropologists have tried to examine deviance from a variety of eclectic approaches. One style is the "debunking" one championed by Margaret Mead in *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1928). While she more or less dismisses Western adolescent deviance as a function of American cultural structures, she is much less relativistic in her Appendix IV, where she examines the "mentally diseased" by pointing to cases of idiocy, sexual inversion and "one man of thirty who showed a well systematized delusion of grandeur . . . and [one case] of catatonic dementia praecox" (Mead 1928:162). Korbin (1981) continues this debunking tradition by examining child abuse cross-culturally.

Still other anthropologists appear to adopt a universalist biophysiological cause of deviance, as in Wallace and Ackerman's pibloktoq, Katz and Foulk's (1970) examination of hypocalcemia, Rohrl et al.'s (1970) work on Windigo psychosis and Bolton's (1973) treatment of hypoglycemia and aggression among the Quolla. In all of these studies, some aspects of behaviour are treated as universal and others as culturally relative, yet it is never clear that there is any systematic ontology at work.

Another anthropological stance with respect to deviance uses the term "non-conformity." An example comes from F. Allan Hanson's *Rapan Lifeways* (1970). When one examines the index for the term "deviants," one is directed to pp. 112-113 and a section entitled "Freedom and Conformity":

> Reading about these norms, one might get the impression that Rapans are people sapped of spontaneity—slaves to custom, mechanically classifying each other in categories and then acting in dull conformity with the appropriate rules of behavior. Nothing could be further from the truth. A few individuals deviate sharply from the expected patterns of action. Tara, for example, is a *mahu*: a man who in some context plays the role of a woman . . . his voice is high-pitched, his gait and gestures are effeminate, and he prefers the company of women. Tara is not homosexual. He has a wife and several children. . . . He simply prefers the work, company and manners of women. Then there is Miti, the nonconformist. He is never seen at church functions and only rarely at other large gatherings. . . . Miti withholds wholesale acceptance of his society. . . . Rapan society has room for people like Tara and Miti. They are neither ridiculed nor despised. . . .

From this standpoint, then, deviance is seen to be a matter of personality, and variance from some modal type defines what is or is not deviant. Similar views seem to be present in the biographies and other works said to represent the tradition of "Culture and Personality" within anthropology.

Finally, in the anthropology of law, ranging from the history and evolution of law to dispute settlement, the treatment of deviance is, at best, characterized as a kind of background scenery against which law is limned. The systematic focus, however, is on *law* and not the deviance to which law

is addressed and which it is supposed to control. One may, for example, examine Vincent's (1990) review of the history of political anthropology, which also includes the emergence of the anthropology of law and a mini-review of its history; there are no references in the index to deviance, and only a few to crime or other substantive forms of deviance. Thus deviance per se remains a shadowy and unsystematically analyzed phenomenon.

In summary, it might initially appear to be appropriate to say that, vis-à-vis deviance, sociology is conceptually rich and empirically poor, while anthropology is conceptually poor but empirically rich. It seems that they should be hybridized. This is not a simple task, though, for many hybrids are vigorous but sterile. Anthropology has at least one high-order concept that sociology lacks, and it may help in the task of understanding deviance cross-culturally. This is the notion of societal scale from an evolutionary perspective. Sociology, lacking this concept, works only on one of the extreme ends of scalar comparison, industrial and now post-industrial order. Anthropology, on the other hand, works primarily in the middle and lower orders of the scale, but without a sense of deviance. This leads us to our statement of the problem that we are tackling and the organization of the volume to follow.

Problem and Outline

Our problem is not one of simple hybridization, but more of selective breeding, taking something worthwhile from both disciplines and building a new species – hopefully, not Frankenstein's monster. We do this by taking anthropological material that can be related to the various arenas and processes of deviance used by sociologists. We array this material according to a rough scalar schema and then make comparisons across scale, keeping in mind the arenas and possible variation in them across scale. Finally, in the conclusion, we hope to show that the creature lives, is reproductive and gives birth to conceptual offspring.

We begin with a general discussion by Douglas Raybeck who sets the tone of the scalar comparison. Raybeck begins his scalar comparison by distinguishing "hard" and "soft" deviance. Hard deviance threatens the social order and soft deviance does not. He then compares hunters and gatherers, swidden and tribal societies, peasant society and small communities in industrial society. He then suggests that hard deviance is characteristic of large-scale societies, and soft deviance characterizes smaller-scale societies. In this sense, hard deviance is at the extremes of a distribution, with soft deviance approaching the mode and straight behaviour at the mode. Note, however, that, while Raybeck does deal with industrial society, his focus is more on the community and its relations to the larger, complex society in which it is embedded.

Then, true to a focus on scale, we present a paper by Anne Zeller examining the notion of deviance in non-human primate populations and humans' reactions to it. Zeller explicitly focusses on how humans label what they consider primate deviance. She argues that modal behaviour is assumed to be adaptive, and that apparently non-adaptive behaviours tend to be labelled deviant. On another level, she presents behaviours that would perplex many sociologists *and* anthropologists. Are the behavioural violations of sexual social status patterned, and do they provoke reactions in such a way that they are controlled? If so, then a non-human primate analogue of human deviance may be asserted and must be taken into account in discussing the scalar emergence of deviance. Zeller is appropriately wary of making such inferences.

Two chapters (by Preston and Savishinsky) utilize data from societies still arguably at the small-scale level. Preston can find few, if any, official or unofficial labels for deviance, little identification of particular persons as deviant on a long-term basis, and he stresses Cree attempts to reintegrate deviant persons into their community. Deviance exists among Cree and is reacted to, but in a highly personalized manner and on an *ad hoc* basis. Savishinsky's paper is similar, but also includes materials that take specific account of the effect of the encapsulation of the Hare in a larger society. Alcohol was introduced by the larger society, and is the source of episodic and staged deviance, but the generic label of "alcoholic" seems to have little or no consequence.

Next are four chapters from the middle level of societal scale. The Counts discuss variations in the specificity and generality of labels, as well as how some of the more general labels (e.g., adultery) are applied to some people and not to others, as either markers of *deviant* behaviour or merely mildly risqué nicknames. They then present a case of generically deviant adultery — people who do it like dogs — and the consequences of and reactions to such an incident. The Rodmans present a study of an individual who willingly and voluntarily accepted a deviant label after negotiations with other villagers. They also describe the cultural setting within which such an acceptance is possible. A comparison is made later on with larger-scale societies where deviant roles are much less negotiable and often involuntary.

McPherson's chapter uses material that illustrates the development of organizational levels of reaction to deviance and deviance itself. She examines how sorcery may be negotiated as either deviance itself, or the control of deviance. Each organizational level involves a more complex and sophisticated format. In the conclusion, we will make comparisons between lower scalar levels with less regulative complexity, and higher scalar levels with more regulative complexity. McLellan discusses how a behaviour that is a normative response to deviance in a traditional setting becomes deviant in

an industrial context. Furthermore, the newly transformed deviance may also become a mode of resistance by members of small-scale units to the larger society in which their own is encapsulated. Again, the comparison is with other traditional societies which are partially integrated within larger-scale societies in a variety of ways.

The chapter by Migliore discusses a peasant community that is highly integrated into a nation state. He looks at how regulation may be formal in dealings within the larger state but informal within the community. Migliore's chapter is important in that it focusses on the identities of the individual deviants in both social locations.

Brymer—the only sociologist contributing to this issue—uses materials from large-scale societies that suggest how comparisons can be made with lower levels on the scale. He examines subculturally organized deviance. While this is not present at smaller scalar levels, it is present in larger-scale societies. He shows how such units have emerged from a preindustrial, agrarian society as a sub-culture and suggests that they may, therefore, retain far more than a mere analogous similarity to the communities studied by social historians and social anthropologists. He argues that such groups' deviance has been modified by the reactions of the larger regulatory levels of an industrial state.

Finally, in the conclusion, we suggest that comparisons back and forth along the scalar levels demonstrate a crescive model of deviance. We conclude that labelling theory is in error, and that the full panoply of deviance exists only in societies of the largest scale and not in those of the smallest scale. Deviance does, however, emerge and appears to evolve in tandem with straight, normative society. This offers us the possibility of an integrated anthropology and sociology of deviance that may become more well-informed.

Notes

1. Examples of substantively specialized journals are: *Journal of Homosexuality*, *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, *International Journal of the Addictions*, *Bulletin of Suicidology*, etc. Examples of substantively organized texts are: Dinitz, Dynes and Clarke (1969), Thio (1978) and Clinard and Meier (1975). Each of these texts begins with a brief review of deviance theories and then moves into substantive sections. Examples of texts that take one basic theory in order to example all substantive forms of deviance are: Hawkins and Tiedeman (1975), Kelly (1989) and Rubington and Weinberg (1987).
2. Theoretical analyses using these characterizations of theories of deviance are: Pfohl (1985), Downes and Rock (1982) and Davis (1975).
3. These arenas are developed in the Rubington and Weinberg (1987) and Kelly (1989) texts mentioned in footnote 1.
4. For examples of the bow to relativity see Hagan (1984), Goode (1984) and Schur (1979). Some sociologists also engage in cross-cultural research, but it is more comparative than cross-scalar in that the societies selected are typically from industrial levels,

e.g., Shelly (1981). A very, very few sociologists attend to cross-cultural materials that are also cross-scalar, e.g., Black (1984), Short and Wolfgang (1972) and Scott (1976).

5. There are exceptions to this generalization. Specific attempts to deal with labelling theory are exemplified in Mendonsa (1982), Selby (1974) and Kottak (1983). Another approach focusses on cross-cultural approaches to substantive deviance, e.g., Riches (1986) and Korbin (1981). An increasing interest in urban anthropology has also led to a concern with deviance as is exemplified by the development of a section on deviance in the annual meetings of the American Anthropological Association, beginning in 1983 and continuing today.

   Finally, we must note the continuing work of Robert B. Edgerton in deviance, culminating in his recent *Rules, Exceptions and Social Order* (1985). This is a very provocative work that contains a treasure trove of ethnographic materials. The major problem that Edgerton examines, though, is not deviance per se, but rules and their *exceptions*, or, in terms of this work, deviance. His solution then, is what constitutes the rules for exceptions to rules, and how these two types of rules paradoxically operate to preserve social order. In this work, we accept dis-order or deviance as ontologically given, and thus our problem is to account for the organization of deviance and its increasing sophistication. Hopefully, the two polar approaches will complement each other.

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DEVIANCE, LABELLING THEORY AND THE CONCEPT OF SCALE[1]

Douglas Raybeck
Hamilton College

Abstract: While sociologists of various theoretical persuasions have tended to construct theories of deviance which neglect empirical, cross-cultural data, anthropologists have tended to focus on social norms and have (with rare exceptions) neglected the whole topic.

Anthropologists' antidote to sociology's focus on complex societies may lie in the concept of societal scale, and its relationship to the perception, conceptualization, creation and treatment of deviance. The currently fashionable labelling theory is tested according to these principles. Its core concepts such as the "creation" of deviance by labelling, and secondary deviance, have been constructed solely on the basis of data from complex societies. In small-scale societies, where there is much interdependence and strong interrelationships, there is reluctance to label offenders, rather than specific actions, as deviants. There are few occurrences of secondary deviance, whereby the individuals accept and play the deviant role with which they have been labelled. In general terms, deviance is "soft" rather than "hard" in the sense that it does not threaten the social order. In rare cases of hard deviance, the labelling process occurs.

Small units in complex societies (e.g., island fishermen) often exhibit patterns of interdependency and attitudes towards deviance which recall those present in hunter-gatherer bands or the villages of swidden cultivators. The paper's argument is sustained by numerous ethnographic illustrations, which include the author's own observations during his fieldwork in Kelantan.

Résumé: Pendant que les sociologues de convictions théoriques diverses semblent avoir conceptualisé des théories de la déviance négligeant les donnés empiriques et transculturelles, les anthropologues semblent s'être concentrés sur les normes sociales et, pour la plupart, ont ignoré le sujet. Si la sociologie mise l'accent sur des sociétés complexes, les anthropologues, pour leur part, semblent concentrer leurs efforts sur le concept d'une échelle de société et son rapport à la perception, la conceptualisation, la création et le traitement de la déviance. La théorie contemporaine – et à la mode – d'étiquet-

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tage est verifiée vis-à-vis de ces principes. Ces concepts de base, tel que la «création» de la déviance par cause d'étiquettage et la déviance secondaire ont été bâtis en n'utilisant que des donnés provenant de sociétés complexes. Dans des sociétés à petite échelle, où il existe une interdépendance et des rapports en corrélation on hésité à étiqueter comme déviants les individus mais, plutôt, on considère les actes comme déviants. Il est rare que des individus acceptent et assument le rôle de déviant après avoir été étiqueté de cette manière. Généralement, la déviance est «souple» et non pas «dure» car elle ne crée aucune menace contre l'ordre social. Dans de rares cas de déviance dite «dure», le processus d'étiquettage devient réalité. Souvent, dans des sociétés complexes, les petits groupuscles (tel que les pêcheurs des îles) démontrent des comportements d'interdépendance et des attitudes vis-à-vis de la déviance qui ressemblent à ceux présents dans des tribus pratiquant la chasse et la ceuillette ainsi que dans des villages de petits cultivateurs. Cette étude est appuyée par plusieurs illustrations ethnographiques, y inclus les observations de l'auteur lors de ses recherches au Kelantan.

The phenomenon of deviance has continued to interest sociologists and anthropologists partly because it illuminates areas of social and cultural importance. Many earlier sociological treatments of deviance tended to view it as an absolute, symptomatic of problems in the social organism (cf. Edgerton 1976; Clinard 1974:11-14). Other notable interpretations of deviance argued that it was an integral part of society and functioned to increase the solidarity of the social order (Durkheim 1938; Erikson 1966).

Sociology's dominance in the field of deviance studies has meant that the theories concerning deviance have been derived largely from the study of complex societies, and such studies of deviance have emphasized formal, structured sanctions imposed by constituted authority, rather than informal sanctions imposed by members of societies acting as individuals. Even labelling theory, which examines both the manner in which judgments of deviance are made by society's members and the effect of the label "deviant" on an individual, reveals a bias deriving from complex societies, as I hope to demonstrate in this paper.

Although anthropologists have done little to advance theories of deviance, they did adopt a relativistic approach to deviance congruent with their comparative perspective (cf. Malinowski 1964). Edgerton (1976) accounts for the paucity of anthropological studies dealing with deviance, arguing that anthropologists' searches for patterns and regularities have inhibited an active concern with those individuals and groups whose behaviour departs from the normative and is not easily integrated into social and cultural generalizations. Similarly, Wallace (1970) argues that early attempts to study

culture and personality were characterized by attempts to replicate uniformity rather than to seek principles for the organization of diversity. The result was a series of studies in which there was a "near-perfect correspondence" between culture and the individual (Wallace 1970:22). Clearly such approaches left little room for a concern with those individuals who departed from the cultural ideals. Recently, it has become increasingly apparent that anthropology, given its increased sophistication and concern with the dynamics of life in small-scale social units, can make valuable contributions to the study of deviance.

Anthropology's antidote to sociology's focus on complex societies may lie in the concept of societal scale and the effect of such scale on deviance. The term "small-scale social unit" refers to an enduring social group which is sufficiently small for the great majority of members to know one another personally. Such units are found at all sociocultural levels from the most complex societies to the simplest, but in simple societies the great majority of members reside in such units, while in complex societies a higher percentage of people live in larger aggregates such as cities and large towns.

I will argue that, in contrast to the situation in large-scale social units, people in small-scale social units are reluctant to label other members of face-to-face social groups as deviant. Focussing attention on the reactions of people in small-scale social units to those individuals whose behaviour departs from customary and normative guidelines can reveal both principles and processes that underlie both informal and formal responses to deviance in complex societies.

Scale and the Continuum of Deviance

The differences between life in small-scale social units and in large-scale social units reflect, and to some extent, define the contrastive natures of these two units. In comparison to large-scale social units, small-scale social units tend to exhibit more consistent and better integrated social and cultural values. There is generally greater interdependence of members among small-scale social units, while the members of large-scale social units are often relatively independent of one another. Partly as a consequence of this oppositeness, members of small-scale social units tend to have access to much more social information on co-residents than do members of large-scale social units. Finally, there is, generally, less inequality among members of small-scale social units than there is among people in large-scale social units.

Differences very similar to those described above between small-scale social units and large-scale social units have also been used to typify simple and complex societies. Steward (1973) and others have emphasized that,

compared to complex societies, simple societies are characterized by a shared, comparatively well integrated set of values, by a high degree of interdependence and by relatively little status differentiation. These qualities clarify the nature of social life and promote consistent patterns of behaviour (Ball 1970; Clifford 1978; Douglas 1970; Pfohl 1981). Furthermore, while complex societies contain lower levels of social integration, such as the family and village, in comparison to simple societies, they represent a higher level of sociocultural integration characterized by greater heterogeneity, stronger forms of central control, formal procedures, hierarchically arranged statuses and a reliance upon mass media for information and for reinforcement of those elements which are shared (cf. Pfohl 1981; Steward 1973).

Clearly, complex societies with their large-scale social units contain processes and phenomena not found at lower levels of sociocultural integration, but the concept of sociocultural integration also contains an additional assumption that social elements present at lower levels can also be found at higher ones (Steward 1973:43ff.). Thus, judgments of deviance in small-scale social units in complex societies should reflect principles and processes similar to those that characterize the treatment of deviance in simple societies.

Relatively few researchers have compared the phenomenon of deviance in simple societies with deviance in complex societies despite good arguments that much could be learned from doing so (cf. Clifford 1978). Those authors who have done so consistently emphasize the significance of informal controls in simple societies versus formal ones in complex, state-organized societies. Informal controls are found to be a superior means of avoiding and containing deviance for a variety of reasons (cf. Ball 1970; Clifford 1978:71; Douglas 1970; Pfohl 1981).

One of the major reasons that simple societies can rely effectively on informal sanctions is that the great majority of social units in simple societies tend to be small-scale and characterized by a number of cross-cutting interpersonal networks that promote a great deal of face-to-face interaction. In such social units members possess a great deal of information about co-residents including their positions in the social order, their personality characteristics and their past histories. Thus, judgments both of deviance and of the appropriateness of sanctions can be influenced by this rich informational and social context.

I would expect labelling to be far less common in simple versus complex societies for two basic reasons: labelling seldom accomplishes social benefits in the former of the sort that can be argued for the latter; and it usually involves social costs that are higher for simple societies than for complex ones.

Arguably one of the functions of labelling individuals, whether positively (hero) or negatively (thief), is to increase the predictability of social life by adding information to the social context, (e.g., one should not leave a "thief" alone with one's best silver). However, the social units in simple societies tend to be small-scale and characterized by a number of cross-cutting interpersonal networks that promote a great deal of face-to-face interaction. In such social units there is a great deal of information about co-residents including their positions in the social order, their personality characteristics and their past histories. In such circumstances, the elements of social life are highly predictable and labelling individuals does little to enrich the social context. In addition, the multi-dimensional social familiarity co-residents have with one another would inhibit the employment of labels, a process that encourages simplified and one-dimensional stereotypes.

Authorities agree that labelling individuals as deviant tends to exclude them from full social participation. However, the cost of such exclusion is greater for simple societies than for complex ones. In small-scale social units each participant often makes a contribution to the social order. Further, because individuals are often linked to a significant number of co-residents through kinship and other interpersonal ties, attempts at labelling which result in social exclusion not only lose the contributions of the individual, they also risk social fragmentation and increased social conflict (cf. Edgerton 1976:109).

The preceding arguments suggest that the size and scale of the social unit strongly affects the likelihood of a group's employing labels. However, co-residents, who may be loath to label one another, may readily employ labels for outsiders who share neither their social context nor their interpersonal network. Indeed, when social boundaries are crossed, it is not unusual to find outsiders labelled as less than human (cf. Scott 1976:612). Inside a society, labels can be employed to emphasize sub-cultural or ethnic distinctiveness, and their use for outsiders may actually reinforce cultural identity and integrity.

Deviance as a Continuum

Deviance in small-scale social units, whether in simple or complex societies, is judged on a continuum. Responses to deviant acts are not strictly conditioned by formal rules and culturally prescribed standards for behaviour, but are, instead, a reflection of complex social judgments which take into account the nature of the offender as well as the nature of the offence. More specifically, compared to the judgments of deviance in large-scale social units, judgments of deviance in small-scale social units seldom employ labels, are more contextualized, depend less on formal precedent

and frequently treat the nature of the offender as being as important, or even more important, than the nature of the offence.

There are a number of elements that are perceived by members of both types of social units as relevant to the assessment of deviance. As in large-scale social units, the members of small-scale social units will be concerned with the circumstances under which the act was committed. Such circumstances will include whether or not the actor was provoked by others, and whether or not the actor can be regarded as competent and conscious of the consequences of such behaviour. Similarly, the degree to which an act is visible may influence the judgment of deviance. Private acts which depart from the normative are more easily tolerated in both small- and large-scale social units than are public acts. Also, in the case of public acts judged to be deviant, it matters whether or not the act represents an intentional defiance of norms and/or authority. Should an act be judged as an intentional, rather than inadvertent, challenge to existing norms and structures, it is usually more severely sanctioned than the latter.

However, procedures of small-scale social units will often take into account factors that large-scale social units will omit and/or they will acknowledge relevant factors in a fashion that would not generally be found in large-scale social units. For instance, the nature of an act is certainly an important element in assessing deviance but, unlike the situation in large-scale social units, assessments of the nature of the act in small-scale social units will include not only specific descriptive details of the event, but also acknowledgment of who was offended, injured or disadvantaged by the act, the social standing of this person and the relationship between the offended party and the offender. Robert Scott (1976:608) has argued that the adoption of sanctions depends greatly on the social ties between the offender and offended as defined by the structural rules of their society. These concerns reflect the importance of interdependence and social identity in small-scale social units.

In an even greater departure from the procedures adopted by most large-scale social units, the members of small-scale social units will openly discuss and weigh the social standing of the offender before assessing the degree to which an actor may have manifested deviant behaviour. Such discussions often include topics such as the actor's prior offences, the value of the actor to the social unit, the extent of the actor's support network including family, wider relatives and friends and a review of the possible social consequences of employing sanctions against the actor, paying particular attention to possibilities for social fragmentation.

In large-scale social units, deviance is treated through formal mechanisms that often specify penalties, or at least a range of penalties, for particular offences. In small-scale social units, people not only engage in finer

discriminations concerning deviance, they also respond to deviance with greater variability, attempting to promote conformity through a range of initially informal and later formal sanctions. These sanctions can range from gossip through the application of social pressure by relatives and friends, to threats of embarrassment or harm. Formal labelling, as I will demonstrate, is resorted to only reluctantly as are the final sanctions of expulsion or death.

The reactions of a society's members to deviant acts are often predicated on the degree to which these acts may interfere with the members' pursuits of their own interests. Whether or not actors are labelled as deviants, if their behaviour departs from cultural norms and/or values in a fashion which hinders others' attempts to realize their ends, these others will be concerned with altering the discrepant behaviour toward closer conformity with cultural ideals. However, the degree of their concern and the forms it takes can vary considerably.

People are quite capable of discriminating between those who simply fail to manifest desired normative behaviour (the overweight, the discourteous, the stingy, etc.) and those whose behaviour actively threatens the social order and the interests of others (the violent, the thieves, the revolutionaries, etc.). Recognizing that such judgments of deviance span a continuum, it may still be useful to employ a simple dichotomy distinguishing between *soft deviance*, behaviour which in the view of culture participants departs from social and cultural norms but does not actively threaten the social order, and *hard deviance*, behaviour which in the opinion of culture participants not only departs from the normative but which also jeopardizes the social order.

Ethnographic Examples

As various authorities have noted, there are very few ethnographic descriptions of deviance in non-Western societies (Edgerton 1976) and cross-cultural studies of deviance are equally rare (Tittle 1977). Thus an extensive and representative sample of societies in which deviance is well described has not been practicable. Instead, societies have been chosen according to a simple criterion: the existence of good ethnographic descriptions of both deviance and societal reactions to it. What follows is a selective review of ethnographic literature bearing upon deviance, the sanctions it elicits and the relevance of this material for labelling theory. Given the selective nature of this sample, these examples must necessarily be taken as suggestive and illustrative rather than as conclusive and definitive.

The material is arranged in order of increasing levels of sociocultural integration with the expectation that processes encountered in small-scale so-

cial units in simpler societies may also be found in similarly sized social units in increasingly complex societies. This approach will hopefully reveal both continuities and discontinuities in the treatment of deviance with particular attention focussed on the labelling process as it exists at different levels of sociocultural integration.

Hunters and Gatherers

Colin Turnbull's description of the Pygmy BaMbuti (1962, 1976), a hunting and gathering society dwelling in the Ituri tropical rain forest of northeastern Zaire, provides one of the more useful ethnographic accounts of band-level deviance and related social reactions. Turnbull notes that not only is BaMbuti society acephalous, but that authority is evenly distributed among both male and female members of the band, and attempts by an individual to acquire authority are resisted and often ridiculed (Turnbull 1976:182ff.). As several authorities would expect of such small interdependent units (Clifford 1978; Edgerton 1976; McHugh 1970), social membership in, and continued acceptance by, the group is important to each individual and exerts a strong pressure for conformity. Indeed, Turnbull (1962:114) has asserted that "the two attitudes which disturb the pygmy most are contempt and ridicule."

BaMbuti reactions to deviant behaviour range from arguments among litigants to the expectation of supernatural sanctions (Turnbull 1962:110), but most offences are dealt with quickly, informally, and do not seem to result in labelling: "There are few instances where anything resembling a general opinion was expressed, and even fewer where any positive action was taken" (Turnbull 1976:190). Turnbull describes instances of theft, a technical violation of the incest taboo, and other offences (1976:109-125), and in each instance the malefactor was dealt with in a disciplinary fashion that did not involve prolonged exclusion from social participation. After its discovery, the technical incest violation, an example of "soft" deviance, resulted in the culprit fleeing the camp for a day, following which he returned to the group, was reaccepted without comment and went on to become one of the most respected members of the band (ibid.:114). The most serious instance of deviance that Turnbull describes involves an individual who set up his net in front of his fellows' nets during a communal hunt (ibid.:94-108). This act threatened to deprive others of food, an example of "hard" deviance, and the culprit was publicly denounced, ridiculed, and his meat and that of his relatives was taken in reparation. However, even though he was publicly labelled an "animal," the use of the label was not prolonged and he was quietly reaccepted into the social network in a matter of hours. Thus, as Pfohl (1981) would expect, the band level BaMbuti consistently evidence a

concern with the reconciliation and reintegration of offenders into the group; they quickly return to the role of full social participants.

Although pygmies are loath to label members of their band, they readily label and disparage their Bantu village neighbours (Turnbull 1976:218-28). Indeed, the BaMbuti view these outsiders as a bad influence and lying to or stealing from them is seen as permissible, even laudable, behaviour. In line with my earlier suggestion, the insider-outsider distinction seems to provide the BaMbuti with a means of reaffirming their own cultural values and distinctiveness.

The !Kung Bushmen, a hunting and gathering society living in the Kalahari desert of South Africa, have been studied by several anthropologists who have commented upon patterns of deviance and related sanctions. Unlike the BaMbuti, the !Kung do have acknowledged leaders although these lack formal authority (Lee 1979:343-345). However, they do display a great concern with group acceptance:

> Their desire to avoid both hostility and rejection leads them to conform in high degree to the unspoken social laws.... most !Kung cannot bear the sense of rejection that even mild disapproval makes them feel. If they do deviate, they usually yield readily to expressed group opinion and reform their ways. (Marshall 1976:288)

Thomas (1959) has described the !Kung as extremely pacific in their interpersonal relations, but this description has been challenged by Lee who recorded 22 killings among the !Kung between 1920 and 1969, 15 of which were part of blood feuds (Lee 1979:370ff.). Such behaviour may reasonably be viewed as "hard" deviance and in four known cases the killers were executed in a fashion that suggested collective agreement among band members (ibid.). It is unclear from Lee's description whether the killers were labelled as negative "deviants" or positive executioners. Certainly, the dead—as victims of deviants—were excluded from future participation in the social order.

Shostak's (1983) well-written biography of Nisa, a !Kung woman, describes the existence of interpersonal conflicts in a band. These frictions result in arguments, insults and name-calling, but these seem to occur as individual acts and do not result in permanent labelling, by which a pejorative definition of an individual's persona is developed and shared by the group at large. Indeed, band leaders seem concerned to reduce the possibility of labelling where possible. After Nisa fought with a woman who had accused her (justly) of adultery, the elders intervened and said, "Talk of having affairs is bad talk. This has to stop now." It did (Shostak 1983:280-281).

However, the !Kung do engage in a minor variation of labelling through the assignment of nicknames to individuals. These nicknames may reflect

positive qualities or negative ones as in the case of "lazy Kwi" who was a poor hunter (Thomas 1959:167). Such nicknames can reduce the status of individuals but do not seem to alter the degree of their social participation. Thomas notes that adultery is strongly condemned, yet a woman who ran off with another man was readily accepted by her husband and the affair was never mentioned again (ibid.:85-86).

Hunting and gathering societies, as described, consist almost exclusively of small social units—bands, camps, etc.—within which values are widely shared, interpersonal networks are prominent and interdependence is high. The characteristic reactions to deviance take the nature of the principals into account, emphasize the reconciliation of the offender to the group and seldom employ labelling which is usually reserved for the most disruptive of actors whose continued participation threatens the well-being of the group. These patterns may be found in other hunting and gathering societies which are not described here (cf. Chance 1966:65ff.; Holmberg 1969:150ff.).

The Middle Range: Swidden-Based and Tribal Societies

Swidden-based societies are more complex than those of hunters and gatherers yet, as in the two following examples, they are usually acephalous. The Mehinaku, studied by Thomas Gregor, dwell in the tropical Xingu region of central Brazil. While there are no superordinate authorities, each village has a chief, an individual noted for his oratory and other cultural skills and for the degree to which he is adept at the Mehinaku social game. Both men and women are sensitive to the opinions of others, and disapprobation, both feared and real, exerts a significant influence on the behaviour of village members (Gregor 1977:220 ff.).

Gregor notes that the Mehinaku do label one another "as good men or as failures" (Gregor 1977:200), and that there are three classes of failures: the trash yard man, the freeloader and the witch. However, the first two of these are not serious failures (soft deviance) in the sense that they do not seem to be excluded from social participation, nor do they reflect a serious challenge to social interaction. The last class of failure is seen as actively threatening the social order (hard deviance) and the matter of labelling carries more serious consequences. While an individual may be a suspected witch and quietly accused by members of the village, little will happen unless his behaviour leads to a consensus and the shared application of the label, witch. If a person already suspected of practising witchcraft is publicly denounced by relatives of the deceased, this may lead to a more complex and organized collective punitive reaction including assassination (Gregor 1977:204-205). Gregor reports on four witch slayings over a 30-year period and notes that the victims are usually "socially estranged and lack the pro-

tection of male kin'' (ibid.:207). This material supports my earlier suggestion that labels are more easily applied to people who lack an extensive network of kin and friends.

Although the Mehinaku can engage in labelling offenders, Gregor indicates that for most offences they are very reluctant to do so. Extra-marital sex is common, though disapproved, and neither a husband nor a wife should make public accusations, or even be too curious about a spouse's behaviour (Gregor 1977:140). Theft, although strongly disapproved, is fairly common, but it does not result in the labelling of the offender. Gregor's reasons for the absence of labelling in such instances are congruent with those facts we have noted concerning the interdependence of small-scale social units: ''Because the thief has not been denounced by name, the social and economic bonds that unite him and the victim have not been severed. The Mehinaku community could not long endure gashes and wounds caused by frequent public denunciations'' (ibid.:125).

The Mehinaku also make a clear distinction between Mehinaku (insiders) and non-Xingu Indians who are not Mehinaku. The latter are still viewed as relative outsiders and the Mehinaku, through disparaging the outsiders' speech and behaviour, emphasize their own distinctiveness. Mehinaku, by threatening to label offenders as outsiders, also pressure their deviants to conform (Gregor 1977:308).

The Semai, a swidden-based people noted for their nonviolence, live in the tropical interior of the Malay peninsula. Although traditional Semai settlements lacked formal leaders, they currently have headmen, an office imposed by external authorities (Dentan 1968:67). Generally, while elders have significant influence, authority seems well diffused throughout the settlement. The Semai are extremely sensitive to the opinions of others (Dentan 1968:69), and greatly fear endangering their membership in and acceptance by the community (Robarchek 1979:105).

The Semai appear to be very reluctant to label offenders. Indeed, once an offence or conflict has been resolved through a formal traditional procedure, which consists of talking it out, no one is supposed to raise the matter again, let alone promote labelling (Robarchek 1979:111). The reasons for the avoidance of labelling involve a strong emphasis on reconciliation, interdependence and mutual aid (ibid.:113). Interestingly, socialization in nonviolent attitudes seems quite successful as Dentan was unable to document a single instance of murder, attempted murder or even maiming among the Semai (Dentan 1968:58). However, it is apparent that Semai make a sharp distinction between themselves and ''outsiders.'' During the Communist insurgency of the 1950s, the Semai proved quite capable of killing outsiders; Dentan describes the enthusiasm and ''blood drunkenness'' with which Semai slaughtered their enemies (ibid.:58-59).

Peasant Society

The following example illustrates this level of sociocultural integration and was chosen because it is in many respects typical of peasant or folk societies, and because there is good information available on the treatment of deviant behaviour and deviants in Kelantan society.

The Kelantanese are Islamic Malays with a bilateral social structure who practice intensive wet rice agriculture and live in the northeast of the Malay peninsula. The state of Kelantan and the nation of Malaysia have bureaucratic mechanisms for the control of deviance including Islamic religious courts, as well as police and courts that are part of a British-influenced legal system. However, the great majority of Kelantanese have little contact with the state and national mechanisms; instead, they are concerned with and influenced by the local controls that largely regulate social life in the rural villages in which they reside. Indeed, Kelantanese place considerable emphasis on the maintenance of village harmony and often seek to limit the involvement of external authorities in village affairs (Raybeck 1986).

The importance of village membership and integrity is reflected in a distinction which Kelantanese make between *orang sini*, "people of here," and *orang luar*, literally "outsiders." *Orang sini*, co-residents who are tied to one another through a network of bilateral kindreds and other less structured associations, treat one another with respect and are very reluctant to react negatively to one another, since all are viewed as valuable participants in village life and because villagers' past histories and their strengths and weaknesses are well-known to their fellows. Indeed, villagers seldom engage in dichotomous judgments of co-residents but instead tend to describe a fellow villager's failing or virtue as one aspect of a complex and multidimensional person. *Orang luar*, however, are frequently subject to simplistic stereotyping and labelling.

The emphasis on village integrity and the importance of village-level social life and values lead Kelantanese to take a relativistic position with regard to state definitions of deviance. The state regards certain acts as illegal and bureaucratically labels the actors as "criminals," yet villagers may take a very different view of these matters, especially if they involve indigenous cultural behaviour. Thus, the state prohibits smuggling, bull-fighting, cock-fighting and a variety of gambling activities, but Kelantanese villagers, far from viewing these pastimes as deviant, actually regard them as valued pursuits through which villagers may gain the respect of their fellows. These attitudes reflect and reinforce the pride that Kelantanese villagers take in their cultural distinctiveness.

If Kelantanese are rather cavalier about many behaviours that violate state and national laws, they are very concerned with behaviour that endan-

gers the solidarity and harmony of the village, and threats to village welfare, especially acts of violence, are viewed as strongly deviant (Raybeck 1986). The responses of villagers to an act that threatens village harmony are complex. The initial reaction is to curb the deviant behaviour by employing a variety of informal sanctions which range from gossip and social pressure through increasing social exclusion to expulsion from village society. Mitigating the concern with conformity to village norms is an intense interest in maintaining functional interpersonal networks within the village. Villagers are aware that publicly labelling someone a deviant tends to place that individual at the periphery of or outside village society and, because of the many cross-cutting kindred ties, this can have serious consequences for village solidarity. Thus, villagers usually promote conformity in a fashion that does not permanently damage the social persona of an offender.

While Kelantanese are usually reluctant to label co-villagers as deviant, they will do so in certain circumstances. If individuals engage in deviant behaviours that are serious (hard deviance) and visible, and if they persist in these behaviours despite attempts of villagers to make them conform, then they become increasingly marginal within village society and are likely to be labelled as members of a deviant category. However, unlike the labelling process that Becker (1963) describes by which the label essentially creates a social reality, Kelantanese labelling reflects a social reality that has gradually and increasingly become manifest. Once an individual is labelled as deviant, that person's participation in village social life is either terminated, as in threats to village harmony that result in expulsion, or diminished, as is more often the case. If a person labelled as a deviant remains a co-resident, other villagers seldom treat that individual in the dichotomous fashion suggested by Becker (1963), Matza (1969) and other labelling theorists. Instead, there is often recognition of, and expressed value for, other statuses the individual occupies, and continuing efforts are often made to reincorporate the individual into the mainstream of village life (Raybeck 1986).

While there is not space here to describe the manner in which other peasant societies react to deviance, the observations of several researchers are consonant with the material I have presented on the Kelantanese. In particular, elements such as the comparative importance of village versus state membership, the significance of an insider/outsider distinction and the reluctance of co-villagers to label one another can be found in Starrs' description of a Turkish village (1978), Collier's work on Zinacantan (1973), Foster's treatment of the people of Tzintzuntzan (1967) and, especially, Selby's excellent study of deviance among the Zapotec (1974).

Industrial Societies

Rather than review the extensive work done on deviance in large-scale society by sociologists, I will focus on two treatments of deviance in small-scale social units that exist within industrial states, since it is principally at this level that I anticipate finding concordance with labelling processes at lower levels of socio-cultural integration.

Marida Hollos (1976) describes a small, Norwegian mountain farming community which since 1970 has been increasingly subject to modernization pressures. Prior to 1979, the community was well integrated and maintained a strong consensus about behavioural norms and cultural values, especially the importance of egalitarianism (Hollos 1976:242). Problems involving conflict or deviance were rare, and most were resolved through informal mechanisms of control, particularly gossip and other forms of social pressure. In 19 years, only 10 cases of disputes were reported to various external agencies, and the great majority of these involved an "outsider" as well as a local (Hollos 1976:247-248).

Hollos makes it apparent that locals were very concerned with maintaining in-group harmony, preserving the network of interpersonal cooperation and retaining an offender as a functioning member of the community:

> In case of breaking the norm, if indirect pressures and sanctioning resulted in a change of behaviour, no further punishment or ostracism followed. On the contrary, the conforming individual was quietly reinstated into all his former relationships as an equal and the breach was never mentioned. (Hollos 1976:246)

In such circumstances locals were reluctant to invoke formal mechanisms of control or to engage in labelling.

With increasing industrialization after 1970, the circumstances of the community changed. This gradually led to a schism between the more traditional farmers dwelling on the periphery of the community and the more centrally located modernists who engaged in a variety of occupations which promoted neither strong interpersonal cooperation nor dependence on kin ties (Hollos 1976:244). Not surprisingly, the modernists relied more frequently on external sanctions, even against other community members (ibid.:250), and they engaged in such labelling more readily. Hollos is quite clear about the reasons for these changes among the modernist members of the community: "Since economic or social interdependence is much less important, and people are now more mobile and able to get away from one another, the maintenance of peaceful relations and a united community is no longer necessary at all costs" (ibid.:254). Industrialization has not only led to diminished village agreement concerning social norms and cultural val-

ues, it has also reduced the effectiveness of internal village modes of social control.

Rock Island, a small fishing community of 314 people, is located off the Atlantic coast of an industrialized nation to which it is linked both economically and politically (Yngvesson 1976:355). There is a strong emphasis on the importance of community membership and on an ethic of maintaining equality within the community. Decisions concerning the community and disposition of community problems are made in a public forum by consensus within a formally elected Island Council, but there is "an absence of mechanisms through which private grievances can be formalized or ritualized" (Yngvesson 1976:359). Instead, instances of conflict or deviance are generally handled through informal means including a "cooling off" period during which the matter is not subject to a public forum but is discussed by concerned community members who will seek to resolve the issue and/or to eliminate the deviant behaviour (Yngvesson 1976:354). If they are successful, no public forum is involved, nor is labelling likely.

The islanders make a marked distinction between "insiders" and "outsiders" and, reflecting the importance of community membership, "cooling off" periods are employed for the former category:

> The long "cooling off" period . . . was found only in island cases in which two people defined as "insiders" were involved. When a non-islander or other person defined as an outsider committed a grievance, the response period was sought rapidly. This difference in response pattern is consistent with the hypothesis that people involved in ongoing relationships which they wish to maintain will try to heal a breach in the relationship rather than punish the offender. (Yngvesson 1976:354-355)

Islanders are sufficiently reluctant to label other insiders as deviants that they will consciously avoid the use of such labels even for serious offences. Yngvesson notes that theft was the worst offence an islander could commit but, if the offender was an islander, it was termed "borrowing" and "the act remained unlabelled" (Yngvesson 1976:358). However, should an insider remain refractory and persist in serious patterns of deviance, that individual may (given his or her particular history of offence) be excluded from the community and, ultimately, be treated as an "outsider" (ibid.:358).

Both Hollos' study of the Norwegian farming community and Yngvesson's description of the Atlantic islanders reveal similar treatments of deviance and a general reluctance to react to deviant persons or acts. Furthermore, these theses appear frequently in the earlier descriptions of the treatment of deviance in small-scale social units at lower levels of sociocultural integration. I will discuss the significance of this below.

Discussion

My review of treatments of deviance in small-scale social units from simple, stateless hunting and gathering societies through complex, state organized, industrial societies has revealed some significant continuities. As Pfohl (1981) characterizes simple societies, there is considerable social and cultural integration, a stressing of importance of group membership and an emphasis on reconciliation of the offender to the group rather than on punishment and exclusion. *However, these characteristics are also true of small-scale units in state societies.* Similarly, Pfohl has also argued that formal labelling rituals, found only in state societies, are necessary for the labelling of a deviant, and that implies that stateless societies lack labelling processes. However, it is apparent that informal means of labelling are employed, although reluctantly, in small-scale units in both stateless and in state societies.

Differences, both in the treatment of deviance and in labelling processes, between simple and complex societies reflect the fact that the latter contain both small- and large-scale social units whereas the former consist entirely, or in some cases mainly, of small-scale units only. Differences in the size and complexity of the social units promote a series of contrasting characteristics relevant to the treatment of deviance and labelling processes. The table below presents a somewhat simplified summary of the more important of these contrasts.

Table 1
Deviance and Social Scale

Small-Scale Social Units (Camp, band, village, etc.)	Large-Scale Social Units (City, state, nation, etc.)
well integrated and consistent values	poorly integrated and often conflicting values
relative equality among members	marked inequalities among members
interdependence of members	independence of members
information-rich social context	information-poor social context
labelling of deviants occurs gradually and is rare	labelling of deviants occurs abruptly and is common
tolerance of soft deviance	intolerance of soft deviance
secondary deviance uncommon	secondary deviance common

The well-integrated values characteristic of small-scale social units stabilize the definition of social life in the fashion Pfohl (1981:75) suggests. The pluralist values usually characteristic of large-scale units cannot easily accomplish this; indeed, conflicts between values can provide a source of deviance.

The relative equality among the members of small-scale social units reduces the likelihood that the labelling of deviants will be associated with inequalities of power as is often the case in large-scale social units (cf. Becker 1963; Kilbride 1979; Matza 1969). Inequalities and other sources of social differentiation also increase the probability of interpersonal misperceptions, conflicts and recourse to labelling individuals as deviants.

The interdependence that characterizes social relations among members of small-scale units inhibits the labelling of individuals as deviants as well as absolute, formal approaches to the treatment of deviance. A member is often a significant contributor to a small community and is usually linked to other constituents through a variety of interpersonal and kinship ties. To label such a member as deviant reduces or eliminates that person's social participation and risks creating divisions and conflicts within the social order. In contrast, the contributions of most members of large-scale social units are comparatively less significant and the relative independence of these individuals reflects the absence of cross-cutting social and kinship bonds. Here, labelling a person as a deviant or discarding someone through the use of formal sanctions costs the unit very little, either in terms of social contributions or in risk to social integrity. Indeed, it can be argued that the labelling of deviants in large-scale social units actually enhances social integration by singling out, as social misfits, some individuals who, through contrast, emphasize the fit of others with the social order.

In comparison to most members of large-scale social units, each member of a small-scale social unit generally has available a great deal of information on the personality, past history and current behaviour of other constituents. This situation tends to reduce the utility of labelling deviants since the label does not provide substantial new information and also makes this type of labelling less likely. Members of small-scale social units know one another in a multi-dimensional fashion that inhibits the use of comparatively simple, one-dimensional stereotypes. This has been the case at the lower levels of socio-cultural integration we have examined, and it is also true of complex societies in instances where individuals know one another well.

Storz studied the situations of women who were officially labelled "mentally ill" by medical institutions, and noted that the label did not affect their husbands' perceptions of these women, nor did the husbands accept the labels unless they had already made the determination themselves (Storz 1978:49). This finding contrasts markedly with Rosenhan's (1973) well-

known study of the influence of labels on the perceptions of medical personnel who knew little of the patients beyond their labels. In his investigation, Rosenhan had normal individuals enter mental hospitals complaining of mild symptoms that elicited a label, mentally ill. Thereafter, the individuals and their behaviour were evaluated in a fashion that supported the inaccurate label.

One of my major theses has been that, compared to large-scale social units, the labelling of deviants in small-scale social units seldom occurs and that, when it does happen, it is a very gradual process. In large-scale social units the absence of good interpersonal information and bonds of interdependence plus the presence of conflicting values and inequalities all promote the abrupt labelling of an offender as deviant. In particular, the absence of a rich social context increases the likelihood of clear dichotomies (normal versus deviant), as does a reliance on formal mechanisms of control. Thus rule breakers, through a process that Schur (1971) terms "role engulfment," may find that their entire persona is defined through their deviance. For contrasting reasons, members of small-scale social units are reluctant to lose a contributing constituent and will employ a range of informal mechanisms of control, reserving labelling for those instances where the mechanisms have proven ineffective and the offender actively threatens the social order. The process of labelling a deviant is gradual also because, in the absence of formal mechanisms, it requires a shared evaluation of the offender and his relationship to the unit. It takes both considerable time and communication to achieve that consensus (cf. Selby 1974).

I have distinguished between "soft" and "hard" deviance in the ethnographic description in order to emphasize an important characteristic of small-scale social units. The members of such units will tolerate a considerable range of less than ideal behaviour (soft deviance) so long as it does not actively threaten the integrity of the unit. For instance, it has been noted in my work and in that of other researchers that the mentally ill in small-scale social units are apt to be accepted as active participants in the social order if their behaviour does not threaten others (Edgerton 1976:61; Raybeck 1986), and they may not even be labelled (cf. Selby 1974:41-47). Labelling of an individual as a deviant and the attendant sanctions, such as expulsion and/or death, are generally invoked as a last resort to protect the unit from those who actively threaten its well-being (hard deviance). In contrast, large-scale social units which employ labelling more readily usually tolerate far less "soft" deviance and often blur or omit the distinction between those who actively threaten the well-being of others (thieves, murderers) and those who do not (vagrants, gamblers).

The characteristics of small-scale social units reduce the likelihood of secondary deviance deriving from the individual's acceptance of the label

and the social position it signifies. Even in some large-scale social units, individuals who have been labelled deviant can remain aware of the other components of their social persona through interacting with their interpersonal networks (cf. Kilbride 1979:247). In large-scale social units the label "deviant" can more easily define the relationship of the offender to other members, and, as a result, can encourage further (secondary) deviance.

Reviewing the preceding contrasts between small- and large-scale social units, it seems that this material can provide information concerning the "conditions under which official labelling works" (Davis 1980:199). The description of the labelling process in large-scale social units supports the contention of labelling theorists that labelling helps to create and reinforce deviance. Others create deviants by reducing the social participation of offenders and invoking labels which encourage offenders to think of themselves as deviants and to act in deviant fashions. Thus, the range of labels employed and the frequency of labelling should be proportional to the size and complexity of social units engaged in labelling.

In small-scale social units the labelling process is qualitatively different from the process characteristic of large-scale social units. Due to their multiple connections to, and extensive knowledge of offenders, members of such units invoke labels only after exhausting other means of dealing with them and, even then, they are often willing to unlabel and reincorporate them if circumstances permit. Here, labels, rather than creating a deviant identity, are reluctantly employed to recognize one that has gradually emerged.

In large-scale social units, those who deviate from accepted patterns of behaviour may, through the use of formal mechanisms, easily be labelled, marginalized or even discarded. However, in small-scale social units, the interdependence of members, their familiarity with each other and the multiple ties that bind them together mitigate against formal and mechanical assessments of deviant behaviour. Simply put, individual members of small-scale social units are functionally, social and often psychologically important to one another. Thus deviant behaviour is judged on a continuum that reflects both an evaluation of the act as hard or soft, and an appraisal of the actor's value to the social unit.

Since small-scale social units are not only characteristic of simple societies, but are also embedded in complex societies, the intricate dynamics, described above, that are involved in judging deviance should also obtain in small-scale social units in societies that rely primarily upon formal sanctions for treating deviance. Indeed, I expect the continued study of such complex low-level dynamics to improve our understanding of the principles and processes that underlie both informal and formal responses to deviance. This enhanced understanding should help the social sciences to deal better

with the disjunctions as well as with the continuities that characterize the treatment of deviance in both small- and large-scale social units.

Note

1. I wish to acknowledge the award of a Hamilton College Research Grant which supported the research for this paper, and to gratefully recognize the aid and support of Dawn Chase who assisted me in a review of the ethnographic literature.

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HUMAN RESPONSE TO PRIMATE DEVIANCE

Anne C. Zeller
University of Waterloo

Abstract: If it is difficult enough for students of human behaviour to agree on a definition of deviance, it is more so when the subject of discussion is non-human primates. Deviant behaviour among primates is usually equated with "abnormal" behaviour, which impedes Darwinian fitness. Deviance may consist either in passivity and withdrawal or in hyperactive, aggressive behaviour. The classification of particular behaviours as deviant depends on the environment in which the primates live, e.g., caged or free-ranging, and on the perspective and interests of the researchers, e.g., zoo-keepers, veterinarians and researchers who work with either caged or free-ranging animals. Nonetheless, there are certain behaviours which virtually all scholars would classify as deviant or abnormal.

Résumé: S'il est déjà diffficile pour ceux qui étudient le comportement humain à se mettre d'accord pour une définition de la déviance, cela est encore plus problématique lorsque les sujets d'études sont les primates non-humains. Le comportement déviant parmi les primates est habituellement perçu comme étant un comportement «anormal» entravant le développement darwinien. La déviance se manifeste soit par la passivité et le retrait, soit par une hyperactivité agressive. La classification de comportements particuliers comme étant déviants dépend largement de l'environnement dans lequel vivent les primates (en captivité ou en liberté) et de la perspective et des intérêts des chercheurs (gardiens de zoos, vétérinaires et chercheurs travaillant avec des primates en captivité ou en liberté). Néanmoins, il y a certains comportements que presque tous les chercheurs classifient come étant déviants ou anormaux.

Current understanding of the concept of deviance arises from research on the human condition. In order to translate the study of deviance to primate terms, we must take several factors into consideration. In spite of the amount of study already undertaken on humans, we still do not have univer-

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sal definitions of what constitutes deviant behaviour. Among primates, it is difficult to apply the criteria of labelling theory according to which one primate would judge the actions of another. Observers would have to infer such judgments from the behaviour of the respondent. Abnormal behaviour in primates has been defined by Poole as "not promote(ing) the success and survival of the individual or its close relatives (i.e., it does not increase fitness)" (Poole 1988:3). This definition differs markedly from one which would result from labelling theory. In this paper, I have chosen to regard deviant and abnormal behaviour as synonymous. Both refer to those behaviours at the extreme ends of a range of potential behavioural responses to a stimulus. This range, defined on page 41, removes the criterion of fitness from the definition, although under most circumstances extremes of behaviour will not promote fitness as much as those more moderate behaviours at the centre of the range.

Another aspect of the difficulty in utilizing human-derived criteria to judge primate behaviour is that we cannot assume that primates have a moral sense. Since we cannot communicate with them, we cannot assert that they have absolute standards of good and bad to guide their behaviour. Secondly, researchers can only observe the behaviours in question. There is no potential for linguistic feedback or explanation by the subjects as to why they are behaving in a certain way. Nevertheless, there are several approaches which can be used profitably to study deviant behaviours in animals. One could investigate the causes of deviant behaviour, and the impact of such behaviours on an animal's viability in both captive and free-ranging settings. Alternatively, one could list various categories of behaviour as abnormal. The category method is exemplified by Poole (1988) who lists deviant behaviours under the following headings: levels of activity, misdirected activity, feeding peculiarities and aspects of social behaviour.

In this paper, I will focus on two additional aspects of abnormal behaviour in primates. I utilize a statistical approach to defining deviant behaviours, which interprets them as part of the range of possible behaviours available to primates. My approach derives from Darwinian theory which explains variation in morphology and behaviour as an important aspect of a species' adaptive potential. Actions and responses by organisms occur over a range of possible behaviours, and those animals who are the most successful in dealing with particular environmental and social conditions are those which survive the longest and produce the most offspring. Thus to animal behaviour researchers, behaviour is seen as a range of potentially adaptive responses, occurring in a curve, with the most frequent responses making up the central or normative region of the curve (see Table 2). The deviant behaviours examined in this paper are those which occur at either end of the curve. Since these behaviours will usually be ob-

served in only a small minority of animals, or under conditions of environmental or social stress, I am considering them as abnormal. However these abnormal behaviours may or may not be maladaptive depending on particular social and environmental circumstances. It is this situational lability which distinguishes this perspective on behaviours which consist of a range of responses to stimuli from the more commonly held human viewpoint of a dichotomy between normal and non-normal or deviant behaviour. In both individual animals and groups, the same behaviour can vary from normal to deviant and back depending on the level of adaptiveness it provides and the proportion of individuals exhibiting it. This lability of behaviour is a major adaptive strategy among primates.

The second aspect of this paper is an examination of how four groups of people respond to behaviours that they have defined as abnormal in primates. These four groups are veterinarians, zoo keepers, researchers working with caged animals and researchers who study free-ranging animals. These four groups represent significant numbers of people with extensively published opinion on primates, who deal with them on a frequent basis. I have excluded pet owners and animal trainers because their approach to primates tends to humanize them. This tendency would probably influence their interpretation of deviant behaviour in primates. The data reported for these response groups were derived from a combination of sources in the published literature and interview material. In utilizing this two-pronged approach in this paper, I am proposing a model to facilitate the understanding of abnormal behaviour in both captive and free-ranging primates, and am exploring how this model reflects the understanding of deviant behaviour held by the four informant groups. The informant groups were not informed of the model before the study.

When examining behaviour from this perspective, the category of "normative" covers a range of acceptable functioning behaviours. At each end of the range are non-normative or abnormal behaviours which are usually (but not always), maladaptive and occur in a small fraction of the population. Since there are two ends of the range, I would propose that there are two possible types of deviant behaviour, which for convenience I will call "passive" and "active" deviance, such that the range could be diagrammed as: passive fraction/normative majority/active fraction.

An examinination of deviance which employs a graded range of behaviours is more easily accepted in the study of animals than in the human sciences because we are more accustomed to thinking about animal behaviours in terms of Darwinian models of fitness. Studies of human behaviour frequently focus on the responses and judgments of other individuals to the behaviour rather than examining the behaviour itself. If we utilize the idea that we should investigate both ends of a range of behaviours

(graded from passive to active), we can then investigate the concept of "behaviour silence" as a potentially deviant response in addition to the more usually recognized "active deviance." The research in this paper suggests that behaviour passivity as an aspect of deviant behaviour is a useful idea.

Because primates utilize life in the social group as one of their major adaptive strategies, maintaining the social group is a very strong priority in their lives. Group sizes can range from a mated pair to aggregations of several hundred animals: only in a few species, such as the orangutan, are solitary individuals frequently seen. Therefore, it is suggested that deviant behaviours in primates will frequently be those which disrupt the social functioning of the group. One of the major differences between wild and captive situations is that in many captive situations the animal is maintained and responded to as a single individual, even in places such as laboratories where there are a number of animals present. Thus, when dealing with a concept such as deviance in primates, it is necessary to consider the conditions under which the animals are kept. In a previous paper, I commented that many captive conditions were equivalent to prisons or juvenile detention homes, and that the behaviours seen would undoubtedly reflect this (Zeller 1983). However, even in these situations animals exhibit a variety of behaviours, only some of which are classified as abnormal by their keepers.

Data

In order to have a standardized base from which to begin comparing these differing relationships with primates, I adapted Table 1 from material in an article concerned with identifying and naming abnormal behaviours in the chimpanzee (Walsh, Bramblett and Alford 1982). The items in part 1 of Table 1 were indicated in tabular format in that article, whereas those in part 2 were mentioned in the article but not included in the table there. Part 3 of Table 1 lists additional "aberrant" behaviours that were mentioned frequently in other publications dealing with abnormal behaviour (e.g., Poole 1988). Part 4 of Table 1 lists behaviours which are distinguished from those listed in the other sections because they represent the passive end of the behaviour curve. They are gleaned from various sources listed in the references section. The original behaviour list reported in Walsh et al. was developed when they observed behaviours in captive, restrictively reared chimpanzees and compared them with Goodall's (1968) ethogram of wild chimpanzee behaviour. The behaviours in the first two parts of the table were attributed by Walsh et al. to boredom and lack of stimulation in the animals who manipulated themselves and their body secretions as substitutes for more interesting things to do. The behaviours in the third and fourth parts could also be interpreted as responses to boredom. Alternatively,

Table 1
Vocabulary of Abnormal Behaviour in the Chimpanzee (adapted from Walsh, Bramblett and Alfredo 1982)

Behaviour	Lab	Zoo	Vet.	Wild	Total
Key: + = not abnormal; o = no opinion; – = abnormal					
Part 1 – Listed in Walsh					
Clap Hands	–	+	+	+	1
Coprophagy	–	–	+	+	2
Eye poking	–	–	–	–	4
Head shaking	–	–	+	+	2
Head wiping	–	–	+	+	2
Rocking	–	–	+	–	3
Self-mutilate	–	–	–	–	4
Self-slap	–	–	+	–	3
Stick out tongue	–	+	+	o	1
Suck penis	–	–	–	+	3
Suck self	–	–	–	+	3
Drink urine	–	–	–	+	3
Wet head	–	–	+	+	2
Part 2 – Mentioned in Walsh					
Faeces spreading	–	–	+	+	2
Flapping genitals	–	–	–	o	3
Hair pulling	–	+	+	+	1
Hand movements and gaze	–	–	–	–	4
Head banging	–	–	–	+	3
Bizarre posture	–	–	–	o	3
Part 3 – Mentioned in Literature					
Excessive grimacing	–	–	+	o	2
Stereotyped movements	–	–	+	o	2
Pacing – weaving	–	–	–	o	3
Cannibalism	–	–	–	–	4
Maternal abuse	–	–	–	–	4
Hypersexual behaviour	–	–	–	–	4
Hyper-aggressive	–	–	–	–	4
Kill	–	–	–	–	4
Infanticide	–	–	–	–	4
Part 4 – Passive Behaviour					
Neglect of infant	–	–	–	+	3
Rejection of infant	–	–	–	–	4
Refusal to breed	–	+	–	–	3

Table 1 (continued)

Behaviour	Lab	Zoo	Vet.	Wild	Total
Breeding with inappropriate object	–	–	–	–	4
Masturbate	–	–	–	–	4
Depression	–	–	–	–	4
Lethargy	–	–	+	–	3
Anorexia	–	–	–	–	4
Regurgitate	–	+	+	+	1
Refuse to eat	–	–	–	–	4
Not interact	–	–	+	–	3
Self Clasp	–	–	–	–	4
Passivity	–	–	–	–	4
Death – due to depression or anxiety	–	–	–	–	4
Totals	42	37	27	23	

they could be responses to stimuli (such as a new infant) that the animals found too stressful to deal with. As Table 1 indicates, researchers working with laboratory animals categorized all 42 of the behaviours listed as abnormal while those working with free-ranging animals include only 55 percent of them in the abnormal category. Zoo keepers and veterinarians fall between these poles classifying 86 percent and 62 percent, respectively, of the 42 listed behaviours as deviant. The following discussion of each response group will suggest why these differences existed. It is tempting to suggest that those animals observed in the most "natural" setting are least likely to exhibit behaviours which are classified as deviant. I will begin with the group most likely to regard behaviours as deviant (laboratory researchers working with caged animals) and then move progressively to those least likely to consider behaviours as deviant (primatologists studying free-ranging animals).

Research – Caged Animals

Research conducted with animals caged singly or in non-representative groupings (e.g., dyads, peer groups) is usually based on the idea that by removing all other extraneous factors, the system under study will be clearly revealed. Studies of learning sets, discrimination ability, the maternal attachment process and dominance relations are a few examples of studies which have utilized this methodology in the exploring both mental and social phenomena (e.g., Yerkes 1916; Tinklepaugh 1934; Harlow and Harlow 1963). Animals are valued mainly in terms of their approach to the testing situation rather than in terms of their individual characteristics or well-being.

One striking example of this approach occurs early in Yerkes' investigations of mental abilities in monkeys. A particular crab-eating macaque was so inefficient in an experimental study of reactive tendencies that it was called "feeble minded." Yerkes had trouble with this animal, Skirrl, especially after it stepped on a nail in one of the test boxes and refused for weeks to enter it again. Yerkes interpreted the animal's refusal to respond after the accident as evidence of boredom or stupidity.

> Especially in connection with such relapses, Skirrl showed extreme fatigue or ennui and often would refuse to work and simply sit before the open doors yawning. This happened even when he was extremely hungry and evidently eager enough for food. (Yerkes 1916:37)

> On the whole, Skirrl's behaviour in connection with this problem appears to indicate a low order of intelligence. (Yerkes 1916:28)

This result was contrasted with the performance by another monkey, a rhesus macaque named Sobke. "Sobke invariably chose the end boxes. His performance was in every way superior to that of Skirrl" (Yerkes 1916:44). Yet, when, after thousands of trials, Sobke began to refuse to interact with the test material, Yerkes postulated a "change of attitude" as the cause of the behaviour. In fact, a number of research situations are plagued by the phenomenon of "maze fatigue" in which the animals will no longer cooperate in the test. These animals are routinely dropped from studies since they are considered to show abnormalities in the test situation. "I found that Sobke was no longer trying to solve the problem.... His attitude had changed in that he had become indifferent, careless and obviously discouraged with his task" (Yerkes 1916:62).

At this point Yerkes attributed the similar refusal to perform by the two animals to inability on Skirrl's part and discouragement with the task on Sobke's part. However, later in the same publication when discussing another series of tests involving manipulative ability Yerkes says: "Skirrl, on the contrary (compared to Sobke), attended persistently to anything new in the shape of a movable object... whereas Skirrl is by nature a mechanical genius, Sobke has apparently no such disposition" (Yerkes 1916:115). Yerkes concludes this account by saying that "Skirrl's behaviour has importantly modified my conception of genius," yet at no time does he repudiate, question or even refer to the fact that in the same report, referring to experiments conducted on the same two monkeys, during the same summer (1915), he has also categorized Skirrl as "feeble minded" and "of low intelligence." In other words, his perception of the animal was based solely on its response to individual test situations, rather than on a holistic assessment of its overall abilities.

This task-oriented relationship to primates may also help to explain Harlow's early conclusions that surrogate or peer rearing was an effective way to raise young macaques. This conclusion was based on the success rate that deprivation-raised animals showed in solving discrimination and delayed response tests, when compared to control animals (Hahn 1971). It was not until the animals reached breeding age, but refused to breed, that he realized that the self-clasping, rocking, head-banging and self-destructive behaviours that he observed might be manifestations of severe underlying social dysfunction (Harlow and Harlow 1963). Since that time the Wisconsin laboratories have become increasingly aware of the social deficits engendered by non-social or inadequately social rearing situations, but still persist in using the socially afflicted animals in other types of studies such as learning experiments, or as control animals (Sackett 1968). Sackett clearly states, "The term 'abnormal' will be applied here only with respect to . . . a particular control condition as a reference—and not necessarily as 'normal control' group" (Sackett 1968:305). These two examples, concerning learning abilities and deprivation rearing exemplify the focussed, task-oriented perception of abnormal behaviour seen in many problem-response types of studies.

Laboratory researchers have become more and more aware of the presence and levels of stereotypic repetitive behaviours and maternal inadequacy since colonies have attempted to become self-sufficient in supplying their own animals. Davenport notes (1979) that Yerkes was fortunate in setting up his research establishment entirely with wild born individuals who seem to have been "behaviourally normal." Since the supply of wild animals has diminished, and since most laboratory breeding stock has also served research purposes, the incidence of behaviour abnormalities such as stereotypy and maternal inadequacy has risen rapidly. Both Davenport (1979) and Walsh, Bramblett and Alford (1982) state that the lack of external stimulation is the primary cause for the development of self-stimulating activities. Behaviours with this causation would not be expected in wild animals, or even in naturalistic captive groups with adequate space. Wild caught animals can, however, become extremely disturbed and abusive to themselves, their mates and their offspring (Caine and Reite 1983). This indicates that the effects of a free-ranging upbringing may protect animals against stereotyped behaviour caused by deprivation in rearing conditions but may actually increase levels of social abuse above the rate seen in captive reared animals (probably due to excessive arousal levels).

Most lab researchers realize that many of the animals in their studies exhibit behaviours which they classify as abnormal. But the perception of abnormality as a task-oriented phenomenon affects the types of deviance that are recognized by cage researchers. Maze fatigue, poor performance due to distractibility resulting from deprivation rearing and depression are all re-

garded as interfering with the test situation rather than being regarded as conditions affecting the animal. This argument is supported by Sackett's comment that "questions of behaviour adequacy depend on the test environment" (1968:305). In situations where continued maintenance and successful breeding are of high priority, self-destruction, hyperaggression, inadequate sexuality and poor mothering capabilities are all seen as problems. These encompass behaviours from both ends of the behaviour range. Due partly to this task-oriented viewpoint of primate behaviour, relatively minor unusual activities such as hand clapping and sticking out the tongue were regarded as deviant by this class of researchers. This broadening of the category of abnormal resulted in the highest number of behaviours categorized as deviant in Table 1.

Zoo Keepers

One very noticeable difference between the laboratory researchers and the zoo keepers' and veterinarians' approaches is that the determination of deviant behaviour arises from differing perceptions about the nature of primates. Whereas laboratory researchers are concerned with individual animals as test subjects, zoo keepers concerns are focussed on individuals or groups and those behaviours that foster their well-being, while veterinarians (below) usually compare the behaviour of captive animals to what they would expect of those in the wild.

My informant keepers do recognize that behaviours which they classify as deviant may in fact be normal for the animal. "What we think of as deviant may be normal" (informant). The captive surroundings may cause physiological changes in animals which result in peculiar behaviours. Some factors pertaining to captivity include the quantity and quality of food, lack of exercise, or stress due to a change in their surroundings, such as painting the cage. Whether or not these peculiar behaviours are classified as deviant usually depends on how much damage is inflicted by the animal on itself or others. It should be noted that abnormal behaviours are not always maladaptive when seen in a total perspective, even though death may result from the stimulation of the escape response in the animal who runs into a wall, fence or moat because of fear or harassment (Meyer-Holzapfel 1968).

Zoo-keeper informants emphasized that the primates in their charge (specifically lemurs, baboons and gorillas) constantly emitted very subtle cues which, due to their experience, the keepers could recognize and, in some cases, interpret. The animals are very sensitive to a change in routine and can be upset by seemingly minor factors such as a new keeper or a temporary separation from the group. Some peculiar behaviours were attributed to possible nutritional deficiencies and medical problems, as well as to

psychological or social causes. One case of severe self-mutilation in a lemur was, on autopsy, associated with degenerative brain disease. In two other cases, however, foot gnawing occurred when lemurs were incarcerated in squeeze cages for several weeks of medical treatment, and the behaviour disappeared when they were returned to their social group. Hair pulling and self-picking, leading to mutilation, can be caused by ectodermal parasites, or by poor circulation leading to abnormal sensitivity of the skin. Self mutilation can also be caused in cases of jealousy or anxiety where the animal vents its emotions on itself.

Coprophagy in the lemurs was alleviated by providing the animals with salt. In other species, such as the gorillas, the marked response from the public to the animals' handling or eating faeces seems to serve as a positive social reinforcement. Gorillas are very social animals and, consequently, very aware of the responses of others to their activities. The shocked response of the public to coprophagy may reinforce the behaviour even when there is no dietary cause for it. It is interesting to note that in early lab research with rats it was found to be impossible to create a Vitamin B deficiency in the animals by manipulating their diet as long as they had access to their faeces to eat. It was only when the cages were suspended with drop-through floors that this vitamin deficiency could be maintained (Fox 1968c). This information would suggest that some dietary deficiencies, particularly those related to stress management, may be alleviated by coprophagy.

Animals also direct their abuse towards others as in the case of mothers abusing infants. This may take the standard form of weaning-rejecting including nipping, hitting at, holding down and abandoning the infant. When mothers direct these behaviours towards a six- to nine-month-old monkey or a three- to four-year-old ape during the weaning process, the behaviour is considered to be normal. However, the same behaviours are considered abuse if the mothers use excessive levels of force, or if the infant is not yet of weaning age and will be in jeopardy without its mother's continued attention. Other forms of rejection can be more life threatening. Some female primates do not handle the infant well at birth, either failing to open the sac and clean the infant, or failing to hold it in the nursing position. Some simply ignore it, while others bite or throw the neonate. Even if the female does accept the infant, she may later exhibit peculiar behaviours such as purposefully standing on it for 20 to 30 seconds while it shrieks (informant). This particular behaviour spread from one female baboon to others in one group. It was not thought to be the same as accidentally sitting or lying on the infant, a mistake which the mother would rectify when the infant vocalized. Another case of maternal disregard for an infant was reported by a gorilla keeper (Cole 1990) who said that one female habitually hung her six-month-old infant from the skylight in her cage and let it scream in order to

attract the keeper's attention. The keeper found that ignoring this behaviour was eventually effective in stopping it, in spite of the potential danger to an extremely valuable animal. The keeper also mentioned that this female was very rough with her infant and dragged her around on the floor rather than carry her.

Males are also seen abusing infants, especially during times of social change. One young, adult, male Hamadryas baboon, forced to live in the same enclosure as a mature male and his harem, stole some of the older male's females and formed a new group. This new group leader killed five of his seven offspring over a two-year period. The other, older male in the enclosure was also very rough, battering, biting and throwing infants against rocks or the cage wall. The males do not fight among themselves, but are very aggressive towards the females. The keeper (Vanessa C. Phelan, Hamadryas keeper) commented that some of the infant deaths occurred in the context of the male disciplining or attempting to mate with a female. This high level of aggression is, in all probability, because the enclosure was too small for two groups, even though it was adequate for one group with roughly the same number of individuals. Of course, the overall effect of such behaviour would be to slow the rate of population growth in these cramped surroundings.

Zoo animals may also show breeding abnormalities of either the passive or active type. Because of hand rearing, some animals have become sexually fixated on humans and refuse to breed with conspecifics. Some lack the correct orientation or techniques because of poor rearing conditions, and others do not appear to like their assigned partner. The gorilla keeper said that each of the five females consistently chose a particular one of the two males available, and that the gorilla pair in the Calgary zoo have refused to breed for a long time. In some cases, single, caged animals masturbate or attempt to mate with their food dishes. A few cases of interspecific or intergeneric mating have occurred, occasionally producing offspring (Matsubayashi et al. 1978). Some substitute choices are quite unsuitable such as one chimpanzee who preferred a cat as a sexual partner (Zuckerman 1932) and one of Yerkes' gorillas who showed sexual interest in a dog (Meyer-Holzapfel 1968). Homosexual activity also occurs frequently, and is not usually considered deviant because it appears to be the expression of an affiliative bond (Fischer and Nadler 1978). In heterosexual groups, homosexual matings do not appear to be exclusive and do not interfere with fertility (Fedigan 1982), with certain rare exceptions (de Waal 1982). At the hyperactive end of sexual activity, males may mount females regardless of their state of sexual cyclicity (orangutans), and may cause a great deal of social disruption by repeated mating attempts, as was mentioned above with respect to the hamadryas baboons. Female chimpanzees in captivity fre-

quently cycle and mate during pregnancy, behaviour which is rare in the wild. This behaviour is not physiologically driven, since they are already pregnant, but allows them to engage in more frequent sexual activity which may serve to maintain affiliative bonds with males who are their constant companions (Wallis 1982).

At the passive end of the curve, zoo keepers recognize lethargy, refusal to eat, anorexia, infant rejection and refusal to mate, as problems in animal behaviour which they attempt to remedy. On the hyperactive side they also deal with a wide range of behaviours, from faeces throwing and eating, stereotyped behaviours, rocking and head banging to self-mutilation, hyperactivity and infanticide. They attempt to modify an animal's undesirable behaviour by manipulating environmental and social conditions to arrive at solutions in which the animal will desist from the behaviour. An example of this approach would be the separation of incompatible animals. In some cases of infant rejection or abuse, the keepers resort to hand rearing, especially with rare and valuable animals. However, they usually try to reintroduce the young to members of their species in an effort to overcome the negative social effects of hand rearing. One of the most important features of the zoo keeper-exhibit interaction is the opportunity for long-term, intensive contact and observation, which in many cases allows the keeper to perceive, diagnose and remedy potential problems before they become very severe. On the other hand, exhibition considerations and lack of space may influence the treatment of behaviour abnormalities. The major focus of zoo interest is gradually shifting from the exhibition of animals for public entertainment and education to the breeding of rare animals for conservation and continued exhibition. Therefore, the emphasis on deviance is directed towards behaviours that reduce the animal's social acceptability and exhibit value as well as their reproductive health and well-being. Behaviours such as hyperaggression, self-mutilation, infant abuse, coprophagy, constant regurgitation and masturbation are seen as more of a problem than pacing, self-clasping and stereotyped behaviours, although the outcome for the animal may be equally debilitating.

Veterinarian

The veterinarians' approach in considering whether various behaviours should be considered deviant was flexible. In some cases, the same activities were considered abnormal in one animal but normal in others (Fox 1968a). The criterion used in attributing deviance was the appropriateness of the activity to the stimulus, both in terms of the degree of response as well as in terms of its biological purpose. "Maladaptive behaviour can result from quantitative and qualitative combinations of process which are

themselves intrinsically orderly, determined and normal in origin'' (Sideman 1960, in Ferguson 1968:189).

One example of how a particular behaviour which usually maintains order can lead to behaviour anarchy when it gets out of control, is manifested in dominance-related behaviour. The original dominance studies were carried out on the pecking order of chickens, and later transferred to primates. Chickens maintain a linear dominance hierarchy by being able to peck at all those who are lower in rank than they. If this gets out of control, it can lead to cannibalism because chickens will kill and eat their subordinates instead of just pecking them to maintain rank. This example is used to clarify how dominance relations in primates can also lead to violent behaviour. Normally in primates rank orders maintain peaceful relations between animals because all know their positions. But if group life becomes unbalanced by, for example, a rapid increase in the number of sexually mature females (Samuels and Henrickson 1983) high levels of aggression leading to serious fighting and death can ensue. Exactly this situation was clearly demonstrated in the 1930s by a fiasco which Zuckerman caused when he introduced a large number of female Hamadryas baboons into a group of previously peaceful, celibate males at the Regents Park Zoo. In the violent fighting which followed, all but two of the females were killed; some were torn apart by the rival males trying to hold on to them (Zuckerman 1932). Bernstein also precipitated violent fighting in a group of macaques by removing the high ranking ''control animals'' (Bernstein 1971). These episodes of violence arise from behaviour mechanisms which usually maintain order, but which, under particular circumstances, can occur at much higher than optimal levels and result in social chaos.

Instances of behaviour that is classified as abnormal by other groups such as zoo keepers, may be attributed to medical or nutritional difficulties by veterinarians (Worden 1968). Examples of this include coprophagy (eating faeces), pronounced hair pulling or skin picking which may be caused by parasites or a nervous condition, and maternal abuse possibly due to such factors as sore nipples. Malfunctions of arousal level, usually caused by boredom can also cause abnormal behaviour. Boredom can increase arousal level by increasing the desire for any kind of stimulus, and this can motivate the animal to engage in self-destructive behaviours. Arousal level can be reduced by the introduction of novel items for the animals to interact with. On the other hand, recently captured animals frequently attempt to reduce the amount of incoming stimulus and maintain low arousal levels because they find the state of captivity so stressful. Animals who have been reared in restricted environments can show the same reaction if moved to larger quarters, or given companions, and both groups may respond by engaging in stereotyped monotonous behaviours which may have a calming effect.

When they encounter novel stimuli they may turn upon themselves or others in a frenzy of destructive fear engendered by insupportably high levels of arousal. Therefore, behaviours which would be considered "autistic" in humans may well indicate a state of chronic over arousal in animals (Fox 1968c). Another response of wild animals to sudden capture is severe depression, indicated by refusal to eat, anorexia and hypoactivity. If animals in this state are markedly stimulated they may go completely passive, may attack out of fear or may die of cardiac arrest brought on by their state of extreme stress (Schmidt 1968).

These examples indicate that veterinarians often ascribe medical or psychologically understandable (neurotic) causes to types of behaviour that are frequently classified as deviant. Veterinarians' interests are limited to captive animals and they see their abnormal behaviours as compensation for environmental and social deprivation. In essence, malfunctions in social interaction, dietary factors or levels of stimulation can result in abnormal behaviour in captive animals when compared with their free-ranging conspecifics.

In spite of attributing these behaviours at both the active and passive ends of the behaviour curve (Table 2) to understandable causes, veterinarians suggest treatments to modify such behaviours in cases where they deem the behaviours unacceptable. These treatments reflect the veterinarian's interest in maintaining the animal's health or ability to breed. They treat passive levels of behaviour such as infant neglect, passivity, anorexia and depression by infant removal, management of arousal levels and drugs. Tranquilizers are often prescribed for fearful animals, while animals who are hypersexual or aggressive are sometimes castrated. They may prescribe dietary and medical treatments in an effort to modify behaviours, and genetic culling is frequently recommended in cases of severe heritable disorders (Fraser 1968).

Research – Free Ranging

The free-ranging research category includes both captive primates maintained in large enclosures and wild animals. The major focus of such research is usually social and ecological. These studies investigate how animals utilize their environments in feeding, travelling, predation, tool use, etc., and how they develop and maintain social relations within and between groups. In many cases researchers categorize as deviant those behaviours which interfere with an animal's Darwinian fitness. These would include behaviours which impair viability, breeding success and social relations. Both passive and active types of abnormal behaviours are included under this approach.

Table 2
Range of Behaviour Potential

Hypoactive	Normative Level	Hyperactive
Infant neglect	Normative infant care	Infant abuse
Infant rejection		Infanticide
Refusal to breed	Normative sex	Hypersexual
Breed inappropriate object		Forced sex
	Homosexual mounting	
Depression	Normative activity level	Stereotyped pacing
Lethargy		Pacing
		Rocking
		Headbanging
		Hyperactive
		Killing
Anorexia	Normative food amount	Overeating
Refusal to eat		
Regurgitation		
	Normative food objects	Coprophagy
		Drink urine
No interaction	Normative interaction e.g., groom, sit with	Hyperaggression
Self-clasping		Self-mutilation
Passivity	Normative behaviours	Eye poke
Death		Hair pull
		Suck self
		Bizarre posture
		Hand movement and gaze
		Flapping genitals
		Stick out tongue
		Head wiping
		Suck penis
		Feces spread
		Self-slap

Due to the enhanced visibility of enclosed groups, de Waal (1982) was able to observe some situations in chimpanzees which have not been seen in the wild. Goodall et al. (1979) reported one sterile, cycling female chimpanzee (Gigi) who frequently travelled with males and engaged in "masculine" behaviours (aggressive patterns, displays and boundary patrols), but who also engaged in consort behaviour with males. In contrast, de Waal (1982) noted a female (Puist) who, although cycling regularly and apparently attractive to males, would not mate with them. She masturbated when not in estrus, and mounted other females when they were swollen. She also

joined males around a sexually attractive female, and, if the female refused the advances of a particular male, Puist would support her decision. That it was behaviour rather than inability to mate which caused such unwillingness to breed is demonstrated by the fact that one male eventually succeeded in impregnating Puist and she has become a competent mother (de Waal 1989).

Puist is also noted for her deceitful behaviour. She frequently joins the males in attacking the females, which is uncommon behaviour in a female. Later she may approach the female with her hand out in a gesture of reconciliation, only to grab or bite if the other female allows her to approach close enough (de Waal 1982).

Mating behaviour that contravenes the social rules of the group has also been observed. The younger males are attacked by the highest ranking one if they attempt to mate openly. Often they surreptitiously indicate sexual interest to a female in estrus, and then move out of sight behind a clump of bushes, where the female may later join them. When engaging in such illicit mating, one young female learned to suppress her piercing copulatory call in order not to attract the alpha male's attention, although she still expressed the accompanying facial gesture. She continued to use the call when breeding in the open with high ranking males. Occasionally a lower ranking animal who saw a concealed mating, would rush, barking, up to the alpha male, seize his arm and drag him to the spot where the incident was occurring. A labelling theorist might hypothesize that the chimpanzee informant had a concept of incorrect or deviant behaviour. In terms of human perceptions, the amount of deceit required to successfully complete a clandestine mating brings it into the realm of deviant behaviour.

Manipulative coercion of one animal by another was also seen in the case of two-year-old Jonas who was being weaned by his pregnant mother. He forced another old female to allow him to nurse. If she refused, Jonas screamed until his mother bore down on the old female and, by threatening and barking, intimidated her into allowing Jonas to suckle (de Waal 1982). In de Waal's opinion the mother was behaving most unusually, although, in sociobiological terms, she was enhancing her own fitness. By weaning Jonas early, she could breed again more quickly, meanwhile reducing the other female's fitness by forcing her to continue lactation, thus delaying the onset of sexual receptivity and eventual pregnancy. Thus, as stated above, abnormal behaviours are not always maladaptive. For instance, among humans, even when bank robbery is successful, it is still considered a deviant behaviour. However, the researcher considered the mother's behaviour to be abnormal, and it did threaten the social harmony of the group.

Intermale violence, resulting in the death of one individual, eventually occurred among the chimpanzees that de Waal was studying (de Waal

1989). Direct attack that results in immediate death is uncommon. Usually, when an adult animal dies as the result of aggression, it is after prolonged harassment, and stress effects in the victim are probably a factor in the demise. However, killing of conspecifics has been observed in the wild among chimpanzee groups (Goodall et al., 1979). Wild chimpanzees have long been noted for their aggressive responses to extra-group animals. Goodall et al. (1979) noted a number of cases in which even known animals of another group were killed and strange infants cannibalized. Goodall (1979) also recorded attacks, made by a mother-daughter pair on the infants of other known females, which resulted in the death and consumption of the infants. Goodall indirectly attributed this behaviour to peculiarities in the mother which resulted in very inadequate mothering behaviour, thus perpetuating abnormal behaviours in her daughter (ibid.).

Norikashi (1982) has observed intra-group cannibalism in Mahale Mountain chimpanzees. One male attacked the female, Ndilo, seized and killed her infant and began eating it. In contrast to the Gombe Stream females, Ndilo did not appear unduly upset and allowed herself to be groomed by the alpha chimpanzee. This high-ranking animal attacked and harassed the males eating the infant, but eventually took a piece of the cleaned-out skin. Another mother with an infant approached the killer male and allowed her own infant to jump onto his back, while she sat in association with them. Ndilo showed a slight estrus swelling from days two to six after the incident, and began cycling again the next month. Two major behaviour anomalies are revealed in this incident. The first is the intra-group killing and eating of a known infant, and the second is the lack of concern shown by the mother and the other adult female who did not take any precautions to protect her own infant. This is in marked contrast to the energetic measures taken by most primate mothers to protect their infants in situations of potential infanticide. Butynski (1982), for instance, noted that one infanticidal male blue monkey did not succeed in killing any infants in 13 attempts, due to defensive behaviours by the mothers and other animals. Fossey (1983) reported at least five cases of infanticide by mountain gorilla males, either during an attack on a group or after a male had taken over a group on the death of the previous leader. Two females were severely wounded attempting to protect their infants from these attacks.

Infanticide is being revealed as a widespread occurrence, as its recent recognition in both Old and New World monkeys and apes attests (Hrdy 1977; Butynski 1982; Clarke 1983; Shopland 1982). Many researchers interpret this behaviour as a reproductive strategy by the males, rather than as a pathological response to high population density and human encroachment. Therefore, it is not often classified as deviant behaviour even though similar behaviour by females would be interpreted as quite abnormal. In one

case of inter-group infant killing among baboons, both mother and infant were severely wounded by the attacking group's females but the mother managed to escape (Shopland 1982). This episode was not interpreted as reproductive strategy, but as a side effect of a clash between two groups. One male from the attacking group rescued the dying infant from the females and juveniles who were harassing it, and carried it until it died.

Strong bonds are evident between mothers and offspring. If a juvenile's mother is killed or dies it often becomes very depressed, lethargic and unwilling to interact (Meyer-Holzapfel 1968; Berman 1982; Fossey 1983; Zeller 1991). In severe cases, especially if the young animal is injured or insecure, it may give up the will to live (Goodall 1971; Fossey 1983). Mothers of infants who die may also become extremely depressed and refuse to interact with the group (Fossey 1983; de Waal 1982).

Unprovoked aggression is frequently perceived as abnormal. Fossey noted one case in which a male gorilla dragged and pounded on the body of a dying female over the course of two days (Fossey 1983). High levels of aggressive attacks may also accompany the addition of new females to a group. Male silverbacks frequently charge, display at and hit newly acquired females until their position in the group is established. The females sometimes parallel this behaviour which is interpreted as an effort to reorganize the group's social relations.

Although the behaviours listed in part 1 of Table 1 were defined as abnormal because they were not noted in the behaviour repertoire of wild chimpanzees, only a few of them are considered deviant by researchers observing free-ranging animals. Fossey noted a number of the behaviours listed in part 1 of Table 1 in wild gorillas. These included urine drinking, coprophagy and hand clapping (in one individual). Cannibalism was not observed but has been inferred by an analysis of gorilla faeces (Fossey, 1982, personal communication). Of all these behaviours listed in part 3 of Table 1, cannibalism is the only one that she appears to consider abnormal. In his study of colony chimpanzees, de Waal (1982) comments on the "lesbian" behaviour shown by Puist. Deceit and manipulative coercion were both interpreted as behaviours which were potentially disruptive of social harmony. Severe depression was seen in females whose infants had died, but, in one case, he was able to alleviate this with a successful adoption by a female chimpanzee who was able to learn to bottle-feed the infant.

A wide range of behaviours has been observed in free-ranging groups at both ends of the behaviour spectrum (Table 2). Such behaviours as cannibalism, maternal passivity, infant abuse, extremes of social manipulation and refusal to breed are recognized as abnormalities of the social process. Other behaviours such as unprovoked aggression, infanticide and homosexual mating are only considered non-adaptive in some contexts, and in others

are interpreted as mechanisms for enhancing reproductive fitness or social stability. Individually oriented behaviours, such as most of the activities listed in part 1 of Table 1, are not frequently seen in wild or naturalistic groups and, if they occur, are not always classed as abnormal. One behaviour that could be classified as individual is depression, but it is in fact a non-response to the social attentions of others (Berman 1982).

Infant Abuse in Non-human Primates

Although infant abuse in non-human primates is seen by all groups as "deviant," it is a useful example with which to clarify the differing orientations towards deviant behaviour among the four informant groups. It is particularly interesting because it is very widespread and is being studied to provide a potential model for the analysis of human abuse problems. It is also revealing in terms of the "passive" "normative" "active" model of deviance being presented in this paper.

There are two poles to the spectrum of child abuse; inadequate care and destructive violence. Both are accepted as abusive by veterinarians who contrast neglect, due to inexperience or state of maternal health, with wounding, killing and occasional cannibalism "which may be due to hormonal disturbance, lack of milk, dietary insufficiency . . . or psychological disturbances" (Fox 1968b:55). Fox also considers that cannibalism can become an habitual behaviour (1968b).

Neglect and violent abuse are both seen in zoo populations and are the source of great concern. Neglect is often regarded as due to inadequate experience, lack of a role model or idiosyncratic unconcern. Violence is usually interpreted as the result of high levels of stress. This can be due to isolation at the time of birth (Nadler 1983), to crowded conditions, to the social upheaval of being introduced to a new group (Erwin 1983) or to the effects of inadequate maternal care, situations which can result in a strong tendency for the animal to abuse its own offspring (Suomi and Ripp 1983). Abusive behaviour is particularly noticeable in the zoo Hamadryas male mentioned above, who is living in stressful conditions and was himself abused as an infant (Field informant: personal communication).

Primate child abuse as a social phenomenon was first recognized after the examination of records in the research laboratories. In the Wisconsin lab, researchers studied patterns of abuse by manipulating variables and comparing test animals with controls, in order to discover possible causes for infant maltreatment. Inadequate mothering behaviour ranged from total unconcern and a failure to nurse to violent, life-threatening treatments of infants. The variables under study in the mother include comparisons of feral versus cage birth (Caine and Reite 1983), primiparity versus multiparity, age, de-

gree of deprivation in the maternal rearing environment, maternal experience of abuse, sex of the infant and maternal state of health. This last variable includes the presence of a depressive response to separation as a juvenile. Depression was found to be predictive of later child abuse in 78 percent of females compared to a 0 percent occurrence in control animals who did not respond with depression to separation from their group as a juvenile (Schapiro and Mitchell 1983). (It must be emphasized that these studies were conducted by searching through records and not by attempting to induce abusive behaviour in mothers.)

Suomi and Ripp (1983) also argue that maternal abuse levels are reduced in multiparous mothers, in contrast to the abuse of subsequent children shown by human females. However, in an analysis of the improvements in mothering behaviour shown by "motherless mothers," they found that, although neglect decreased to levels comparable to those of feral animals by the fifth offspring, abuse levels declined by only 10 percent. This is contrary to Nadler's finding that multiparous gorillas show less abuse than primiparous ones, although the frequency of neglect is not affected by parity (Nadler 1983). These two results suggest opposite effects of parity, but they do tend to support the idea that neglect and abuse may arise from different causal sources.

Maple and Warren-Leubecker (1983) have expanded a model which would support this contention, and which was originally proposed by Baldwin and Baldwin in 1978 . This model proposes an inverted "U" pattern in which the ends of the curve represent a low and a high arousal level, respectively, with a moderate centre. At low levels of arousal, the organism is inefficient at performing a task, whereas, during performance at a high level of arousal, behaviour is distracted and degenerates in an overload of systemic distress. This model could account for a wide range of behaviour as dependent on the optimal arousal level of the animal and on the stress level at which it exists. It could explain, for example, why single caging could promote high arousal levels which result in neglect in some animals, while providing extremely low levels of stimulation, which foster destructive attention in others.

Research on free-ranging animals has a much different focus and reveals a lower incidence of maternal abuse than is found in captive situations. In most cases, the offspring of very abusive mothers do not survive. Varying levels of competence in mothering exist, but the opportunity for observational learning and aunt behaviour is a common feature of a social group. One interesting point is that field researchers almost expect free-ranging, primiparous mothers to lose their first infant through incompetence and neglect, while the same behaviour in captive conditions is labelled abuse. When a female dies or is unwilling to care for her infant, another member of

the troop may adopt it. This may be quite successful if the adopter is a lactating female (Fuccillo et al. 1983) or it may result in the infant's death. In one case, a wild rhesus macaque male exhibited the whole range of maternal to abusive behaviour with two orphan infants he adopted on the deaths of their mothers. In each case he began by grooming, carrying and protecting but, as the infants continued to shriek from hunger, he became rougher and less maternal. In the end, he held them down with his foot while he ate, and eventually they died (Taylor et al. 1978). This behaviour parallels that found in some humans who do not intend to hurt an infant but do so to stop it from screaming (Erwin 1983).

Infanticide is the facet of infant abuse which is most commonly discussed in free-ranging populations. Its occurrence as a systemic phenomenon was explored in Hrdy's (1977) work on langurs (*Presbytis entellus*). She indicated that males killed offspring that were not their own when they took over a single male langur group. Since infanticide was not observed in multimale groups who lived in larger ranges, it was initially described as a pathological response to overcrowding and human encroachment (Jay 1965). Hrdy, however, disagreed with the interpretation and explained the phenomenon as a result of the sociobiological reproductive strategy of males maximizing genetic input into the next generation. This interpretation sparked a great deal of controversy concerning the adaptive advantage of killing conspecifics. The recent spate of publications on male infanticide in free-ranging populations had broadened the base of the argument by including New and Old World monkeys as well as apes. Regardless of whether infanticide is interpreted as a side effect of female directed behaviour (Butynski 1982), a response to environmental stress (Jay 1965) or a male reproductive strategy (Hrdy 1977; Clarke 1983), field researchers usually do not consider it in terms of the nature of the infant, or of the quality of the mother's life. In this they hold a very different view from the approach taken in the research on captive animals.

Discussion

The behaviours in part 1 of Table 1 were defined as deviant because they did not occur in the ethogram of wild chimpanzees drawn up by Goodall in 1968 (Walsh et al. 1982). As illustrated in Table 3 (below), the behaviours most consistently labelled deviant by all informants were those involving self-mutilation or active harm to others. Seven active, damaging behaviours and two life-threatening, passive ones were unanimously scored as deviant by the respondents. The second column of behaviours in Table 3 are those which are indicative of mental distress based on a standard of the behaviour of human inmates of mental institutions. Twenty of the 42 behaviours listed

were placed in this category. Of these 20, 16 were considered deviant by either three or all four of the respondent groups. Nine behaviours were classified as those which contravene white North American social norms, such as penis sucking and flapping genitals. Some behaviours which were scored as deviant by less than half of the respondents are those which would be considered as socially innocuous, idiosyncratic behaviours.

Table 3
Categorization of Abnormal Behaviour in Primates

Physical Violence		Mental Distress Similar to Human Patients		Offends White N. American Social Norms		Idiosyncratic Behaviours	
Active							
Self-mutilate	4[a]	Eye poking	4	Flap genitals	3	Wet head	2
Cannibalism	4	Hand movement and gaze	4	Suck penis	3		
Maternal abuse	4			Clap hands	1		
Hyperaggressive	4			Coprophagy	2	Stick out tongue	1
Hypersexual	4	Self-slap	3	Feces spread	2		
Infanticide	4	Suck self	3			Hair pull	1
Kill	4	Urine drink	3				
		Head banging	3				
		Bizarre posture	3				
		Pacing-weaving	3				
		Rocking	3				
		Head shaking	2				
		Head wiping	2				
		Grimacing	2				
		Stereotyped movements	2				
Passive							
Infant reject	4	Anorexia	4	Breed inappropriate object	4		
Death	4	Refuse eat	4				
		Self-clasp	4	Masturbate	4		
		Passivity	4				
		Depression	4	Refuse to breed	3		
				Lethargy	3		
		Infant neglect	3				
		Not interact	3	Regurgitate	1		

a. indicating the number of informant groups who include the behaviour as abnormal

Many behaviours not included on this list were classified as abnormal or deviant by some informants. These include such behaviours as biting, rasp-

berry vocalization, lip flips, deception, manipulative coercion and homosexual mounting. Other rare manifestations of peculiar behaviours, such as stuffing the cheek pouches with rocks, or consistently wetting food before eating were considered as "individual habits" rather than as abnormal. Dian Fossey (1983) characterized hand clapping in this way when she observed it in one young wild gorilla.

Although only 13 of 40 behaviours (Table 2) discussed as abnormal were on the passive side of the behaviour range, these activities are important to our understanding of the nature of deviant behaviour among primates. Behavioural silence can be either the result of low arousal level or, in some cases, a learned response. It can be socially adaptive "to do nothing, under certain circumstances" (Fox 1968a:50) and the response is learned through the process of association and passive inhibition. Inactivity can also be a maladaptive response. Long continued depression, refusal to protect offspring from harm and lack of adequate response to environmental stimuli can all result in life threatening situations. Passivity is also a common response of isolation-reared animals, who may subsequently fail to develop social relationships when placed in a group. At the other end of the curve, poorly socialized or highly stressed animals may exhibit an overactive response to stimuli, resulting in self-mutilation, hypersexuality and violence.

Under a Darwinian model of fitness, behaviour is the method used by an animal to respond to its environment, including other animals, in such a way as to maximize reproductive fitness. Behaviour differences which may develop between groups of animals have been called traditions (Burton and Bick 1972), and these differences may markedly affect the adaptive success of the group for better or for worse. Examples of these types of responses include patterns of paternal care in some, but not all, groups of Japanese macaques or different intraspecific dietary strategies such as Japanese macaque potato washing, or digging for water among Cape baboons. These behaviours do not have a genetic cause other than the general adaptive potential seen at different levels in monkeys and apes, but they may easily have a genetic effect if they result in one individual or group becoming much more or much less successful than its neighbours. Although these tradition-based behaviours are passed on by learning, they nevertheless may influence the genome of a group by fostering differential survival in much the same way that tractability has been bred into domestic animals (Fox 1968a).

This argument of a genetic effect based on a behaviour cause, constrained by the social nature of the group, is one which has profound consequences for the study of deviance. Avoidance of incest is one example of a behavioural response to social factors which has the genetic effect of reducing homozygosity in the population's gene pool. One interpretation of in-

fanticide in free-ranging primates has been based on the sociobiological theories of genetically based, reproductive strategy. However, if one does not choose to rely on genetic selection as the causal basis for such behaviour, it is possible that the behaviour has a social cause with, possibly, an indirect genetic effect. In other words, the male does not kill infants "in order to" promote his own genetic success, but rather, his genetic success is promoted because he kills infants sired by others. The two statements are not at all the same. In some situations such as that of the Hamadryas group mentioned above, in which males kill or injure their own offspring, obviously a sociobiological interpretation would not apply. "We do not feel that sociobiological theory can easily explain (and/or justify) the occurrence of child abuse" (Schapiro and Mitchell 1983:30).

Butynski, who studied infanticide among blue monkeys (*Cercopithecus mitis*), proposes that, rather than being an effort to manage reproductive outcomes or an effect of population density per se, "the rate of infanticide is a function of competition among males for females" (Butynski 1982:11). This approach differs from that which attributes the presence of infanticide to the stress of overpopulation, and may help to clarify the issue. In the gorilla encounters mentioned above, the ratio of males to females was quite high and attempts to take over troops or steal females were frequent (Fossey 1983). Butynski comments that there is a cost/benefit threshold for infanticidal behaviour which balances the level of intermale competition for females, and thus the need to form strong social bonds with them, with the costs of infanticide weighed in terms of possible damage to self or mate. To this, I would add that there is also a possible social cost if the females refuse to accept such a male, and either leave the group (as seen in gorillas), breed outside the group (as has occurred in langurs) (Hrdy 1977) or drive out the male. In Butynski's study of blue monkeys, each of the two males who attempted infanticide in the six takeovers he observed, remained in the group less than a month. Primate females belonging to groups of langurs, Sykes monkeys, howlers and blue monkeys sometimes respond to male takeovers by engaging in post-conception estrus. This behaviour would help to develop the types of social bonds necessary to maintain the solidity and integrity of the group, as well as indicating social acceptance of the male. As mentioned above, this type of behaviour also occurs in wild gorillas and captive chimpanzees.

Hrdy argues (1977) that females who abuse their young or do not protect them from male aggression are engaging in a reproductive strategy by divesting themselves of a poor genetic investment. On the other hand, limb-disabled and blind young are often extremely well cared for by mothers who make special efforts to assist these defective offspring (Fedigan and Fedigan 1977; Nakamichi 1983; Schapiro and Mitchell 1983). It is possible

that other factors besides the quality of the infant may be influencing females who are careless of their young.

Conclusions

It is evident that each of the four response groups forming the data base has a different perspective and, therefore, interprets deviant behaviour in primates in a different way. Researchers utilizing caged animals tended to focus their interpretations of deviance in a task-oriented fashion. In the situation of infant abuse, the task was to rear their young adequately, and those who had suffered environmental deprivation were unable to do so. That the situation of bare cage or surrogate rearing was considered environmental rather than social is attested by the following statement by Sackett. "[It] seems likely that many 'behavioural abnormalities' are dependent on processes in the environment rather than on permanent anomalies in the animal" (Sackett 1968:305). The zoo keepers recognize medical problems but tend to interpret behavioural abnormalities from a social perspective, citing stressful conditions such as isolation, crowding or social upheaval as the cause of most problems. The veterinarians tend to see abnormality as evidence of "sickness" that can be modified or cured with the appropriate medical or mechanical solution.

These approaches are contrasted with the observational research conducted on free-ranging animals in which the social situation is taken to be of paramount importance. From this perspective, deviance occurs mainly when animals can no longer interact in a stable fashion. The source of the difficulty may range from idiosyncratic behaviour on the part of one animal, such as the Gombe female who committed cannibalism, to widespread social breakdown caused by new arrivals or severe crowding in the habitat.

Nonetheless, all four of these interest groups recognized as abnormal behaviours from both ends of the behaviour spectrum as proposed in the model suggested in this paper (Table 2). Regardless of the cause ascribed, passivity, refusal to breed, to interact, to eat or to rear infants was seen as non-normative behaviour at the low end of the response scale. The other end of the range including hyperactivity, bizarre individual behaviours (rocking, head banging), eating or breeding with inappropriate objects, hypersexuality, infant abuse, killing and cannibalism were also viewed as abnormal behaviours, even though in some cases they could be understood as attempts to cope with difficult situations.

Although this study reveals a wide range of opinions on what causes deviant behaviour, and a wide range of viewpoints from which it is perceived, there is no doubt that it is regarded as a problem by individuals who have many different orientations towards primates. Classification of abnormal

behaviours shows some regularity, in spite of the informant population's widely divergent views on causation. From Table 3 it is evident that the most universally accepted category of deviance was composed of the two extremes of the range of active and passive behaviour, violence, or total lack of response to conspecifics and surroundings. The second most frequently listed category of deviant behaviours were those reminiscent of mentally afflicted humans. The third most inclusive group were culturally unacceptable behaviours which were considered abnormal by about half the informants. At the end of the list came behaviours which could be interpreted as idiosyncratic. It is possible that the potential for classifying deviant behaviour into more or less universally recognized categories may enhance our understanding of the underlying values from which the assessments of deviance are made.

Behavioural differences are developed and maintained in populations because of their individual and social advantages. Some of the behaviours discussed in this paper may appear to contradict the above statement since they are disadvantageous for the individuals who perform them. However, they may represent the animal's best efforts to cope with a stressful situation. Behaviours which influence breeding and reproductive success will have a genetic effect, which may either enhance or reduce the animal's overall fitness. The behaviours which have been classified as abnormal or deviant in this paper included responses which have both types of effect. Individually oriented, abnormal behaviours usually reduce the animals own fitness while socially oriented ones may reduce either the actor's or another animal's reproductive potentialities. The nature of these responses ranges from hypoactive to hyperactive, and completes the range of behaviour as modelled on a Darwinian curve of variation.

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INTERFERENCE AND ITS CONSEQUENCES: AN EAST CREE VARIANT OF DEVIANCE?

Richard J. Preston
McMaster University

Abstract: This paper contains a critique of the arbitrariness of Becker's definition of social labelling. It is suggested that the process must be seen to involve a classification of actions on the basis of their perceived consequences within the community. Among the Eastern Cree preservation of community integrity is a paramount goal, and threats to that integrity should be dealt with in a non-violent way.

Résumé: Cette étude critique le caractère arbitraire de la définition beckerienne de l'étiquettage social. L'auteur constate que le processus doit inclure une classification d'actions fondée sur leurs conséquences perçues à l'intérieur de la communauté. Pour les Cree de l'est, la préservation de l'intégrité communautaire est un but de la plus haute importance. Une solution non-violente doit être trouvée contre toute menace à cette intégrité.

This paper provides an ethnographic case that challenges the careless use of labelling theory. My Cree materials do not show evidence in support of the prescription of labelling. Rather, the Cree make efforts to avoid labels for deviant behaviour except in the most extreme cases ("windigo"), strongly preferring to respond to each situation individualistically.

Put briefly, labelling theory holds that people, in the act of denouncing someone by means of a named category denoting evil intentions and actions, damage the self-image and social ties of that person. This serves two social functions; it moves disliked individuals to the margins of society, and it reaffirms the ideals for behaviour by condemning negative examples. Of course, there is more at stake than these two functions. But it is also held that there is a consequence of labelling: it creates secondary deviance because of the social expectations that the labelled person will continue to act

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out a deviant role and further because the individual will internalize that role to some extent, and act accordingly.

But the Cree do not act in ways that would support this theory or exemplify this process, but rather make efforts to avoid labels or comparable kinds of categorical, pejorative reactions to individuals' behaviour. Their reactions to deviance are interpersonally negotiated with the goal of opening access for the person to act more adequately and competently. Furthermore, they define deviant actions in terms of interpersonal acts and their consequences in specific, not categorical, terms and identify as deviant the consequences of the actions of individuals in relation to other individual persons, on a case-by-case basis. Severe consequences typically lead to flight by the deviant person, who is then searched for and supported towards reintegration. The whole pattern is characterized by interpersonal negotiation. This pattern is possible, desirable and rational in small-scale societies where people know a great deal about each other. They develop for each person of their group a "personal file" of remembered actions and probable intentions, to which each person adds daily, thereby shifting the import of it for the next day's relations (Brymer, personal communication). This cumulative knowledge of each person is ideally sufficient to guide competent negotiation if distress arises between individuals. To resort to a label would be to throw away much of the knowledge in the personal file, and this would be irrational, done when people urgently wished to pretend less knowledge than they really had. The Cree avoid this option assiduously.

Introduction to the East Cree

The ethnographic context for this paper is of Algonquian-speaking hunters of the northern forests of Eastern Canada, sharing to some degree a very old tradition of hunting, trapping, fishing, fowling and gathering by thinly dispersed groups of 20 to 50 individuals, occupying lands from the Atlantic coast to the Rocky Mountains. Their culture may be characterized in its emotional tone by the restrained intimacy of a small number of persons who typically lived out their lives together, with an effort to prevent the development of conflict, and to enhance their hunting success (Preston 1975b). Their pervasive ethos of non-interference is illustrated in the following story which came to the attention of the author.

> When they used to be raided by Iroquoians [presumably in the first half of the 17th century], the enemy would wait and watch in the early morning, hoping for as much daylight as possible to combine with surprise. When they saw the smoke start to rise, they knew the women were up, and the men would soon follow in getting up, so they would attack at that moment. When the Cree men in the tent realized they were being attacked, their first action was to put on their moccasins.

> That's right. The reason was that it was four feet of snow, very cold, and by precedent, a massacre situation where the only chance of survival lay in escape. And a barefoot escape was no escape at all.

The East Cree were not much as warriors, but managed (and continue) as survivors.

Because measured violence is the basis of a hunter's life, the emphasis on *measured* violence can hardly be overestimated. The Cree have traditionally got their living by discerning clues to the proximity of food-animals, adapting myriad strategies for stalking or trapping the animals, and killing them. They could, instrumentally speaking, easily do this to humans, since some of the animals, such as bear and moose, are larger and stronger than humans. Measured violence towards animals is essential; towards humans, however, the doing of violence was rarely tolerated. Ideally, fearful violence threatened only from *outside* the personal community.

The violence of human conflict is felt by the Cree to stand in stark contrast to the necessary violence of killing animals so that humans can live. The Cree ethos gives urgent force to the feeling that *conflict* between people is to be avoided, by taking care not to act in ways that may generate or increase conflict. Where conflict cannot be prevented, it should be responded to with composure and appeals to social responsibility. If this fails, conflict is to be disengaged from; thus the putting on of moccasins. The willingness to increase the level of violence or threats of violence, so much a threat to our contemporary world community, is anathema to the Cree, and we can sympathize with their attitudes. The urgency of vengeance may be universally felt as a reaction to the interference of others in one's own moral order, but while it is implemented with passion in some societies it is restrained and overtly denied in others.

Typically, interference in the affairs of others would be labelled in any culture with words that we may gloss into a concept of *deviance*, when it exceeds what people are willing to tolerate. But tolerance is a variable quality, not only in criteria or standards but also in degree. This may involve pushing the limits of tolerance only enough to inspire teasing, mockery or in the bestowing of nick-names[1] (in Raybeck's terms, "soft-soft"?), or pushing them so hard that the pejorative signalling referred to as labelling is not sufficient. As the Counts' paper shows, people then have problems that they do not explain and with which they do not have ways to cope, beyond referring to the actions as inhuman. To speak of it, they resort to deliberate metaphor because ordinary language is not acceptable. Allusion rather than explanation is the right way to speak of extremes.

The Intellectual Context of the Concept of Deviance and the Labelling of Persons or Actions as Deviant

Taking the ethnographer's stance, let me state at the outset that I believe labelling theory to be of rather *specialized* value, because, as Raybeck (this volume) argues, it is rarely the case that labelling is used in the relative intimacy of small-scale groups. There, such abstraction actually would serve to *reduce* the content of what people know about the deviant actions. But I think even more is at stake, since labelling theory focusses on the immediate character of deviant actions or persons. To abstract from phenomena prematurely misses the opportunity to describe the *processes* of deviance, and provides us instead with a sequence of abstractions that are less than a process. I begin my case with an appeal to scripture, in this case, Becker.

> Social *groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance*, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as "outsiders." From this point of view, deviance is *not* a *quality of the act the person commits*, but rather a *consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender*. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is that people so label. (Becker 1963:9, cited by Raybeck 1984:1)

In this statement, we are given a definition of deviance as a cultural-historical artifact, essentially arbitrary in nature. Presumably, then, any act (e.g., childbirth, charity, defining abstractions, etc.) could be selected by some culture or other as deviant. Perhaps this is why I have the uneasy sense that "deviance" may refer to anything from the skin disfigurement of psoriasis to nuclear holocaust. This overinclusive scope makes the value of the concept rather problematic, and I urge that we reconsider the basis of the definition. Becker has offered a tacit dichotomy between the "quality of the act a person commits" and "a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender." I argue that there is a connecting variable—that it is the quality of an act, *in light of the consequences of the act(s)* and the remembered consequences of similar acts personally experienced or culturally transmitted. I am urging that we look a little harder and a little longer at what happens.

The deviant act, person, or cultural category of acts or persons may turn out to be not clearly pre-defined (when is killing a murder? when is copulation with a relative incest? when is taking someone's goods stealing?) and so intelligibility comes when we are able to discern *how things work out*. The *consequences* of events are revealing of the intentions, the meaning, the harmful or beneficial aspects, the force of impact or the triviality, and other factors of possible significance. The degree to which the limits of tolerance of the group are strained by the actions of individual members will depend

upon this context for recognition of the human significance of events (Preston 1975a).

For example, if it turns out that a killing was done by someone who was drunk and/or insane, and had no intention to kill the victim, the label of murder becomes negotiable, although the victim's death is not. But, if this person should kill again, the interpretation narrows. If the killing was a consequence of premeditated violence, deviance is clearer. To give a traditional Cree example, only the ghost finally reveals the true feelings and intentions of a person who, though known intimately within his small group for a lifetime, may nonetheless have harboured covert deviant desires and attitudes. The manifestations of the ghost are part of the consequence of death and a measure of the person.

Even more challenging are the long-term consequences illustrated by the example in the Counts' paper, in which a person's character brought him ostracism at one point in his life, yet, these same characteristics later matured to allow his return to assume legitimacy as a big man. It is significant that labelling theory directs our attention more to secondary deviance than to moral maturity. It is as if the theory has, unfortunately, taken on the attitude of its subject matter.

The Traditional Cree Context of Deviance

The kinds and degrees of behaviour that might be the Cree idiom of deviance should be viewed, I think, in terms of putting at risk, or giving up on, *community*. That is, the people evaluating the interfering behaviour of some individual will regard the consequences of his/her actions as of sufficient grievousness to place their personal community in a position of risk. Putting one's personal community at risk may be done through some acts that interfere with others' freedom of action, and may not necessarily constitute violence. But risk is not simply the consequence of actions that are turned against the group; it is most problematically a matter of removing oneself in attitude, action or reaction from the tacit consensus of the group. This may simply lead an individual to joining another group, but is more disturbing when that person appears to be opting out of *any* group—becoming lost. The *extreme* symbol of being lost from community is the condition of Windigo—an awful, damaging separation from humankind to become the hunter of humans. This is the worst breakdown of personal community that can be imagined (Preston 1980), and it is at this point, when behaviour slips beyond humanity and community, that the Cree are prepared to resort to labelling.

There is an intermediate kind of separation from personal community, previously called "flight hysteria" (Saindon 1933:10-11; Cooper 1934:11-12), that

refers to a person's loss of self-control and desperate attempt to escape from community. Cooper notes that this Cree type of mental disorganization is notably introversive, in contrast with the aggressive alternatives of *latah*, *amok*, but closely comparable to *pibloktoq* or "Arctic Hysteria" (Foulks 1972).

During the 20-odd years that my wife and I have been involved in research on the culture of the East Cree, we have recorded three instances of this sort. I will present them as illustrations of the process of deviance and its consequences—in these cases the consequences are first, the escalation of deviant behaviour, and secondly, either a reintegration in community or death.

Case #1

Margaret and her husband, both in their thirties, were wintering with three other families in an unfamiliar area far inland from their town. During the winter Margaret had a baby. Although trapping was good, she did not feel that life in the little personal community of about a dozen individuals was congenial to her. She began to suspect that Charley, the husband of one of the other women in the group, was working sorcery on her. Her discovery of a grey hair in her food added to the consternation within the group caused by her distress and accusation, for no one in the group had grey hair. Charley denied the accusation of sorcery, saying that it was an old woman, back in town, whose hair evidenced her sorcery. The conflict created by the suspicion of sorcery had led to accusation and to the deflecting of blame onto someone outside of the hunting camp. But Margaret's stress increased to the point that she broke down emotionally and, stark-naked, ran, or floundered in four feet of snow, into the bush with no thought but to get away from the group. When her absence was discovered, the men set off to find her before she died of exposure. They succeeded and brought her back to camp. The others feared her lack of emotional control, but Jane, the oldest, most competent woman of the group, stayed awake with her through the long and difficult period, talking to her in order to calm and protect her while the men snowshoed two days to the nearest telephone, for help.

Margaret was taken, with her baby, out to hospital, and later returned to the town, seemingly recovered from her distress, and to my knowledge has had no recurrence in the 17 years since. In discussions of the event with those who remained at the winter camp, it was noted that Margaret had become depressed following the birth of one or more of her other children; this made her flight into the bush more intelligible. People were very relieved that she had been rescued, and no discernible stigma has survived the event, for Margaret or for Charley, although people remember.

It suggests, however, that fear of the deviance of sorcery precipitated a desperate escape, perhaps akin to attempting suicide through exposure to the winter environment.

Case #2

Helen was in her forties, and was eagerly awaiting the visit of her oldest daughter, who had been living for several years in the south, away from the Cree region. She and her husband George were quite traditional in some of their attitudes; for example, they were the last family in the town to construct a menarche hut for their daughters.

The visit proved to be an unhappy one, however, since her daughter, perhaps in keeping with the tone of the 1960s in urban Canada, was outspokenly intolerant of her mother's old-fashioned attitudes and behaviour. Her housekeeping was judged to be slovenly and, in a point most tender for a Cree, the food was not palatable. My wife and I lived in a nearby house, and could hear some of the conflict. After a week of her daughter's disapproval, Helen was quite depressed about the situation and went with George to a drinking party. After a time, she went off on her own to another party, and eventually was drinking at a house where there was an old man from another town, who was thought to be capable of conjuring. At some point she spoke unpleasantly to this man, who is said to have replied, "After I leave this place, you'll see what will happen." In the early morning the suspected conjurer and his family departed for their town by canoe. Also at about this time, George had been looking for his wife and could not find her; no one had seen her. He became alarmed and woke the Chief, and people began searching the bush around the town. Her trail was found, going right through the muskeg scrub growth, tearing her clothes. At the end of her trail she lay dead, with her arms crossed over her chest, strangled on her own vomit.

Helen's depression came from a different source than Margaret's, but was apparently no less real. Her aggressive language toward the old man brought the unambiguous threat from him that triggered her aimless, out of control flight into the bush. Her rescuers arrived too late, and her loss was a deep shock to the community. We have not heard the incident spoken of since. Of course, nothing happened to the old man, but people placed the event in their personal file.

Case #3

Robert and his wife Louise were living in a town to the south of the Cree region, as his job required. Louise was in her early twenties, and had given birth to their first child, which deeply pleased them both. But she had little

experience, and less help in looking after the baby, since the women such as her mother, who would normally have been available to support her, were at home in their Cree community. The baby was sick repeatedly, but when she took it to the hospital she was told to look after it at home. Robert, who was often away from home even when he was not working, was not much help. Louise became increasingly depressed, and when her parents came to visit they did not give her relief. On the contrary, she overheard them speaking critically of her. Shortly after they left for home, she lost control, and although she said later that she intended to kill herself, she killed her baby instead. When Robert came home and discovered the ruin of his family, he left abruptly and disappeared.

The news reached his Cree workmates, and their leader told them to search for him right away, and when they found him, to take turns "talking him down." They did. A few weeks later, when asked how things were going, Robert explained that he visited Louise every weekend in a mental hospital at another town. He said "She will not talk to me, but she lets me hold her hand." Subsequent events need not concern us here; his gentleness is eloquent.

The consequences of deviant actions, and the Cree ethos of non-interference are clarified in these three examples. Louise, like Margaret, suffered a post-partum depression, though the circumstances were somewhat different. Her depression and desperate aggression was intended to be against herself, but resulted in infanticide and prompt detention by the police. Not all infanticide is regarded as deviant, and this case was marked by the absence of those who would traditionally provide support, by unintentionality, and by a mental lapse. It's not a clear-cut case of deviance. But Robert's escape was the abandoning of community, and it was necessary to bring him back, and to "talk him" back into the group. Louise was not quickly brought back. She was detained and hospitalized. But her isolation in the town made the Cree alternative unlikely. Her group was still back in the Cree community. Had she been there and killed her baby, it is hard to know what they might have done. It would depend upon the individuals and circumstances involved.

Discussion

Three cases of hysterical flight from personal community have been presented as examples of deviant behaviour which is, in itself, a *consequence of someone else's* deviant behaviour. The flight is part of process of deviance, and in these three cases the process is of the breakdown of personal community, where a threat is manifest, and the response is to disengage rather than to retaliate or threaten to escalate the level of conflict. Like

the men in the story of the Iroquois raid, who put on their moccasins as a response to the threat of massacre, in hopes of escape into the forest, these three individuals also sought escape from confrontation. Two are fully reintegrated into the community; the third perished alone.

Slobodin (1960:122-133) has persuasively depicted the risks and the necessities of trying to keep community together in situations where one is physically or socially (and usually both) isolated. While details differ, some broad themes of action and attitude that he describes for the Kutchin are comparable to the Cree and perhaps to most small-scale hunting societies. To be lost, or to flee from one's personal community entails the risk of diminished humanity and the crumbling of consensus. This is more than a personal risk; it is at once an interpersonal and cultural one.

One of the issues in interpreting data of this kind is whether the examples are, in a universal sense, psycho-pathological, or whether they are only culturally-relative abnormalities of behaviour. Post-partum depression is, of course, triggered by biophysiological factors (Foulks 1972). But the confrontations of sorcery or the mute evidence of a bloody crib also have a symbolic force defined in cultural terms. Similarly, the existence and importance of one's personal community is a universal for humankind, but is given many varieties of cultural interpretation.

The fact that my disproof of labelling theory is based on extreme cases might be held to weaken my case, and so I will give two brief cases of deliberate movement out of community, rather than flight in panic, to show that the moderate cases, through their differences from the extreme ones, strengthen the argument.

Case #4

Henry's wife Ella, during a homebrew party, became angry and started waving a .22 rifle. In the ensuing attempt to relieve the situation she did not respond easily, and then horrified everyone by unintentionally shooting a child. Fortunately it was only a flesh wound to the leg, but the possibility of serious injury was very much in people's minds. A radio-telephone request for the police was made. One leader said that this was necessary, because "we can't have things like this happening here." Early the next morning, well before the police could fly into the village, Henry purchased supplies at the store, loaded them and his family into his canoe, and went to the bush for a couple of weeks, so that the police would not be able to detain Ella. This was accepted by the people in the village; it was enough that the police should come and record the event, and that it should be in that way made a matter of potential, rather than actual, outside intervention. Afterwards, Henry could bring Ella back into the community and all was well again.

What happened was not forgotten, but went into each person's "personal file" on Ella and on Henry, rather than being the basis of a label of criminal deviant or accomplice.

Case #5

Peter spent many years in residential schools and began university in Montreal. He was a talented guitarist and singer, and came home with a strong sense of being a cosmopolitan man, bored to be back among rustic villagers. He was inclined to seek out the company of white men, and to drink and act in ways that expressed his sense that the people of his home community were backward, timid, and superfluous in the contemporary world. But his malaise was mostly with himself, and in one "party" with a policeman and a pilot, he showed his dislike towards them, to the point of taking the policeman's revolver and threatening him. This ended the party, and the policeman declared that he would arrest Peter and take him south for trial. At this point, Peter's long-suffering father told the policeman, in effect, that if Peter could be given over to his custody instead, he would take care of the situation. It was agreed, and Peter's father took him into the bush. Peter was not initially very repentant, but his father then contrived to "lose" him in the bush for a few days, and then "find" him again. The experience of being lost was a profound one for Peter, and left him with the conviction that it was good to live among friends, after all. This learned, they returned to the community where the new event was added to people's "personal files" on Peter (and on his father) and no labelling was required. In both this case and that of Ella and Henry, the move out of community was calculated to prevent further deviant events, and the move back into community was made when the time seemed right to do so. The processes were of interpersonal negotiation, not labelling and marginalizing, but rather taking the troublesome person to the margin just long enough for them, for their benefit, and then reincorporating them again.

We have seen that the process of deviance is at once interpersonal and subjective (Preston 1984) involving a situation in which one person's actions are intolerable for others, and therefore trigger consequences having to do with the breakdown of personal, or small-scale community. But the breakdown of community through a process of cumulative preconditions whose consequences are intolerable and damaging, is not just relativistically (or culturally) a bad thing. It is *inherently*, or universally a bad thing. Cree ethos shapes the content of events, and the significance of the events, in a Cree idiom of experience. But damage to community is intolerable to us all.

Acknowledgments

This paper was originally prepared for a conference on the anthropology of deviant behaviour held in 1984 at the University of Waterloo. A number of the papers presented at that conference and referred to in this work also appear in this collection.

Note

1. Nick-names are an interesting and typical Cree alternative to labelling. An example should define the difference. One man was given his nick-name as a consequence of his habit of putting a double measure of gunpowder in when he hand-loaded his shotgun shells. The sound of his gun was distinctively loud, gaining him the nick-name of "The Mad Bomber." The humour is foremost in the naming, deliberate over-exaggerating as a way of responding to someone's exaggerated behaviour. But it is an individual's label, not a category of deviance. Of course, the names used in this paper are mere pseudonyms.

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THE AMBIGUITIES OF ALCOHOL: DEVIANCE, DRINKING AND MEANING IN A CANADIAN NATIVE COMMUNITY

Joel S. Savishinsky
Ithaca College

Abstract: The interplay of Western and Native cultures gives drinking both positive and negative meanings for Indian people. This essay examines the ambiguities of alcohol in one northern Native community, with specific attention given to the way in which drinking relates to deviance and Indian cultural values. It is based largely on fieldwork conducted in the small Dene community of Colville Lake during 1967, 1968 and 1971.

Résumé: Pour les Amérindiens, l'interaction entre les cultures occidentales et amérindiennes donne à la consommation d'alcool un sens et positif et négatif. Cet essai examine les ambiguïtés de l'alcool dans une communauté nord-amérindienne. La relation entre la consommation d'alcool et la déviance ainsi que les valeurs culturelles amérindiennes se trouve au centre de l'examen basé principalement sur une étude faite dans une petite communauté Dene du lac Colville en 1967, 1968 et 1971.

Alcohol, despite its volatile reputation, can shed a sobering light on social behaviour. Once incorporated into people's bodies and communities, it can transform their comportment. Whether alcohol's effects are seen as being primarily physiological or psychological in nature, the cultural responses to drinking are rarely neutral. What makes alcohol consumption informative, however, is not just the extremes of approval and disapprobation that it evokes, but the varied and subtle behaviours that it elicits from both drinkers and those who observe them. In societies where alcohol has only been introduced in recent times, its modern history can also tell us much about cultural change and continuity.

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Among Native American people in Northern Canada, alcohol was unknown in pre-contact times. After its introduction into the North by early fur traders and trappers, the consumption of alcohol was quickly established as a central element in Indian social and economic life. By the latter half of the 20th century, alcohol had emerged as one of the main social and health problems facing Native communities. By then, legal restrictions on the sale of liquor to indigenous people had been repealed, and most Indians had moved to urban centres where bars, hotels and liquor stores could be found. In both large and small communities, alcohol was often connected to forms of behaviour that Indians and Whites alike saw as deviant and disturbing. These included violence towards people and property, and the misuse of human and economic resources. However, there were other factors that complicated the situation. Whites, who introduced alcohol, also presented certain models for drinking behaviour which are not fully consistent with Native norms of conduct. Furthermore, many Indian people experience drinking as pleasurable and meaningful, not just as problematic. It offers them opportunities for personal fulfilment and for participation in Native patterns of generosity and expressiveness. Indian people consequently exhibit ambivalent attitudes towards alcohol, and their involvement with it ranges from heavy drinking to total abstention.

The interplay of Western and Native cultures thus gives drinking both positive and negative meanings for Indian people. This essay examines the ambiguities of alcohol in one northern Native community, with specific attention given to the way in which drinking relates to deviance and Indian cultural values. It is based largely on fieldwork conducted in the small Dene community of Colville Lake during 1967, 1968 and 1971.[1] This village of 75 people is situated in the boreal forest zone of the Northwest Territories which lies between the western shores of Great Bear Lake and the tree line. At the time of fieldwork, the community's economy was still based on hunting, fishing and trapping, plus a small amount of wage labour provided by the settlement's only two non-Native residents, a Catholic missionary and a fur trader. The village had grown up in the early 1960s as a satellite of Fort Good Hope, a large Dene settlement located some 140 km away on the MacKenzie River. The development of the smaller community had been prompted, in part, by the lack of employment, the poor trapping and the amount of alcohol consumption in the larger town.[2]

The church and trading post were the sole Western institutions represented at Colville Lake. It had no school, nursing station, police detachment, liquor store or local industry. Although alcohol occasionally reached the settlement from a government outlet in another community, the people usually drank *Kontweh* — "homebrew" or, literally, "fire-water" — made by them from ingredients available at the local store. The alcohol content of

Kontweh ranged from 3 to 4 percent (Durgin 1974:59). It was made from yeast, water, sugar and a fruit or carbohydrate base, such as raisins, dried currants or beans. Brew pots usually contained two to five gallons of liquid, and the mixture was left to ferment from one to several days.

Drinking not only evoked some of the most dramatic behaviour and intense controversy among Native people in the community, but had also been an issue of contention between the local trader and the priest. The latter inveighed against alcohol's disruptive impact on the village and criticized the storekeeper for selling the yeast used in the manufacture of homebrew. But the trader resisted what he felt was moralistic meddling in his business, and insisted on the separation of heaven and earth, Church and store. Each man had his supporters among the Indian population, and alcohol simply fuelled an old feud between the two.

Among the Native members of the community, alcohol-related deviance arose around several cultural ideals, including the maintenance of emotional control, a spirit of generosity, a sense of responsibility and autonomy; and an ethic of non-intervention in the lives of their neighbours. Drinking occasions also provided opportunities for Native individuals to manipulate one another into acting out certain culturally disapproved behaviours. Specifically, drunken people could sometimes be induced to act in violent, sexually flirtatious or emotionally explicit ways, all of which deviated from the community's normally restrained standards of conduct. For those who observed, manipulated and judged such behaviours, this type of staged deviance reinforced the value of alcohol as a vehicle for both public morality and entertainment.

The next section of this essay offers a brief description of the community and its core values. This is followed by an analysis of deviant behaviours that are associated with drinking. In the discussion and conclusion, a series of contrasting themes from Native life are identified to help explain the tolerant and sometimes encouraging way in which Indian people respond to drunken deviance.

The Community and Its Values

For much of the sub-Arctic year, alcohol has a very secondary role in the lives of most people at Colville Lake. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, the 14 Hare Indian families from this community still spent close to half of each annual cycle at small, scattered bush camps of one to three households. They travelled mostly by dogsled, snowshoe and canoe, and subsisted by a combination of caribou and moose hunting, fur trapping and freshwater fishing with gill nets. During these long periods of dispersal from their settlement, most people saw drinking as inimical to the daily re-

quirements of survival: winter life in particular demanded a full commitment of energy and attention, and even families that drank during other seasons felt that brewing in the bush endangered people's food supply, judgment and personal safety. People who brewed and consumed alcohol in such situations were subject to a good deal of private criticism and gossip. The perception of drinking as deviant was thus partly a function of time and place.[3]

The village yielded a new context and different criteria. For one to two weeks at the Christmas and Easter holidays, and during the summer-fall period of June through September, the 75 Native members of the community re-grouped at the settlement. Sociability was much more intense, survival problems were less pressing, and drinking was more common and acceptable. Both men and women consumed alcohol, and, while some brew parties involved people of just one sex, most occasions saw participants of both genders and various ages. Not everyone in the band indulged in alcohol: there were four interrelated families, closely allied with the local priest, whose members almost totally abstained from drinking. But beyond all the internal divisions created by alcohol and the local feud, there was a network of bilateral ties which cut across the entire village. All the community's households—drinkers and non-drinkers alike—were related to one another through bonds of blood and marriage. People saw their social world as composed of *sagot'ine*, "my people," a term embracing a village-wide kindred whose members defined each individual's social security and personal identity. This compact kinship universe gave a special force to the Native values which governed people's consciousness. Accordingly, while drinking both enlivened and disturbed the tenor of village life, it did so against a background of shared relations and expectations.

Five values were especially pertinent to an understanding of alcohol and its ambiguities. First, Native people in the community lived with a keen sense of their *interdependence*. They camped together during the winter, shared equipment and supplies throughout the year, and provided help and labour in times of need. While this theme was usually thought of and acted out in economic terms, it also found expression in recreational activities such as drinking. People tried to avoid behaving in ways that would strain or rupture the interdependencies that made the rest of life relatively secure. Alcohol put this ideal to the test by turning private sentiments into public acts; who got invited to a brew party, and how one behaved towards them while drinking, could either express feelings of respect and mutuality or expose their absence.

As a commodity, alcohol was distributed according to the Native values of *generosity* and *reciprocity*. Just as caribou meat, fish, firewood and hides were shared as part of the local system of exchange, homebrew passed as an

element of social currency. The informal accounts that people kept in their heads of goods given and received served as measures of reputation: a person's largesse with homebrew, though less crucial than the giving of food, could mark his or her image as generous or stingy, as welcome or deviant. Hospitality thus had to be practised alongside the risk of insult and animosity.

People also held firmly to ideals of individual autonomy and emotional restraint. The ethic of independent action embraced many facets of life, including the freedom to hunt where one chose, to make camp or leave the village when one saw fit, and to make homebrew despite the laws of the Whites or the disapproval of certain neighbours. A corollary of autonomy—its negative reciprocal—was that people should avoid intervention in each other's lives. This ethic of *non-intervention* was manifested in many ways.[4] People did not tell one another how to trap, where to make camp, or how to discipline a child or a spouse. The anti-authoritarian ethic extended to alcohol and its potential dangers. People may have privately disparaged the excesses of others, but they would not publicly express their disapproval or interfere when others indulged. Even when drinking led to violence, people tried to refrain from injecting themselves into the situation because intervention was easily mistaken for intrusion.

Cultural norms of control not only applied to how one dealt with others but also to how one dealt with oneself. *Self-restraint* was a hallmark of sobriety, and the normal tenor of social life—within families, among kin, between neighbours—was marked by emotional containment. There were notable exceptions: children and young pups were treated with open affection, and grown dogs were the objects of direct and displaced anger. But the feelings underlying other relationships were more likely to be understood than expressed. Drinking provided the one situation where the rules of restraint were suspended. Conversations at brew parties quickly escalated beyond the muted tone that obtained in everyday talk. Even before people had a chance to put much alcohol in their stomachs, speech and body language became animated. Drinkers expressed themselves more provocatively in verbal, aggressive and sexual ways. Old quarrels, for example, suspended in time, were revived in the atmosphere of a brew party. But it was the context of drinking, and not just the alcohol content of people's blood, that defined such behaviour. Animated drinkers at a party could quickly lower their voices and their volatility if an unwelcome person entered the cabin. The rapid reassertion of control suggests that propriety and sobriety could be reconstituted when socially necessary.

People used drinking to re-define *responsibility* as well as restraint. Sober individuals were accountable for their actions. But alcohol changed the way certain people behaved and the way others judged their behaviour. An ex-

ample of this was provided by Emile, a man who appeared drunk at a party, and who then picked a fight with his former trapping partner. Because he was inebriated, Emile was seen as being out of control. Whether the others who were present shared his feeling that this partner had stolen some of his furs was tangential to their immediate assessment of his actions: since Emile was perceived as drunk, he could not be held responsible. Alcohol thus created a "time out" situation during which "socially sanctioned misbehaviour" became permissible (Edgerton 1976:59). Furthermore, a man who began such a fight was not held "accountable" for his actions in the literal sense of having to "give an account" of his behaviour (ibid.:26-31). Under circumstances of this kind, people in the community preferred to get past the trouble, not analyze it, or hear it explained or excused. In the example being considered, they did not upbraid or condemn Emile either at the time of the fight or on the following morning. Such a judgement, however, was not invariably the end of the story: people who forgave did not necessarily forget. While they did not expect to *hear* accounts, they did *keep* accounts of other people's misconduct in their heads. In this case, for example, the assaulted partner nursed a memory of the night's events and acted on it several weeks later—at a time when he, also under the influence of alcohol, could not be held accountable for his behaviour. In reality, then, alcohol re-defined and suspended responsibility, but it did not erase it.[5]

Deviance and Drinking

For most of the Native people at Colville Lake, drinking per se was not deviant. In the narrowly legal sense, in fact, the most deviant aspect of drinking was not alcohol but brewing. Due to the community's isolation and lack of a liquor store, however, bringing in commercially produced alcohol was a very difficult, unpredictable and expensive proposition. Not only was making homebrew more feasible and affordable, but the community's tolerance of this activity, and the absence of local law enforcement agents, allowed it to proceed in a relatively uninterrupted way. Native attitudes and White law did not coincide on the issue of drinking, then, but they did not actively clash.

Drinking did set the stage, however, for certain forms of behaviour that deviated from what Indian people regarded as proper and acceptable. As already noted, stinginess with alcohol and the failure to reciprocate invitations to brew parties could tarnish reputations and impair interdependence. Of more immediate impact were the violence and manipulation which drinking occasioned and the questions about responsibility which it precipitated.

Each of these issues was intensified and publicized by the physical layout of the settlement. In comparison to the dispersed and largely sober quality

of winter existence in the bush, social life in the village occurred within a small spatial arena. The community sat upon a narrow plateau overlooking a lake, and its Native houses, church and store lay clustered within a few hundred yards of one another. Indian homes, most of which were single-room, spruce log cabins, were even more concentrated: they were all set around an open plaza at one end of the village, with as few as a dozen yards separating one home from the next. Behind people's cabins lay their outhouses and the area where their sled dogs were kept staked. But to the front and sides of people's homes there were no trees to block the view, no undulations in the land to absorb sound or deflect it.

There was thus little privacy within the community. Trips to the store and church, visits to the outhouse, departures for the lake and arrivals from the bush could all be witnessed with ease. Raised voices in one cabin were heard next door or several houses away. Brew parties were consequently visible and audible to non-participants as well as invited guests.

What was true on the outside was even more evident on the inside of people's home. Most houses had no internal divisions of space. Since children were allowed to be present when adults drank, they became eye and ear witnesses to their parents' parties from infancy on. They therefore became socialized to the emotional effects of alcohol from a young age, and built the associated behaviours into their image of adult comportment. Young children sometimes became very upset at what they saw: they would try to pull parents away from provocative encounters, and some even spilled out brew pots to prevent an impending party (cf. Durgin 1974:128-132). But increasing familiarity and age eventually drew most youngsters into an acceptance of drinking as a fact of life and as a marker of adulthood. One aspect of growing up in the community involved periodically sampling or sneaking homebrew in late childhood and then gradually moving to a more complete participation in drinking during adolescence. At the other end of the life cycle, when elderly people could no longer hunt and fish, they still had a chance to be generous and reciprocate the hospitality of others by sharing homebrew and hosting parties. For both young and old, then, drinking offered a means of participating in the culture and displaying its values.

For people of all ages, the geography of the village and the face-to-face quality of much daily life served to spotlight the deviance of drinkers. Specifically, the lack of privacy on the inside and outside of people's houses shaped the way community members responded to obstreperous acts. When a heated argument or violence erupted at a party, the antagonists were usually made to leave. This rarely ended the encounter, however, but merely shifted its venue from the inside to the more public space of the plaza. Faces quickly appeared in the windows and doorways of other homes and shouts of "free show" alerted people to the unfolding spectacle.

Having set the stage for people to act, spectators now proceeded to direct them. People who were arguing or pushing were encouraged to continue. A wife trying to pull her husband away from a quarrel may have been praised, but was also likely to be mocked and mimicked. The chorus of onlookers recognized that antagonists, preoccupied with their struggle, were highly suggestible at such moments. Offstage voices sometimes offered people very specific suggestions, such as the kind of blow or taunt to throw. Though performers rarely acknowledged these instructions, they often acted as if they were following them.

The deviance of the public drama was twofold. There was the uncharacteristic display of intense emotionality by the drinkers and the explicit manipulation of them by their normally reticent neighbours. Both of these departures from proper conduct were not only tolerable, they were enjoyable: the suppressed was made public without incurring responsibility and the public was both informed and entertained. The experience for spectators was vicarious but cathartic. In Freudian terms, drinking was the prime mechanism by which the group process replaced repression with regression (Freud 1960:60, 62). But this theatre-in-the-round also had its limits and its dangers. People found its deviance profitable only as long as the drinkers did not threaten to inflict serious injury on one another. When the latter possibility loomed, comedy threatened to slip into tragedy.

The shift to a more serious script challenged another of the community's basic values, the premium placed on not interfering in other people's affairs. Spectators, who had called on one another to watch and then encouraged the drinkers to act, now tried to get other witnesses to intervene: "André, tell them to stop"; "Mary, take your husband home."

The strategy of getting others to intercede had elements of conformity and self-preservation. Neutral individuals who tried to separate combatants were sometimes turned on by the fighters, and found themselves abused as well as embarrassed. If a close relative was involved, however, a sense of responsibility was likely to outweigh the element of risk. Women, for example, often shadowed their husbands at parties, monitoring their behaviour, ready to intervene if hostilities promised to erupt. This was not only consistent with the deference that women showed towards men in the community, but also meant that females had to exercise more control over their own drinking in order to play the roles of monitor and mediator effectively.[6]

But women were not the only ones who bore a disproportionate share of the peace-keeping responsibilities. The Native people in the community who abstained from alcohol were also called upon when other pleas and measures failed. Related to the drinkers by kinship but distanced from them by their personal code of conduct, non-drinkers resented being drafted, but

they sometimes agreed to act as mediators. The effect on their public and self-image was mixed. Occasionally ridiculed for their moral stance on alcohol, they were also praised for the power it gave them to step in where others feared to tread. They recognized this ambiguity and resented it. As one adolescent boy said of his father, "Why should he have to get involved when they can't handle their liquor or their own lives?"

The community's court of last resort consisted of its two non-Native residents, the priest and the fur trader. Segregated from them by race and space, Native people were extremely reluctant to involve these men in their disputes and problems. Asking them to intercede compromised Native autonomy, and gave the Whites information they could use to pressure or embarrass Indian people. Drinking therefore usually served, as it does in other Native communities, "to maintain the Indian-white boundary" (Lurie 1979:135). But drunken violence at the village was sometimes an exception to this rule because it went beyond the behaviours that Native individuals felt they could control themselves. Torn between the difficulty of intervening with one another and a hesitancy to call in White authority figures, community members often saw the latter as the lesser of two evils.

They knew that the price was sometimes a lecture from the Whites on liquor. But they also privately dismissed this as a bit of hypocrisy. "Everyone has a right to a good time," explained one man. "Indians just like to do it their own way." It was not only that White people themselves drank and got drunk. It was also that the admonishing words came from individuals whose ancestors had introduced alcohol to Indian people and who, in Native eyes, therefore had to bear at least some of the responsibility for dealing with its consequences. The final ambiguity of alcohol, then, was that it brought together individuals who were normally distant, and made them feel the weight of responsibilities that each felt belonged to the other.

Discussion

In the aftermath of a prolonged or intense period of drinking at the settlement, many people tended to withdraw to hunting or fishing camps. Some wanted to escape from the overheated atmosphere of sociability and tension created by their neighbours. Others, their reputations already compromised by their drunken behaviour, sought to avoid additional stigma by absenting themselves from further temptation and gossip. In either case, withdrawal was likely to be explained in public as due to the need to secure meat or fish rather than as an explicit desire to escape from others or from one's own vulnerability. The bush thus served as a kind of "back" region to which people could retreat (Goffman 1959), and economic needs were used to mask people's real motives for leaving. Regardless of motive or rationale,

such a strategy of withdrawal was consistent with the way Native people dealt with most situations of inter-personal stress (Savishinsky 1971). Furthermore, the fact that people's trips to the bush were accounted for in economic rather than alcoholic terms reflected the Dene attitude that individuals were not specifically accountable for their drunken comportment.

Without the help of theology or social theory, the people of Colville Lake intuitively recognized what Martin Buber called "the exalted melancholy of our fate" (Buber 1958:16), the fact that every Thou in our world must become an It, that the people with whom we are intimate must also become objects to us, and that, as Georg Simmel observed, it is the separations in our lives that make our relationships possible (Simmel 1957).[7] To these insights, Indian people added some truths of their own. One was that life in a small-scale, interdependent community required a high level of tolerance for the vagaries of people's behaviour and misbehaviour. There were, of course, expectations about human demeanour, but there were also ways for dealing with their violation. Emotional restraint placed responsible limits on sober conduct, but people were also free to act upon the licence granted them by liquor. When they did so, reputations may have suffered, but the stigma was not permanent.

While the deviance that ensued from alcohol was disturbing to Native people, it was still "soft" deviance—that is, it did not pose a serious threat to the lives of individuals or the well-being of the community as a whole (Raybeck 1991). Drunken abuses were usually private violations directed against persons and their property rather than the public at large. There was only one man in the village who occasionally drank alone, and even he was a common participant at brew parties. Another individual—the most marginal man in the community—was a heavy drinker and wife-beater, but he was more frequently gossiped about for his laziness as a trapper and his failure to reciprocate other people's generosity with meat and fish. Furthermore, there were no clinical alcoholics at Colville Lake.[8] Even the community's heaviest drinkers could go for weeks or months without homebrew when living in the bush. Just as many of them could turn their drunken comportment on or off when the rhythm of a party dictated, most could refrain from liquor when survival made this imperative. When drinking behaviour did get out of hand, disapproval, withdrawal, gossip, mimicry and embarrassment were seen as sufficiently punitive responses to it.

In contrast to the treatment of deviant people in complex, Western societies, Indian drinkers—even the most chronic and disruptive ones—were not labelled by their peers. Nor were they placed in institutions. The latter did not exist within the village, just as labels did not exist as part of the Native vocabulary. Neither of these civilized responses to deviance—verbal stigma or physical isolation—would have worked in this small world of in-

terdependence and kinship, of proximity and publicity. Both would have been disproportionate to the relatively mild nature of the misbehaviour at issue. Furthermore, the financial costs of institutionalization would have been unaffordable, and the social costs of ostracism too wrenching. To sever a relationship with one person would jeopardize ties to others because the troublesome individual connected a person to other members of the community. Indian people felt that it was preferable and sometimes more profitable to play with, learn from and leave drinkers than it would have been to label and risk losing them altogether. Dealing with deviant acts was far more fruitful than imposing a deviant identity on people.

In summary, drinking was a pleasure and a problem for Indian people. It attracted some, repelled others, but affected everyone. At Colville Lake, the illegality of brewing was a minor issue for Native members of the community. Of much greater concern to them were people's emotionality, stinginess, interference, suggestibility and sense of responsibility. Native individuals knew that Whites, who introduced alcohol and now condemn its excesses, themselves continue to drink and sometimes get drunk. They are consequently seen as hypocritical by many Natives who, nevertheless, ask them, albeit reluctantly, to intercede in their quarrels.

Despite the appearance of volatility—the raised voices, the occasional fights, the spectacles of embarrassment and the ebb and flow of people—drinking at Colville Lake was usually under control, even when it spilled out into deviant behaviour. Participants lived without labels, were restrained without institutions, and indulged without becoming alcoholics. For the population as a whole, drinking was seasonal and sectional, its misbehaviours staged and its deviance soft.

The village, despite its small size, lacked a uniform code of conduct regarding alcohol. The attitudes of Whites and Indians differed, and Native people themselves were split between brewers and non-drinkers. The culture of the community represented what Anthony Wallace has called an "organization of diversity"—an orchestration of varied behaviours, personalities and values—rather than a standardized way of living and thinking to which everyone subscribed (Wallace 1970:22). The diversity wove together several contrasting themes and issues: the counterpoint of Indian and White, restraint and volatility, privacy and publicity, manipulation and non-intervention, responsibility and freedom, and normative and deviant.

The result of this counterpoint was sometimes dissonant, but the dissonance underscored a picture which sheds some good light on the bad. The lesson of Colville Lake is that cultural differences and community size not only shape people's perception of deviance, but also affect their willingness to indulge in it, and their ability to tolerate it.

Comparisons and Conclusions

In four centuries of culture contact, Europeans and Native Americans have introduced one another to a great variety of ideas, technologies and behaviours. Few of these have been as seductive, as controversial and as misunderstood as alcohol. The relationship between drinking, behaviour and deviance has been studied in many Native American populations, including a number of northern communities. Most of the latter have been considerably larger and more urbanized than Colville Lake, however, and so the village provides no comparable data on such issues as policing, public policies, arrest rates, liquor purchases, alcohol education programs or Native conduct in bars and hotels. The village's size, isolation and economy embody a number of distinctive characteristics which shape its drinking pattern: these include its lack of a retail liquor store, the absence of local law enforcement officials, an emphasis on bush activities for subsistence, a small and closely interrelated Native population, and the presence of only a few non-Native residents.

Despite these differences, the people of Colville Lake share with other Northern Natives a set of traditional values and an ambivalence about alcohol. Behavioural norms contribute to the people's ambiguous feelings about drinking. Along with other sub-Arctic Indians, the Dene construct their personality systems around emphases on emotional restraint, individual autonomy, anti-authoritarianism and non-interference (Honigmann 1975, 1981).[9] A commitment to non-intervention makes it especially difficult for Native people to deal directly with the deviant acts engendered by alcohol. When self-control is suspended, community controls are not always adequate to the task of sustaining peaceful relations. At Colville Lake, this was because the social mechanisms that people counted on to maintain order—gossip, public opinion, family pressure, physical withdrawal, aggressive displacement and repression—were essentially non-corporate and non-political in nature. In the face of drunken violence there, Whites and non-drinking Natives were occasionally called in, but this was only done with reluctance, with difficulty, and with limited effectiveness. It was not, to pilfer from Yeats (1984), that "mere anarchy was loosed upon the world," but that people here were sometimes compelled to live with some of their own disorder.

Problems of public control and self-control are widespread among indigenous people trying to deal with Western patterns of alcohol. Excessive drunkenness among Native Americans and other peoples has been attributed to a combination of weak internal controls, loose social structure and inadequate or discriminatory agencies working to regulate drunken and emotional comportment (Field 1962; Price 1975). In several Arctic towns, the accul-

turation of indigenous people to Western values has included the process of learning to drink like Whites (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965, 1970). A different response has been found in some Native settlements in Alaska where membership in fundamentalist Christian churches has been an effective way for certain individuals to stop their drinking (Hippler 1974).

Sectarian lifestyles, however, can also have a divisive impact on Native communities by segregating members of different congregations from one another. This kind of problem also arises in communities where indigenous police forces have been created to deal with alcohol and other forms of deviance (cf. Fleras 1981).

Viewed cross-culturally, the most enduring ambiguity of alcohol lies in the combination of positive experiences and negative sanctions that it evokes. Many of the contrasting qualities found at Colville Lake are replicated in other indigenous communities that have been studied. Among such Northern Natives as the Kutchin (Balicki 1968), the Salish (Lemert 1958), the Aleuts (Berreman 1956), the Naskapi (Robbins 1973), the Hare at Fort Good Hope (Durgin 1974) and the Indians of Delio (Honigmann and Honigmann 1945), alcohol helps people to overcome their reticence and express conflict; it validates their claims to identity and adulthood; and it promotes a sense of sociability and social solidarity. In each of these groups, people have also been found to exaggerate or mimic a state of drunkenness in order to circumvent their normal reserve and act out without penalty. As Robbins (1973:115) suggests for the Naskapi, the safety valve of drunken excesses allows for the maintenance of a "reticence ethic" in other areas of life. These and similar cases demonstrate that people often achieve a state of mellowness or intoxication with little alcohol in their bodies, or even from the mere anticipation of drinking (e.g., Berreman 1956:507; Lemert 1958:97; Mandelbaum 1965:282). In many Native American communities, the carry-over of hostilities from one drinking event to the next is also a common factor, as is people's readiness to fight or find provocation in seemingly innocuous behaviour (Washburne 1961:xviii; MacAndrew and Edgerton 1969:47, 64; Brody 1971; Durgin 1974:79-86). Furthermore, the ease with which Native and other people move between sobriety and inebriation in response to immediate social circumstances underlines the cultural definition of drunken comportment, not just its physiological basis.

In ethnically mixed communities, cultural differences in drinking patterns have been a seedbed for misjudgment and misunderstanding. Some Whites in the North, for example, have valued controlled drinking for its enhancement of sociability. But many Native people have also openly appreciated the drunkenness and disinhibition that alcohol promotes: they often drink specifically "to get drunk" (e.g., Berreman 1956:507; Lemert 1958:93). Their image of a "good brew party," in fact, echoes some of the require-

ments for a traditional Irish wake: lots of people, lots of alcohol and at least one good fight (Scheper-Hughes 1983:139).

But just as the English have looked down upon the behaviour of the Irish, Indians feel stigmatized by the Westerners who dominate and judge their world. The White image of Native drinking as deviant is thus partly a consequence of a "sub-cultural conflict" between minority and majority populations (Edgerton 1976:20-21). The White stereotype of the drunken Indian has been resented but also internalized by many Natives, some of whom have become sensitive to the self-fulfilling nature of the concept. At Colville Lake, this was one reason that Indian people sought to keep Whites at a distance from their parties. The opinions of outsiders only added to the tensions that Native people there already felt between their own values of generosity and autonomy, interdependence and independence, and freedom and restraint.

The ambiguities of alcohol were thus rooted in questions of meaning as well as conduct, and the deviance of drinkers grew out of the cultural contradictions with which life confronted them. Within this small community, there were charges of illegality, hypocrisy, violence and intrusiveness. There were feelings of righteousness as well as claims to the right to celebrate life as one chose. As with so many other moral issues, there was no one truth but there were many judgments. The most revealing were people's assessments of themselves. The most divisive were their attributions of deviance to others. But all lent force to the separations which defined this community, and which thereby bound its members together.

Notes

1. This essay is based upon sections of a paper presented at the Conference on Cross-Cultural Deviance, held at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario, in May 1984. It draws on anthropological fieldwork in the Dene (Hare Indian) community of Colville Lake, Northwest Territories, conducted during 1967, 1968 and 1971 with support from the National Science Foundation (U.S.) and the National Museum of Man of the National Museums of Canada. Several earlier publications have dealt with various aspects of drinking in this community (Savishinsky 1974, 1977; Savishinsky and Savishinsky 1980). For related material on alcohol use in the neighbouring town of Fort Good Hope, see Sue (1964) and Durgin (1974). I would like to thank Richard Brymer, Morris Freilich, Robert Prus and Douglas Raybeck for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.
2. Since the establishment of the village of Colville Lake, people from the two communities have continued to visit and intermarry. All of the Native people at Colville Lake have relatives at Good Hope. Drinking patterns at the fort town have been described in detail by Durgin (1974). According to Hurlbert (1962), the manufacture of homebrew at Fort Good Hope became widespread in the 1920s.
3. People sometimes illustrated the incompatibility of drinking and survival activities by citing alcohol-related incidents and deaths at Fort Good Hope and other MacKenzie area communities.

4. Several good illustrations of how this principle operates are provided by Broch (1977/78, 1983), who takes his examples from incidents at Fort Good Hope. Comparable material on the Cree is provided by Preston in his essay in this volume.
5. Commenting on the conscious aspects of such behaviour, Edgerton (1976:59) argues that societies in which alcohol relieves a person of responsibility are "a deviant's delight. In such societies he is able to 'save up' his deviant violence, sexuality and the like for drunken occasions during which he may behave with relative impunity. Here, we call attention to man's calculation of the consequences of his deviance and suggest that, to a degree at least, man is able to deviate when it is most to his advantage to do so."
6. Other studies have also indicated that Native men and women have distinct experiences in drinking situations. For example, at Frobisher Bay, Inuit women exhibited embarrassment over the drunken behaviour of their men (Honigmann and Honigmann 1965:214). Among Indians and Inuit at Aklavik, females suffered more guilt about drinking because of its behavioural association with promiscuous sex (Clairmont 1962:8, 1963:60). In most cultures, drinking is seen as being more suitable for men than for women (Mandelbaum 1965:282).
7. Simmel notes that "we are continually separating our bonds and binding our separations" (1957:1, quoted in Schwartz 1968:741). Physical withdrawal is, of course, only one of many means for obtaining privacy and thereby preserving social relations and self-image. The social functions of privacy, and the culturally variable ways of securing it, are reviewed by Hall (1966), Schwartz (1968), Gregor (1970) and Roberts and Gregor (1971).
8. Mandelbaum (1965:282) notes that alcohol addiction and solitary drinking are relatively rare in non-Western societies.
9. The latter quality is explored by Preston in his essay on Cree deviance in this volume.

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"PEOPLE WHO ACT LIKE DOGS": ADULTERY AND DEVIANCE IN A MELANESIAN COMMUNITY

Dorothy Ayers Counts
University of Waterloo

David R. Counts
McMaster University

Abstract: Sociological studies of deviance, especially labelling theory, are concerned with the labels used by society to identify deviants and with the long term effect of labelling for the people who are thus categorized (see Becker 1966; Lemert 1967). These studies have focussed primarily on large-scale societies, with little attention being paid by anthropologists to labelling of deviance in small-scale communities (but see Edgerton 1966, 1976). This essay is a study of the way in which the people of a small-scale, horticultural community in Papua New Guinea identify and respond to people who engage in deviant acts. We focus on the act of adultery and the range of responses to it, and we argue that the analysis of deviance in small-scale societies must discriminate between behaviour that merely breaks the rules and behaviour that causes conflict which may not readily be resolved and, consequently, may lead to the permanent disruption of social relationships.

Résumé: Les études sociologiques de la déviance, et spécialement la théorie de classification, touchent aux étiquettes utilisées par la société pour identifier les déviants, et l'effet à long terme que cela a pour les personnes ainsi catégorisées (voir Becker 1966; Lemert 1967). Les études ont, pour la plupart, convergé sur des sociétés à grande échelle et les anthropologistes ont fait très peu de recherches vis-à-vis de l'étiquettage d'activités déviantes dans les communautés plus petites (voir, cependant, Edgerton 1966, 1976). Cette étude démontre comment les habitants d'une petite communauté de Papoua Nouvelle-Guinée pratiquant l'horticulture identifient, et réagissent vis-à-vis, des personnes qui entreprennent des activités déviantes. L'étude se concentre sur l'acte adultère ainsi que les réactions qui suivent. Les auteurs proposent que toute analyse de déviance dans des sociétés à pe-

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tite échelle doit distinguer entre des comportements qui vont au gré des réglements et des comportements qui causent des conflits réels pouvant endommager et rompre les relations sociales pour un période indéfinie.

There are about 1000 Lusi-speaking people who live in five villages and numerous small hamlets in the Kaliai area of the north coast of West New Britain, Papua New Guinea. They are normatively patrilineal and virilocal, and have an ethos of equality for males who have authority over females. Male authority is, however, moderated by the notion that younger people should respect and obey older people and by the fact that an intelligent, assertive person—whether male or female—may command the respect and obedience of others. It is, therefore, not uncommon for an outgoing, resolute woman to have authority over younger relatives.

The Lusi label activities and people in several different ways. First, non-generic labels are created for particular persons and apply only to them. Secondly, some generic labels can be applied to more than one person. Thirdly, some kinds of behaviour are only vaguely labelled but nevertheless stimulate strong response. We discuss these labels and their associated reactions in the analysis to follow.

Particular Labels

The Lusi give names, not only at birth, but to call attention to an event in a person's life (thus a widow may be named Cookie if her dying husband craved sweet biscuits); to a physical disability (One-leg, Dummy, Gimp); or to an objectionable trait (Stingy, Bully, Bigmouth, or Frog for a promiscuous woman who hops from man to man).

Names such as Cookie or One-leg do not signify disapproved behaviour, but Stingy, Bully and Bigmouth may do so. The latter are terms both of address and reference that are often used in a teasing manner, sometimes in an attempt to influence behaviour. For example, Stingy's sister addresses him by this name when she plans to ask him for an areca nut or a bit of tobacco, in order to embarrass him into being generous. As she says, "If I just ask him for something, he'll say he doesn't have any, even if it's there in his basket. If I call him "Stingy," he knows I know he has some and maybe he'll be ashamed and share." Used in this way, names are clearly informal sanctions against undesirable behaviour, sanctions that may persuade the person to behave in a socially approved way.

Villagers say that a person uses a stigmatizing name in order to call attention to objectionable behaviour in the hope that the recipient of the name will change it. This hope is not always realized, however, because people

respond in a variety of ways to receiving a nickname. Some answer cheerfully to the name, ignore any negative implications related to its bestowal and continue to behave as usual. Others respond with defiance. "If you are going to call me that," they say, "I might as well act that way." Their disapproved conduct continues unchanged. Some respond with anger and shame to the name but, ultimately, change their behaviour. Regardless of the person's response, the name may continue to be used for years without reference to situational context. It becomes part of the individual's personal identity and may eventually lose its stigmatizing aspect and be given to a child as "just a name" in honour of the original owner.

Some names, such as Frog or *Voti*, "Stud" or "Lover Boy" are only terms of reference; the individuals are never addressed by these names. Instead the names are used by gossiping villagers to highlight the person's latest scandalous affair and to clarify for all and sundry the details of behaviour that they consider to be unacceptable.

Generic Labels

Lusi also may place a person in several categories that identify specific behaviour that is either unacceptable or strange and unique. For example:

1. *Mata samai*, "unfocussed eye," is a categorical term of reference applied to a disobedient, violent, irresponsible, unpredictable and ill-mannered child. The individual we know who is referred by this term would likely be categorized in our society as emotionally disturbed with behaviour problems. *Mata samai* is a term that recognizes a perceived cluster of behaviour traits that are not thought to be under the control of the individual. It is perceived to be an affliction rather than a personality characteristic. One consultant told us that the general term to describe such a person is "childish," "senile," "mentally incapacitated." People responded to a village child who was called a *mata samai* in two ways that differed from their response to other children: (1) his parents had given up insisting that he attend school, and (2) his kinsmen predicted that he would likely kill or injure someone in a fit of rage when he reached adult strength. People otherwise treated him the same as they did other boys. He participated in village affairs and no special provisions were made for him.
2. *Kumbeku*, "fool," is used to refer to someone who accepts what he is told, no matter how ridiculous, without critical judgment. The only person to whom we heard this term applied was a government official who had attempted to seduce village girls. Because he was an outsider and his seduction attempt was unsuccessful, the villagers made no effort to socialize him. Instead, people conspired to set him up to make him look

foolish. The conspiracy worked and, when the official did not realize what had happened, he was labelled *kumbeku* and was made the butt of practical jokes until he left the village. In this case the deviant behaviour was the attempted seduction of village girls by a government official. The audience responded by conspiring to make him ridiculous; and the label was applied as a result of the success of the conspiracy. The label did not refer to the deviant behaviour; rather, it pointed to the successful response of the village to that behaviour. It is likely that the official did not know he was labelled until villagers filed a complaint against him with the provincial government charging, among other things, that he attempted seduction on numerous occasions and that he lacked critical judgement.

3. *Solivoling*, "transsexual," is a term derived from the name of a legendary individual who, as a consequence of being bewitched by a malevolent bush spirit, underwent genital change from male to female. After his physical transformation, he is reputed to have engaged in gender role behaviour appropriate to a female. Our consultants said that this name would be given to any individual who underwent a similar change in appearance and deportment. We know of no living persons with this appellation.
4. *Tanta musoaea*, "man of poison," "sorcerer" refers to the assumption that a Lusi sorcerer is engaged in secondary deviance (Lemert 1951, 1967). While some men dubbed sorcerers deny the charge, others accept the label and the social position it signifies (Prus 1983:3). Indeed, some sorcerers reinforce the label by threatening to kill with magic those who cross them, by decorating themselves with black paint to signal that someone will die as a result of their magic or by wearing insignia to warn parents that they have applied to their bodies powerful protective magic that is potentially lethal to young children. These men promote their ability to cause illness and death and use the fear that this ability engenders to enhance their political power.
5. *Aelolo rua: poea-sasi*, "two hearts: good-bad," is similar to the English term "hypocrite" and refers to a person who has two hearts or two sides. The "good heart"—the one that is "in the light" and is meant to be seen—governs a person's words, words that are often "sweet." The "bad heart"—one that is secret and "in the dark"—governs evil behaviour that contradicts the individual's words. This term is often applied nowadays to politicians who, their critics say, are elected because the electorate hear the sweet words coming from the publicly presented "good heart" and are unaware of the individual's hidden "bad heart" that will govern his behaviour. As with sorcerers, such persons are treated with fear and deference, even by their critics.

6. *Voti*, "adultery," "adulterer," "affair," "lover" or "stud," refers especially to a man with a "perambulating penis" (Meggitt 1976) or to an uncastrated pig. Both *voti* and *kavea* "copulation," "an affair," or "play" convey the sense of unapproved sex and, as at least one of the partners is usually married to someone else, the terms most frequently refer either to an adulterous relationship or to a person (male) who engages in such a relationship. There are other terms which we translate as "flirt" and "loose woman" that describe females.

Adultery

Before discussing the Kaliai response to adultery, we must first define what we mean by the Kaliai moral order. Stephen argues convincingly that in the Melanesian world view, *human* society is characterized by order, predictability and morality (Stephen 1987). What is moral behaviour in Kaliai?

First, moral behaviour reinforces and validates ties of kinship and community while immoral behaviour causes strife among people, especially kinsmen, who should support each other. It leads to social chaos and the destruction of community. A man who seduces his brother's wife, for instance, risks an intra-lineage conflict that will cause the fission of the kin group. As we will see in the analysis to follow, this kind of adultery is considered to be inhuman, animal-like behaviour.

Secondly, morality requires persons to meet their social obligations. Mothers who neglect their children, fathers who fail to provide their sons with wives, villagers who refuse to feed and provide care for orphans and the dependent elderly are behaving immorally. The consequences are warfare and the breakdown of social order.

Thirdly, reciprocity is the basis of fair play on which human society is based. Nonreciprocal behaviour is immoral. Kaliai expect that people will reciprocate both good and evil, ideally with a bonus. Gifts, contributions of wealth and labour, and acts of kindness should be repaid with interest when the donor has need. Similarly, hostile acts should be returned in kind and preferably with abundance.

Fourthly, sociality and reciprocity require that people behave predictably. One cannot engage in reciprocal exchange or social intercourse with someone whose behaviour cannot be predicted. Unpredictable behaviour is immoral behaviour; immoral behaviour is unpredictable.

Adultery is a deviant act. It violates rules and causes conflict and litigation. The Lusi-Kaliai response to it is, however, shaped by the pre-existing relationship between the parties to the act. The disruption caused by adulterous behaviour may be short-term, because Lusi society has in place the means to resolve the conflict that arises, or it may result in long-term or per-

manent destruction of social ties, further conflict, or perhaps even death.[1] The latter, destructive type of adultery is highly deviant and provides a rich source of analytical material for considering the problem of deviance in small-scale societies.

Common Adultery

Unapproved sexual activity is common in Kaliai. Any Lusi person who has the opportunity will, it is expected, engage in an illicit affair and, if half the gossip we have heard over the past 25 years of research is to be believed, almost everyone does so at some time or the other. It certainly is expected behaviour, and people gossip and speculate about the adulterous activities of their neighbours. They joke about adultery, tease each other about it, accuse one another of it, fight about it and take each other to court demanding compensation for it.

Adultery creates problems in part because it violates a man's rights in the sexuality of a woman over whom he has authority – his daughter or wife or, occasionally, his younger sister. Lusi women do not, at least in the minds of their parents and male relatives, have rights over their own sexuality. A man who has sexual relations with an unmarried girl violates her father's rights and must pay either compensation to him or marry the girl. If he does marry her he will pay bridewealth to her kin. Married people of both sexes have rights over the sexuality of their spouses and may demand compensation from both the offending spouse and the lover if their rights are violated. Common adultery is only a legal offense, not one that violates the community's moral order as does adultery between affines.

Common adultery is publicly denounced, occasionally it is the cause of divorce, and those who are involved in a dispute because of it take it very seriously indeed. At the same time, it is expected behaviour and a fact of life, and there are in place institutionalized dispute-settlement mechanisms that, in most cases, permit the trouble caused by adultery (or any ordinary illicit sexual behaviour) to be settled without a long-term rupture of social relationships. The ready settlement of most cases of adultery is possible because only the concerned parties become involved in the quarrel and because the antagonistic parties are not close relatives; they are not members of the same agnatic patri-kin group. This type of adultery is deviant behaviour, but it is not in the same category as adultery between affines.

Adultery Between Affines

In 1966, Jack Goody observed that Western-derived categories of sexual offences, particularly incest and adultery, may be inadequate for analyzing offences in non-European societies (Goody in Bohannan and Middleton

1968:23). He noted that, for some peoples, incest and adultery may be equally serious breaches of the social and moral order, or that the offence that we term "incest" might be merely "disreputable" while sexual intercourse with the wife of a fellow group-member is met with "horror" (Goody 1968:32). The issue, he argues, is tied to social structure. In descent systems, sexual intercourse with the woman who is responsible for the social reproduction of the group is the ultimate sin and must be treated with the utmost severity.

Goody's analysis gives us a starting point for explaining Lusi response to sexual relations between affines. Like incest (sexual relations between Lusi-Kaliai who call one-another by primary kin terms: father-daughter; brother-sister to cite the cases of which we have knowledge), adultery between an individual and his or her spouse's parent or between a man and his brother's wife is a violation of the moral order. It is not human behaviour: people who do it are said to be "people who act like dogs." In Kaliai mythology, adultery between affines invariably results in fratricide, or suicide or both. In real life people are reluctant to talk about such behaviour or to admit that it exists. They do not joke or tease about it. It is never a subject of casual gossip. The mere suggestion that others suspect a person is engaging in a sexual relationship with an affine may result in suicide. This happened in 1971 when a woman killed herself because she thought others suspected her of having sexual relations with her husband's father, and it was the case in 1979 when Sharon, a young married woman, drank household bleach and died of the self-administered poison.[2]

Although we were not present in the village at the time of Sharon's death, we discussed the event at length with many villagers in 1981. The facts that they agreed on were as follows:

1. Sharon, who had eight children, had an affair with Stud, her husband's classificatory brother. This affair resulted in her pregnancy. Because Sharon behaved in an irresponsible manner, leaving her small children alone for long periods while she met Stud, many of our consultants suspected that he had enchanted her with love magic.
2. Sharon's husband, Paul, was aware of the affair. On several occasions they quarrelled violently and he beat her. The possibility that she had been seduced by love magic did not remove her responsibility for her behaviour.
3. On the night following the 1979 Papua New Guinea national Independence Day celebrations, Sharon did not return home. Her husband and all of our informants assumed that she spent the evening with Stud. Paul met her upon her return home and the two quarrelled violently.
4. Late the afternoon of her return, she went alone to the seep spring where women wash clothing. Shortly, Puri heard Sharon calling,

"Come, I'm dying!" Puri ran to the spring and saw Sharon drink the last of a bottle of household bleach. She tried unsuccessfully to induce vomiting, then she ran for help. By the time her fellow villagers carried Sharon home, she was comatose. She died that night despite intensive efforts to resuscitate her.

5. Paul and Stud both paid compensation to Sharon's parents for her death, but no payment was made by Stud to Paul. Payment of compensation between brothers, even classificatory brothers, is inappropriate in Kaliai because brothers share rights in land and wealth resources.
6. The kin of Paul and Stud were shamed by the affair, and four households, headed by the relatives of Paul and Stud, and including Paul's full brother, moved out of the village and built a small hamlet located about 30 minutes by canoe down the coast. Paul, a school catechist, moved to a small house on the school grounds, where he lived alone. Custody of the children of Sharon and Paul was taken by Sharon's parents.

In 1981, when we returned to the village for three months of field research, people were still distinctly uncomfortable discussing the circumstances surrounding Sharon's death. People who were willing to talk with us about it differed in their assessment of responsibility and culpability. Some argued that Paul was culpable. His payment of compensation to Sharon's parents demonstrated his guilt. One woman argued that Sharon was caught between love magic and a violent husband, and that, if a man beats his wife too much, suicide might be her only recourse (see Counts 1980 for a discussion of suicide as a last resort of powerless people in Kaliai). One of Sharon's relatives argued that Paul actually murdered Sharon. According to this view, children had seen him forcing her to drink the poison. This accusation was not made publicly but was widely known and, together with the opinion that he was culpable, later had fatal consequences for Paul. Others felt that Sharon was responsible: she was shamed by her pregnancy and she was killed by her shame. Still others argued that nobody was responsible. Suicide is common in some families, one man said. Sharon, therefore, was only reacting to shame in the same way as many of her relatives had done before her.[3]

The reluctance of the villagers to discuss Sharon's death, and their disagreement as to responsibility for it, alerted us that something was peculiar about this tragedy. Ordinarily, suicides are considered to be victims either of sorcery or of slander, and great effort is made to reach consensus on the identity of the culpable party or parties (for a detailed discussion of this point see Counts 1980). When we figured out for ourselves the relationship between Paul and Stud and quietly remarked on it to our most intimate in-

formants, they confirmed our analysis and admitted that the shame arising from the suicide and consequent public exposure of the adultery had been a major factor in the decision by Paul's relatives to move out of the village and establish the new hamlet. Some consultants privately remarked that Stud had finally gone too far, and predicted that eventually he would die as the result of sorcery.

Clearly, then, the response of the village audience to a sexual affair between affines is dramatically unlike their reaction to common adultery. Their response, like the act, is anomalous. As long as the affair is not publicly acknowledged, the reaction appears to be similar to the normal response to minor deviance. People *seem* to ignore it. There was no public confrontation between Paul and Stud, no public denunciation of the relationship between Stud and Sharon, and no overt violence between Stud and Paul. Instead, everyone, including the two men, publicly ignored the affair.

But the affair would not go away. There was no means by which the conflict would be resolved publicly. So, as we discovered when we returned to Kaliai in 1985, the parties who were injured by Sharon's death had done what Kaliai do under such circumstances; they had resorted to private, secret, sorcerous retaliation, or so our informants believe. The father of Sharon, convinced that his daughter's death was Paul's responsibility, engaged the services of a well-known sorcerer to kill Paul. After Paul's death in 1984, his relatives called for a public inquest which was attended by the populations of at least three villages and four hamlets. At this moot, the sorcerer was exposed, admitted his guilt, named the person who had employed him (Sharon's father) and subsequently fled the Kaliai area.[4] He reportedly renewed his sorcery career in his new home and was severely injured in an attack by the relative of one of his reputed victims. He died a short time later.

Discussion

Now 12 years have elapsed since the death of Sharon, and seven years since the death of her husband, Paul, and all our consultants agree that there is more to come. Paul's relatives have not been compensated for his death, for, though the sorcerer has been laid low, the one who employed him has neither admitted, denied nor paid compensation for his alleged complicity. Paul's relatives dread further retaliation by Sharon's father. They reason that he expects them to avenge Paul's death, and has decided to exterminate them with sorcery before they can attack him. Indeed, one well-educated young woman, a niece of Paul's, has recently confirmed to us that her family believes that Sharon's father is trying to kill all of them. When an epidemic swept through the hamlet where Paul's closest kin now live, a num-

ber of people temporarily fled to avoid death by sorcery. Although they subsequently returned home, they continue to live in fear.

If the affair between Sharon and Stud had been commonplace, there would have been trouble. It would, however, have been settled long ago, as have several other affairs in the intervening years. Fines could have been paid; marriages would have been dissolved or new ones created, or both; and the persons involved would have been either made the butt of jokes, despised or feared, depending on their personal histories and place in Lusi society. How different—how *deviant*—Sharon and Stud's affair was can be seen in its consequences: hamlets of close kin broken apart; one suicide; one killing; one expulsion; hamlet members fleeing in fear of further sorcery; and, finally, continuing concern about the next act in the drama. The parties to the events—Sharon's father, Paul's relatives, Stud—all continue to live in the village and its associated hamlets without public reference to the events of the past 12 years. In all that time, the only public act has been the sorcery moot and the flight of the self-confessed sorcerer. None of the parties to the events except Stud are labelled and his name, Stud, was bestowed long before his affair with Sharon. It is part of his total personality—not part of any attempt to exercise control over his behaviour.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Lusi do label deviant behaviour in order to exercise social control. Their intent is to sanction and, hopefully, to change unacceptable behaviour. However, some behaviour such as affinal adultery creates problems that cannot be resolved by normal means. Labels are not applied to this type of deviance. Instead people act as though it had not occurred. Attempts to ignore what we may call "unspeakable deviance" may be unsuccessful, and the issues that arise from it create social dissention and become potential sources for further social disruption, violence and even death.

Acknowledgments

The research for this paper was conducted during 1975-76, 1981 and 1985 on research leaves generously granted by the University of Waterloo and McMaster University. Funding was provided by leave fellowships and research grants from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, whose support we gratefully acknowledge.

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Canadian Ethnological Society meeting in May, 1983. We wish to thank our colleagues—Richard Brymer, Robert Prus, Douglas Raybeck, Rick Goulden and Naomi Scaletta McPherson—for reading and providing critical comments on earlier drafts. Finally, the idea for this paper and for the symposium on cross-

cultural deviance where it was delivered grew out of kitchen table conversations with Richard Brymer. We have a special debt to him.

Notes

1. See Counts and Counts 1974 for an analysis of Kaliai disputes in which we distinguish between the kinds of quarrels that can be settled permanently and those that erupt as underlying factors in future disputes.
2. We have used fictitious names to protect the privacy of individuals.
3. The suicide in 1985 of Sharon and Paul's 20-year-old daughter over a thwarted love affair lends substance to this view, although it does not appear to have led others to reevaluate the events of 1979.
4. We are reporting here the unanimous view of our Lusi consultants. No legal or medical connection has been established between the actions of Sharon's father, the sorcerer and the death of Paul. No one has disputed, however, that Sharon's father employed the sorcerer or that the sorcerer took the steps that resulted in Paul's death.

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IN THE COURT OF THE RAINMAKER: THE WILLING DEVIANT IN LONGANA, VANUATU

William L. Rodman
McMaster University

Margaret C. Rodman
York University

Abstract: In the district of Longana in Vanuatu the weather is not merely a physical but a social phenomenon. Rainmakers are responsible for gentle rains which benefit the crops and the community, but they can also cause continual downpours and floods. An examination of ethnographic literature from Oceania and elsewhere reveals relatively few cases where rainmakers are said to act in a deviant fashion. In one particular and unprecedented case which the authors examine, an individual confessed to small-scale acts of deviance in the past, when accused of responsibility for a protracted period of rain. The implications of that confession both for the individual and his community are examined, and some conclusions are drawn about differences between the ways Longanans and Westerners classify and treat deviant actions.

Résumé: Dans le district de Longana au Vanauatu le temps qu'il fait est non seulement un phénomène physique mais aussi social. Les personnes responsables pour déclencher les pluies peuvent le faire avec des pluies douces au profit des champs et de la population, mais ils peuvent aussi causer de grands orages et des inondations. Un examen de la littérature ethnographique provenant de l'Océanie et ailleurs révèle très peu d'instants d'activités soi-disant déviantes au passé. Les implications de cette confession pour l'individu et la communauté sont examinées, et quelques conclusions sont tirées démontrant la façon différente dont le peuple de Longana et les Occidentaux traitent des cas d'activités déviantes.

What is the most dangerous weather phenomenon? A Californian might answer "earthquakes"; other North Americans might respond "hurricanes,"

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"tornadoes," or perhaps "lightning." On the South Pacific island where we conducted fieldwork, and in societies in many other parts of the world, the answer to such a question would be different: the most dangerous weather phenomenon, people would say, is weathermen. They would not mean weathermen as we know them, readers of meteorological signs, diviners of satellite maps, but rather men who make weather, especially too much weather: too much sun, too much rain. While we Westerners accept the weather as a physical system that is beyond our control, many peoples outside the West view it as a force with a *social* dynamic that a few individuals control for the good of society or for dark, devious ends.

In the first part of our paper, we briefly review the cross-cultural ethnographic literature on rainmaking and then we discuss what anthropologists have written about rainmakers in the South Pacific. We discuss three widespread patterns of weather control in Oceania. One pattern is of particular interest to us in this paper. In many places throughout the South Pacific, rainmakers are guardians of the social welfare whose skill ensures the frequent, gentle rains that bring an abundant harvest. In the societies we will consider, those who make mists and bring showers also possess the ability to raise storms, brew hurricanes and send unceasing rain for weeks, even months, on end. We are interested in rainmakers who come to be identified, and who identify themselves, as deviants.

We studied deviant rainmaking during four soggy months in the Republic of Vanuatu, from July through November 1982. By the time we arrived in Vanuatu, local people already had endured four months of virtual daily downpours spanning what was "normally" the dry season; after our arrival, we settled in the district of Longana on the northern island of Ambae, where the rain continued with only an occasional day of sunshine. To be precise, 83 percent of the days were rainy or overcast.[1] While the rain made many aspects of our fieldwork difficult, we were fortunate to be present as the process of identifying and dealing with the cause of the rain ran its course.

The identification of a deviant rainmaker is a social process consisting of a series of phases: discussion of possible rainmakers within the community, the narrowing of suspicion to likely malefactors, and then negotiations between authorities within the community and the individuals singled out as suspects. Most suspects reject the "rainmaker" label, and do their best to undermine the negotiation process with vehement denials, alibis, counter-accusations and arguments based on precedent or genealogy. Occasionally, however, the course of the negotiation takes a different turn: once in a long while, someone accepts the deviant label and confesses to possession of knowledge of how to make rain. Why a person might confess voluntarily to an act that people perceive as having disastrous ecological and social consequences is the focus of our study: we provide an illustrative case of the kind

of negotiation process that can result in willing acceptance of the label "deviant rainmaker."

The broader purpose of our paper is to explore the complementarity of deviance and power in a Melanesian context. In particular, we contrast deviance as a social category with deviance as a kind of behaviour in order to sketch the relationship between deviance and power. The case of the willing deviant, we conclude, demonstrates a process of transformation in which evil can be turned to good, and in which the rainmaker, rather than losing face, can gain a measure of authority.

This phenomenon is by no means unique to Longana. We suspect that it occurs in similar forms in other Melanesian societies, and, as sociologists recognize, it assumes a different but related form in Western societies. The idea that an individual may proudly wear the label of "deviant" is a well-established aspect of the sociological category known as secondary deviance. But the deviance we label as "willing" is primary rather than secondary in type; in other words, it refers to a "single or occasional involvement in a deviant activity" (Prus 1983:4) rather than to a "commitment to further deviant behaviour and increased levels of organization in 'deviant' personality" in response to the intervention of agents of social control (Harris and Hill 1982:163). The distinctive term we have chosen, "willing deviance," simply highlights this difference which we think is an important one for developing a cross-cultural and interdisciplinary perspective on deviance.

A Comparative Perspective on Rainmaking and Deviance

The cross-cultural ethnographic record suggests that there exist many societies in which rainmakers seldom, if ever, are perceived as deviant.[2] In parts of the world where drought can cause famine, rainmakers often are among the most valued and respected members of their societies. In the southwestern United States, for example, rainmaking is a core element in the religious ceremonies of most tribes; the rainmaking Kachina dancers of the Hopi and Zuni, far from being deviant, assume the identity of spiritual beings responsible for ensuring the harmonious continuation of life (Dozier 1970:1140-158). Whereas rainmaking is associated with spiritual power in many North American societies, rainmaking is linked to political power in many African societies. Among the Lovedu of the Transvaal, the queen is known as the "transformer of the clouds": "so bound up with nature is she that her very emotions affect the rain" (Krige and Krige 1970:63). Among the Alur (Cohen and Middleton 1970:16), the Nyole (Wagner 1967:224), the Plateau Tonga (Colson 1948) and many other traditional African societies, the power of leaders derives in large part from their abilities as rainmakers and from their role as guardians of important rain shrines.

In his overview of African religions and philosophy, J. Mbiti observes that "rainmakers are some of the most important individuals in almost all African societies" (Mbiti 1970:234). Were African rainmakers ever considered to be deviant? If so, under what circumstances was the "deviant" label applied? What sanctions did people use against deviant rainmakers? The answers to such questions are not at all clear in the literature on Africa. Part of the problem lies with the nature of the literature itself. Some information on rainmaking in Africa comes from colonial officials who regarded rainmaking as quaint, ineffective and essentially harmless, a set of attitudes well-represented in a government meteorologist's statement that he intended to give readers of his article on rainmaking in Tanganyika "a short resumé of the methods used by—if I may call them that—my witch-doctor predecessor" (McCallum 1959:53).

With the notable exceptions of Saul Bellow's *Henderson, the Rain King* (1959), and J.D. and E.J. Krige's *The Realm of a Rain-Queen* (1943), few books about Africa have had rainmaking as a central concern. Most scattered references to African rainmaking occur in books and articles that anthropologists published between 1940 and the early 1960s; the authors of such works tend to be scholars identified with the structural-functionalist school of anthropology (e.g., Gluckman 1963; Nadel 1955; Radcliffe-Brown 1952). Structural-functionalists tended not to be interested in the study of deviance, so deviant African rainmakers, if they existed, went unreported.

In recent literature on rainmakers in Africa, one finds more of a sense that people regard such men with a degree of ambivalence, as valuable members of society but also as self-interested and dangerous. Skinner, for example, reports that Mossi rainmakers are criticized for withholding rain and are believed to manipulate rain for highly personal reasons (Skinner 1974:301). It is clear from Skinner's account that Mossi believe that, at least occasionally, rainmakers contravene social norms and are deviant. What Skinner does not tell us is what happens when people decide that a particular rainmaker has raised one storm too many or has wielded his lightning a bit too freely.[3]

A survey of anthropological literature on Pacific island societies reveals three widespread sets of beliefs concerning the relationship between gods, men and control of the weather. In Samoa (Turner 1884), Tonga (Beaglehole and Beaglehole 1941) and a number of other societies, people believe that deities alone are responsible for natural events such as excessive rain or dryness; humans can petition the gods but cannot themselves control the weather. In such societies, rainmakers do not exist.[4]

In a second set of societies, of which the Trobriands (Malinowski 1922, 1935) and Yap (Hunt 1949; Lingenfelter 1972) are representative, chiefs or big men have exclusive control of the magic of rain and sunshine. Such

chiefs use their magic openly and officially, as a means of expressing their displeasure with their subjects and enforcing their will. As Malinowski notes, chiefs can use weather magic to "enhance their wholesale power, independently of any other mechanism which they might have used for forcing their will on private individuals or on whole communities" (Malinowski 1922:394). There is no evidence that rainmakers are regarded as deviant in the Trobriands or in similar societies in which only chiefs possess knowledge of rainmaking, and in which leaders use weather magic explicitly as an instrument of social control.

In most Pacific societies, rainmaking spells, chants and techniques are not the exclusive property of chiefs or big men. Williams states that among the Orokaiva of coastal New Guinea "there are many rain-makers and many methods of rain-making" (Williams 1928:113). Similarly, Codrington, writing of Vanuatu, implies that knowledge of weather control was widespread throughout the group: "There are everywhere . . . in these islands weather-doctors and weather-mongers who can control the aerial powers, and are willing to supply wind, calm, rain, sunshine, famine, and abundance at a price" (Codrington 1969:200). Most accounts of rainmaking in Oceania concern magicians who attempt to increase the fertility of the soil or end a drought. However, as Williams pointed out over half a century ago within the context of a discussion of rainmaking, "it might probably be said that to the benevolence of magic there is always a reverse or malevolent side—sorcery" (Williams 1928:64). From a Pacific islander's point of view, rainmakers become deviant when they use their ability to control the weather to achieve destructive ends. Use of such negative sanctions sometimes is made explicit in literature on the region. Godofroy, for example, discusses the case of a Vao magician who caused a cyclone that resulted in the loss of a whaler: "the owners held the magician responsible for the loss and forced him to refund the value of the boat by paying them ten pigs each worth twenty pounds" (Godofroy in Layard 1942:663).[5]

Ambae, the island where we conducted fieldwork, is one of the many Pacific islands where rainmaking can be either legitimate or deviant, depending upon the motivation of the rainmaker and the circumstances in which rain is made. Codrington was the first ethnographer to discuss rainmaking on Ambae; in *The Melanesians*, first published in 1891, he notes that the rainmaker's arts in northern Vanuatu were "once secret [but] are now pretty well known" (Codrington 1969:200). According to Codrington, an individual who seeks to make rain in northern Vanuatu needs a supply of kava (*Piper methysticum*) to drink, knowledge of a rain chant that invokes the aid of the creator god, Tagaro, and, finally, some special stones that have the power to make rain.

There appears to have been little change in techniques of rainmaking since Codrington's time. We obtained without difficulty several rain chants while we were in the field; the songs, while not common knowledge, are not secret. Kava is still used extensively for a variety of magical purposes. Rainstones still exist.

In theory, at least, rainmaking is not a difficult art. The ritual is never a public affair: the rainmaker works alone or with a client, or in the company of a small group of friends. The rainmaker sings his song softly and drinks kava, except for the last mouthful which is sprayed in the direction of the four cardinal points of the compass. The rainmaker then places rainstones in the water preserved in the base of an old, hollow tree. Nothing more needs to be done; rain should begin to fall within 24 to 48 hours. To stop the rain, a rainmaker simply retrieves his stones.

No one is sure how many rainstones exist on the island. People strongly suspect that others possess rainstones but keep them secret. From the local point of view, there are good reasons why even an exemplary citizen might not want possession of rainstones to become common knowledge. First, the rainstones might be an "unwanted" gift, a part of an inheritance that one chooses not to use but that is too valuable to throw away. Secondly, the Anglican church, to which most people in the district of Longana where we lived belong, has an ambivalent attitude toward the stones. During the 1930s, Anglican priests and catechists collected and discarded many of the stones as part of a general campaign against sorcery. Today, local priests no longer are irrevocably opposed to such charms as rainstones. They feel that the stones can be a powerful instrument for good or a devastating tool for evil. Anyone who owns such stones has the potential to be a local-level saviour or a sinner of extraordinary proportions. A final reason why a law-abiding citizen might choose to deny having rainstones is that to do otherwise would be dangerous. To admit ownership of the stones might make others jealous; envy is a leading cause of poisoning and magical attack. Some are willing to take such a risk; others are not.

The people of Ambae draw a sharp distinction between "good" or legitimate rainmaking and "bad" or deviant rainmaking. Good rainmaking is:

1. *public, in the sense of "acknowledged."* Rainmakers must always be ready to assume responsibility for their actions.
2. *performed for a single motive: ecological need.* The only acceptable occasion for a rainmaker to perform is when drought threatens the livelihood and well-being of members of a community.
3. *beneficial in its effects.* Rainmakers must subordinate their private interests to the public will: their single duty is to correct an undesirable ecological situation and avert human hardship.

The indigenous conception of "good" rainmaking is a *model* for a social and ecological ideal. People know that the ideal has not been achieved because they must cope occasionally with the reality of hurricanes, bad storms and excessive rain. Such conditions give rise to a second conception, a *model* of deviance in the social and ecological domains. "Bad" rainmaking is:

1. *private, hidden, unacknowledged.* Deviant rainmakers work in secret and then maintain as a secret the fact that they have caused rain.
2. *performed for a variety of motives, all of which stem from self-interest* The most common motives for deviant rainmaking are sorrow, envy, blackmail or revenge.
3. *destructive in its effects.* The only person to gain, either emotionally or materially, from an act of deviant rainmaking is the rainmaker. The rainmaker's gain is at the expense of an enemy, a victim or a community.

Identifying a Deviant Rainmaker in Longana

Deviation must be the cause of trouble to be labelled as deviant behaviour. As Mendonsa observes in his analysis of deviance and divination in Ghana, the process of defining deviance "involves a representative of society selecting those misdeeds that are thought to be a threat to the group for which he is responsible" (Mendonsa 1982:155); this process, which can include both informal and formal labelling phases, is an interactive one involving influential persons in the community, gossip, the moral code and the alleged deviant (ibid.:155-157). Labelling a deviant rainmaker is problematic. The problem, we should stress, is quite the opposite of the conceptual confusion of the actor with the act, a difficulty whose resolution has led some sociologists to suggest that deviance is a quality conferred on an activity, and not a person. Longanans *assume* that this separation exists. The problem that they encounter arises from the fact that, because deviant rainmaking is assumed to be very secretive, the actor and the activity are so widely separated that it is hard to bring them together. Events that are completely external to the human agent, such as a thunderstorm, demonstrate the efficaciousness of the rainmaker's potentially beneficent or deviant activity.

In Longana, traditional big men often join with Protestant church leaders to identify the cause of trouble, when gardens are washed away and flash floods threaten the lives of people crossing the many ravines in the area. They begin to pay attention to rumours that someone must be making too much rain. Initially, investigators attempt informally to find the deviant, but the veracity of those who deny knowing how to make rain is never taken for granted. To ensure that people tell the truth, the Bible has become, in recent years, an integral part of the process of identifying such a deviant.

For example, in 1977, two priests began an informal search for an unidentified rainmaker. They carried a Bible with them, as they walked barefoot through the mud from hamlet to hamlet, asking residents if they were responsible for the rain. At each settlement, people responded by kissing the Bible to affirm their innocence. About 40 local men joined forces with the priests along the route. Finally, the party entered the hamlet of a man we shall call Henderson who, it was rumoured, knew how to make rain. "Do you know how to make rain?" one of the priests asked. Henderson was silent for a moment and then, without a word, he turned and ducked into his house. After a few minutes, he reappeared with a tusked boar's skull, a traditional valuable used for paying compensation. He faced the priests and, beyond them, the crowd and spoke in a very soft voice. "Look," he said, "I don't know how to make rain. In the past, people knew how to make rain. Perhaps my father knew. But I am not the one who is making this rain. I give you this pig's skull to show you that I am telling the truth."[6] No one mentioned kissing the Bible, and the priests and their followers returned to their homes.

As this example of the informal process of identifying a deviant illustrates, a person can deny being the maker of destructive weather—indeed, one can deny knowing how to make any rain at all—and yet through actions such as the magnanimous gift of a tusked pig's skull one can almost simultaneously be labelled and "de-labelled" as a deviant. In Mendonsa's words, "the deviant is 'hooked' and then let off the hook in a ritual drama" that certainly has value for socializing children and that may communicate contradictions in the social system (Mendonsa 1982:189).

One contradiction that the example we have just cited communicates is this: Longanan priests and many other residents accept, most of the time, the belief that only God makes rain; yet many people, including some priests, also believe that individuals sometimes can make rain. The fact that both informal and formal processes of labelling a deviant rainmaker tend to end in ambiguity, with neither confession nor denial, highlights this contradiction. When leaders and the community consider an informal investigation of bad weather to have been ineffective, a more formal meeting, or court, usually is held to pursue the trouble to its source. In a public forum people are believed to be more likely to tell the truth. Yet, as one leader remarked, "Every meeting has been the same—the accused people always deny that they are guilty, but nobody ever believes they are telling the truth."

In 1982, a rain court was convened to establish the long-sought identity of the person who had made, by that time, about five months of rain. Although people had been asked in the privacy of their homes to verify their innocence by kissing the Bible, this court marked the first time that the

Bible was used in public to entrap a rainmaker. Leaders were reluctant to require accused persons to swear publicly on the Bible, because they feared this would shame people beyond acceptable limits. But they agreed that the Bible offered a foolproof method for identifying the guilty rainmaker. Even if all suspects denied culpability, "the error of the liar's ways would be revealed. God would point out who had lied."

Two traditional leaders and a priest accused seven men and three women of making rain. For example, a man who celebrated his wife's major funerary feast on the one sunny day in a month of rain was suspected of starting, and stopping, the deluge out of grief. He denied this and suggested that the court investigate his wife's matrilineal relatives, adding, "It wasn't me. I practically had to swim when I was preparing for her feast. I chopped firewood in the rain. I cooked food in the rain." The court dismissed the widower and summoned one of his dead wife's female, matrilineal relatives to testify. Although women are accused of rainmaking, a lack of confessions makes it possible for women to deny knowledge of rainmaking on the basis of gender. The accused responded, "What are you asking me for? I am just a woman. *Men* make rain. Men have made rain lots of times. But not me; I am just a woman."

The process of establishing innocence was painstaking and slow. Night fell, the court was adjourned, a second long day of court was held, and, after the ninth person swore an oath of innocence, people began to drift away from the meeting house. Only one suspect remained, a respected man of moderate influence in the community. This man was Henderson, the person who, five years earlier, had ended the search in another case of deviant rainmaking by giving the informal investigators a fine pair of pig's tusks while denying his guilt. He sat quietly and, instead of rising to take the oath, he pulled a stone from his pocket. "It's true," he said, "I have rainstones. You people think I know how to make rain. Well, you're right! I have the stones; I know the chants. *But* I didn't make this particular rain." Then he swore on the Bible.

The resolution of this case contrasts sharply with the episode in 1977 when Henderson gave away valuable tusks but did not kiss the Bible. His gift of tusks suggested that he was guilty; at the same time, he verbally denied his guilt while sidestepping the issue of kissing the Bible. But once the Bible became a tool in the public, formal divination of the deviant, Henderson found himself cornered, and, in the end, he confessed his guilt. He had been secretive, he had lied about his skill, he had made rain for a series of individuals whose names he recited.

Discussion

Henderson was not a marginal man. He was a respected member of society who was suspected of disreputable, antisocial activity. Why, aside from fear of God's reprisals for lying under oath, would he admit his knowledge of rainmaking especially since he did not feel responsible for the particular rain in question? In puzzling over this case, we have concluded that Henderson willingly accepted a fleeting label of "deviant" as part of a process in which he quickly transformed the suspicion of others into increased respect for his socially desirable power.[7] By volunteering that he had acted as a deviant, but small-scale, rainmaker in the past, Henderson emphasized what sociologists would call the primary, rather than the secondary, nature of his deviant activity. In other words, the admission that in the past he had pursued a deviant activity, but one with little social impact in the present, effectively quelled suspicion that he was responsible for the current state of affairs in which prolonged heavy rain was causing serious problems for the community.

Henderson's admission was unprecedented as the first public confession to rainmaking after many years in which those whom rumour held to be deviant rainmakers always denied their guilt yet continued to be suspected. His confession was crucial to the definition of his behaviour as deviant, for it was only through his willingness to publicly acknowledge secret behaviour that social control could be exercised. By revealing his secret activities, Henderson voluntarily subjected his own deviance to negative sanctions. Yet, by confessing to minor incidents of rainmaking, he was able to establish his credibility while limiting the extent to which negative sanctions actually would be imposed.

As is common in Melanesian courts, bringing such a matter out into the open is a considered desirable; public confession usually initiates a process Longanans call *haranago* "wiping away guilt," which reincorporates the offender into his or her proper place in society.[8] Thus, Henderson allowed Longanan leaders and members of the community to begin interacting with him, thereby continuing the process of transforming secret into public and evil into good that his confession had initiated.

In the small, multiplex, insular societies of Melanesia, agents of social control tend *not* to exclude, reject or regard as disreputable those people who are identified with deviant activity. Instead, the labelling process and, especially public confession to having performed a deviant act, is oriented toward the reintegration of the offender into the mainstream of society. It is evident that conceptual separation of actor and activity is at times difficult for us Westerners to keep in mind; even sociologists tend to lapse into regarding the labelling process as one in which persons, not activities, are

designated as deviant. But Longanans and other Melanesians have a fundamental acceptance that people are distinct from what they do. For them, the performance of a deviant activity clearly does not make one a deviant person. Therefore, they reintegrate and render harmless the person who has given offense rather than nurture a reactive secondary deviation in which control emphasizes the presence of the offender *within* the society. In contrast to our own way of life, there is physically and culturally no place for a deviant individual in a community such as Longana; hence, every effort is made to treat people as respected members of society while dealing with their occasionally deviant actions as socially intolerable.

In a cross-cultural investigation of deviance, we must go farther than distinguishing between actors and actions. Analysts must also recognize that primary deviation such as we have described is situational or circumstantial. Often, as is the case with rainmaking in Melanesia, deviant behaviour is simply a transformation of a socially beneficial activity. Context assumes crucial importance, for it is not even the act itself but the circumstances in which the activity is performed that render such behaviour deviant or desirable. Consequently, the imposition of social control can effect a relatively simple transposition of evil into good. For example, although some people favoured destroying Henderson's rainstones, they did not prevail. Instead, a priest took custody of the stones, allowing Henderson access to his rainmaking tools so long as he promised to use them only for the well-being of the community. In times of drought, Henderson's skills could be tapped and rainmaking would be publicly performed; but he was forbidden to make rain in secret or for individual clients.

Notably, the imposition of social control in Henderson's case involved no punishment. In fact, punishment was avoided. People were concerned not to alienate Henderson because of his presumed ability to control the weather. Longanans treated this category of deviance as the potent antithesis of socially beneficial power.[9] As we have suggested in our review of cross-cultural literature on rainmaking and in our analysis of Henderson's case, evil and good are not opposite ends of a continuum in Melanesia, but transformations of each other. Those who heal are those who can cause sickness, those with the power to make peace are those with potent charms for success in warfare, and those who bring a destructive deluge can end a drought with a gentle shower.

The complementarity of deviance and power became particularly evident in the days after the rain court. Although the rain continued, Longanans were satisfied at last that the culprit was not a local person. Henderson resumed his ordinary position in community life, but, under the surface, people did not forget his potentially powerful skill. A few months after the rain court, a very influential leader suggested that Henderson should pay a

steep fine for having made rain in the past. Others objected quickly and vehemently: paying a fine might make Henderson extremely angry, and if Henderson was angry, who knew what the consequences might be? Perhaps he would vent his temper in a tempest.

Would Henderson make rain if people made him angry? No one was sure; but local objection to imposing a fine on the reformed rainmaker suggests a measure of authority comparable to that which Ridgeway (1981) reports may accrue to Western non-conformists under certain circumstances. Rather than reducing his influence, Henderson's willing deviance had become a personal asset grounded in people's cognizance of his potential, but largely unrealized, power for evil in the past and for good in the present.

Not only in Melanesia but everywhere, "deviance is a socially created fact" (Mendonsa 1982:210). The leap from rainmakers to rapists or other deviant behaviour of the more conventionally sociological variety is not, we suggest, a great distance. The study of rainmakers simply highlights assumptions about the nature of deviance that are taken too much for granted by those of us who think we want to know "what" rather than "who" is responsible for mild winters and spring snow.

Notes

1. The Longana environment is discussed in detail in Rodman (1981).
2. We wish to thank Jonathan Mark for his assistance in researching Pacific materials discussed in this section.
3. Historical accounts indicate that deviant rainmakers were enough of a problem in Europe for laws to be established against them. Russell notes that "Visigothic laws of the sixth century prescribed whipping as punishment for self-advertised 'storm makers' who made farmers pay them to spare their fields" (1980:46).
4. In a few societies, there are no rainmakers but there are rainstoppers. Hogbin (1970:191) reports that in Wogeo there is not much call for rainmaking magic but a reputation for the ability to stop rain confers high status. Kapauku Papuans believe that only spirits can cause rain; men, however, can end rain by simple processes of imitative magic (Pospisil 1958:27).
5. Williams (1928:177), Hunt (1949:203) and Malinowski (1935:104) cite other examples of attempts on the part of members of a community to curb the activities of a rainmaker.
6. All attributed quotations are translations of tape-recorded statements that Longanans made to us during 11 months of fieldwork in 1978-79 or during our 1982 field research.
7. We doubt that Henderson did this in a calculating manner. His motivation seemed to arise directly from anxiety about the Bible's ability to detect a lie. Nevertheless, a consequence of confession was the enhancement of his reputation.
8. A more complete discussion of court procedure and litigation can be found in Rodman (1977, 1983).
9. Ambae has close cultural ties with nearby Raga (North Pentecost). Robert Lane, writing of Raga, observes that "power is the result of interaction between the environment and man . . . human beings through their actions, are an important part of the interacting forces that, when joined, produce power" (Lane 1977:365). By implication, rainmaking, which clearly results from interaction between man and the environment, produces

power. One reason why deviant rainmakers are feared is because they are engaged in activities productive of illegitimate power that can be used for antisocial ends.

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A QUESTION OF MORALITY: SORCERY AND CONCEPTS OF DEVIANCE AMONG THE KABANA, WEST NEW BRITAIN[1]

Naomi M. McPherson
Okanagan College

Abstract: For the Kabana of New Britain, deviant behaviour is essentially the advancement of self-interest untempered by self-regulation such that the individual infringes on the ability of others to pursue their own self-interest. Social labelling is applied to deviant behaviours, but no permanent stigma attaches to individuals. Reactions to deviance include shame, gossip and ridicule, proceedings before the village magistrate and sorcery. The performance of sorcery, a major cause of death, is a complex and ambiguous event, insofar as a sorcerer's threat may both inhibit deviance and mediate conflict, but the actual enactment of the threat is itself a deviant act. In cases where a victim's illness is attributed to sorcery, a moot may be held to discern the motives of sorcery and identify the sorcerer. In a particular case, which is examined at length here, failure clearly to identify the sorcerer was followed by the victim's death.

Résumé: Chez les Kabana de Nouvelle Bretagne, les comportements déviants sont largement le résultat d'une poursuite d'intérêts personnels non-modérés qui empiete aux autres la possibilité de poursuivre leurs propres intérêts. Il existe un système d'étiquettage social vis-à-vis des comportements déviants, mais cela ne marque pas les individus. Les réactions à la déviance incluent la honte, le commérage, la ridiculisation, comparaître devant le magistrat du village et la sorcellerie. L'acte de sorcellerie, étant une cause importante de décès, est une occurrence complexe et ambiguë. En fait, une menace provenant d'un sorcier peut soit décourager la violence soit agir en tant qu'agent médiatif; par contre cette menace est elle même un acte déviant. Dans les cas où la victime est malade par cause de sorcellerie, une assemblé peut être réunie pour déterminer pourquoi la sorcellerie a été utilisée en plus de découvrir l'identité du sorcier. Cette étude examine en profondeur un cas particulier où une victime est morte parce que le sorcier n'a pu être identifié.

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In the study of what we now recognize as "deviance" in Pacific societies, the work of Malinowski is central. Vincent considers his treatment of sorcery, in particular, to be "pathbreaking." In the Trobriands, sorcery was *both* a criminal practice and a method of administering justice. Which it was in any particular case depended on who was practising it on whom and when he was doing it. On the one hand, sorcery was

> the main criminal agency (Malinowski 1926:85); on the other, the Trobriand chief used sorcery to punish offenders. . . . Thus he concluded that where there was no *formal* code or administration of justice, it was very difficult to draw a line between the "quasi-legal" and the "quasi-criminal." (Vincent 1990:165-166)

The line was usually drawn in some public arena.

In this early view, sorcery may be either deviance per se, or it may be the *control* of deviance. This treatment is compatible with the labelling theory of deviance that has developed since Malinowski wrote, especially in its focus on reactions to deviance rather than deviance itself. Indeed, the earliest statement of labelling theory by Becker (1963:10-11) included a lengthy citation of one of Malinowski's cases from *Crime and Custom in Savage Society* (Malinowski 1967). Becker used this quote to differentiate between the relatively common commission of an act and the rare adjudication of the same act as *deviant by virtue of the reaction to it.*

In this paper, a similar analysis is applied to the Kabana of West New Britain, Papua New Guinea.[2] Labelling theory is used to call attention to the multiple levels of political negotiation that go into a decision about whether an act of sorcery is—or is not—deviant. In the process, the analysis leads us to an examination of the organizational complexity of labelling. In order to provide context for the analysis, I begin with a discussion of Kabana morality and then move to a discussion of lower, "pre-sorcery" levels of social control among the Kabana, and, finally, I examine Kabana notions of sorcery as a social sanction. With this background established, the paper then moves to an extended analysis of a particular case of alleged sorcery and the political negotiation that took place, when villagers tried to decide whether the sorcery was deviance or had been used as a means to *control* deviance. The case is a provocative and rich one, because the outcome of the negotiation was indeterminate. The line between sorcery as deviance and sorcery as control of deviance could not be drawn, and the case entered Kabana history as backdrop for some dispute that would arise later.

Kabana Morality

Among the Kabana of West New Britain, Papua New Guinea the framework of ideal social values and morals is grounded in concepts of human nature and the obligations inherent in the structure of human relations. It is this ethic of morality which provides a guide for individual action, and against which actions are judged. In this non-literate society, where the locus of individual experience is social, relations among individuals and groups do not exist in the abstract but always and only in connection with someone or something else. Given the extensive and overlapping network of Kabana social relations, there is an equally extensive range of behaviour that can be perceived as deviant to some degree and can elicit varying degrees of response from a particular audience. What constitutes deviant behaviour thus depends on whether relevant others perceive a certain act as a threat to the basic tenets of Kabana social life, that is, to the moral obligations which structure human relations.

Offended persons may select from a hierarchy of responses of increasing complexity to restore and restructure their interpersonal relations. Ultimately, social conformity derives from a fundamental principle of reciprocal self-interest which is based upon two related concepts: self-regulation and self-help. Self-regulation entails that all individuals are deemed to be in control of their own existence and, therefore, are accountable to, and responsible for, others. Self-help is the principle whereby individuals who perceive their rights to have been infringed upon may rightfully take retaliatory action against those who have infringed upon them (cf. Lawrence 1984:161). The interrelated concepts of self-help and self-regulation are, in turn, based on the Kabana belief in personal autonomy, that is, that all individuals have the freedom to empower their existence as a basic human right. For the Kabana, deviant behaviour is essentially the advancement of self-interest untempered by self-regulation such that the individual infringes on the ability of others to pursue their own self-interest.

The Kabana label behaviour but not individuals as deviant, and the imposition of negative sanctions in no way implies an intent to permanently discriminate against or stigmatize an offender. The aim of any sanction is to provide the culprit with the opportunity for expiation thereby limiting the consequences of the transgression to that single event. There is no intentional discrimination against, and no stigma applied to, offenders, for to stigmatize persons is to set aside and mark them permanently as incorrigibly different, thus denying them the opportunity to redress the imbalance in social relations caused by their offenses. By not allowing a person to rectify wrongful behaviour, others arbitrarily rescind that individual's personal autonomy, integrity and right to self-help, thus effectively reducing the individual to a non-

social (and, therefore, non-human) being. To label an individual permanently as deviant is to place him or her outside the pale of human relations as a social pariah. Ultimately, such action is tantamount to a death sentence, because in societies of this nature, no one can exist outside the context of social relations. The only options left to the stigmatized individual would be exile or suicide (cf. Counts and Counts 1984; Lawrence 1984:132).

Most reactions to deviance occur at the level of personal relations, though they may involve whole families. On occasion, however, reactions to deviance can be escalated to levels that involve multiple families within villages, and may even include whole villages. Sorcery events also involve their own levels of organization and styles of political negotiation.

In this chapter, after briefly delineating the range of responses to lower levels of deviance, I focus on a traditional village "court" proceeding which was convened in reaction to a particular sorcery event.[3] Sorcery is the most pervasive and powerful regulatory device that the Kabana have for dealing with deviant behaviour. The practice of sorcery is not unambiguously right or wrong. As a negative sanction, sorcery is a legitimate form of social control, both an expected and accepted consequence of a breach of morality. Since sorcery is always potentially lethal, however, any act of sorcery, regardless of the circumstances, can be construed as a deviant act and thus be subject to negative social sanctions itself. The case history presented here demonstrates how the community reacted to the ambiguous nature of sorcery, when they attempted to determine whether or not one woman's imminent death by sorcery was a legitimate form of social control or a case of homicide, which, in turn, would require control.

Lower Levels of Social Control

All Kabana relationships are face-to-face relations and everyone is known to, and knows about, everyone else. Anonymity is impossible and no behaviour, albeit good, bad or indifferent, goes undiscovered. For the most part, a perceived breach of the ideal of reciprocal self-interest is couched in terms of positive criticism. Someone who ignores the rules of reciprocity is advised or reminded of the potentially negative consequences that could be experienced as a result of the impropriety. For example, a youth who avoids assisting his kin in cutting and hauling trees to make a garden fence may be criticized for his laziness and warned that when he needs the aid of these same kin in some venture of his own, such as the amassing of his bride-wealth, help may not be forthcoming. Continued failure to observe proper behaviour reduces a person's chances for success in other desired achievements, and, since it is in their own best interests to do so, most people adjust their behaviour in response to the pressure exerted on them to conform.

The Kabana do not equate simple non-conformity with deviance. Idiosyncratic personality types are marked, for example, by teasing or nicknaming. They may become the butt of jokes, be lampooned, criticized or otherwise disparaged, but there is no stigma imposed on them. When a person is recognized as having social or physical disabilities, others compensate for the idiosyncratic personality by lowering their expectations. Acknowledging individual differences defines the attributes of individuals who comprise a relationship, but the relationship itself remains unaffected, operating according to the level of expectations of all involved. Within the framework of lowered expectations, the idiosyncratic personality is recognized but not stigmatized in the sense of being negatively stereotyped or marginalized.

Shaming, gossip and ridicule are extremely effective means of sanctioning deviant behaviour. The power of shame as an overt negative sanction derives from the discomfort of "an intrusion of one's private self into public awareness and the reciprocal invasion of the self by public scrutiny" (Jorgensen 1983-84:123). Shaming and gossip expose the inadequacies of the individual and exert pressure on the target to behave according to commonly held values and to repair the imbalance in social relations. The balance between public and private, self and other, is restored through a process of negotiation and settled when the culprit presents a gift of wealth to those who have gossiped about or shamed the victim. The gift of wealth both relieves the culprit of the sense of shame and obliges the recipients to curtail their slander or risk censure themselves for perpetuating a situation that has been resolved satisfactorily.

At a higher level of response, theft, physical violence and adultery often result in the perpetrator being brought before the village magistrate by the injured party. More often than not, in communities of this type, "the culprit is condemned on the basis of ideal social values even by those who have been guilty of the same offense in the past" (Lawrence 1984:132). Again, since the Kabana label only behaviour, not individuals, as deviant, any sanction imposed by the public court allows the culprit the opportunity for expiation and limits the consequences of the transgression to a single event. Once reparation is made, usually in the form of a compensation payment, the incident is forgiven, although rarely forgotten, and the culprit resumes his or her usual place in the community. There is no intentional discrimination against, and no permanent stigma applied to the offender.

For the Kabana, observation of the moral obligations that structure and organize human relations can be, ultimately, a life-and-death matter. Persons who survive to an extreme old age are by definition those persons who have lived a morally correct life. Death from old age is a good death (cf. Counts 1976-77), a death which is the result of, and performs closure on, a

socially correct and moral life span. The Kabana observe, however, that, human nature being what it is, very few people survive to the culturally defined life span that culminates in a good death. With few exceptions, most people die a bad death as victims of sorcery (see Scaletta [McPherson] 1985).

Sorcery as Social Sanction and as Deviance

Sorcery can be defined as a form of esoteric knowledge bestowing personal power which the adept can use willfully to realize desired ends. While not everyone could or would acquire the knowledge and skill to become a sorcerer, all have access to sorcery as a mode of self-help by purchasing the services of a known sorcerer. Awareness of the fact that others can choose to exercise their right to self-help through sorcery serves to define sorcery as the primary deterrent to deviant behaviour. Victims of sorcery are assumed to be persons who have violated social mores and values thereby infringing on the rights of others.[4] Because sorcery is notoriously difficult to control once unleashed, both the decision to sorcerize and the execution of that decision should result from corporate deliberation and follow certain other procedural rules. The injured party should discuss any intention to instigate redressive action in the form of sorcery with his or her kin. If one's kin are not in agreement with such measures, the whole matter is dropped or deferred. If there is sufficient agreement to warrant action, however, usually because others have complaints against the intended victim or because the offence is such that sorcery is the only appropiate form of punishment, then the services of a sorcerer are solicited.[5] Sorcery is a male prerogative acquired through apprenticeship and arranged in the *lum*, "men's house." Once the sorcerer has been approached and all the details have been worked out, the sorcerer and his clients exchange equal lengths of the most highly valued category of shell-money, *bula misi*. This exchange of wealth "buys" both the sorcerer's services and the silence and complicity of those employing him. Since the men's house is a semi-public domain, there is no question that the business of soliciting a sorcerer has been witnessed by other men in or near the building, and the whole episode becomes a topic for discreet gossip, a public secret, and moves into a wider area of involvement.

The sorcerer's role may also be construed as that of a mediator hired to resolve a conflict between two parties. Acting on behalf of his client, the sorcerer leaves a "calling card" (Zelenietz 1981:105) which alerts the recipient that some action on his or her part has offended another party, thus jeopardizing their relationship. The calling cards of Kabana sorcerers can take a number of forms: a large basket, of the type only sorcerers carry, lodged in the rafters of the victim's house; a gutted frog pinioned on the

footpath the victim travels to the gardens; a bundle of croton leaves tied in a particular way and placed conspicuously where the victim will find it, and so on.

Kabana sorcerers also send calling cards in the form of ensorcelled stones that they throw onto or into the victim's house. The stone called *pamodo-donga*, carries a form of sorcery that causes the victim to become ill for an indefinite period of time. It is generally assumed that, during the illness, victims will examine their consciences, review their actions and deduce for themselves the nature of their transgressions. They can then take steps to rectify the situation by approaching those with whom they are in conflict and trying to negotiate a resolution to the difficulty. If a resolution is reached, they pay the sorcerer to rescind his spell. If they are unable to identify the locus of conflict, the sorcerer might approach them, inform them why they have been ill, remove the spell and restore health. It is more common, however, because sorcery is a non-confrontational social act, for spells to be removed as stealthily as they were applied. Then, a second stone, *angual*, is thrown on the victim's house. Sorcery of this type puts transgressors on notice that they should discover the source of the conflict and repair the rift in their relationships, before they develop into open confrontation.

Although sorcery is an expected negative sanction for breach of expected behaviour, the actual implementation of sorcery as a form of self-help is, in itself, a deviant act. Evidence of sorcery indicates that someone has succeeded in a private act of collusion. When sorcery is suspected, "the contradiction between autonomy and control is flagrantly exposed and every villager is witness to his or her own vulnerability" (Weiner 1976:223). Sorcery takes away from the victim all that the Kabana define as human rights: the right to self-help, personal autonomy and control over one's existence. To be a victim of sorcery is to be threatened with death, for one's "personal autonomy has collapsed" (ibid.:219). It is for this reason that death by sorcery is a bad death. It is a bad death not just because of the manner in which it occurred, but also because of the manner in which it was incurred. Death by sorcery entails a negative judgment upon the behaviour of the victim by relevant others, but does not allow the culprit to amend the situation in his or her own best interests. Personal autonomy is negated and the target becomes a victim of the power that others wield in pursuit of their own self-interest. Death by sorcery is a moral issue, and those who practise it are themselves subject to public disapprobation: "Individual power, the cause of all death, demands the display of group power" (Weiner 1976:226).

A Case of Sorcery

Jean had been seriously ill for three months.[6] During this time, attempts to cure her had proved fruitless. Treatments at the local hospital and by local healers, and the attempts of a sorcerer-curer to heal her by extracting foreign substances from her body were all ineffective. From the beginning of her illness, Jean was convinced that she had been sorcerized, a conviction reinforced when all attempts to cure her failed. Only the sorcerer who inflicts the spell has the correct formula for rescinding it and restoring the victim to health. As her illness progressed, Jean became more and more incapacitated. She became a non-participant in the myriad conceptual and social minutiae that make life worth living. As an invalid, her social interactions were essentially passive. She was dependent on others to care for her, and she resented being powerless, the victim of someone's ill-will. There was no question in anyone's mind, least of all Jean's, that she was dying. Her family refused, however, to open the magic bundle containing her vital essence, *tautau*, and kept it in contact with her body to prevent her death. The final indignity, from Jean's perspective, was that she was denied the right to take control of the situation and end her own life. (See Scaletta 1985 for a detailed discussion of these events).

Given that illness or death caused by sorcery are the result of specifically inflicted punishment for a breach of socially expected behaviour on the part of the victim (or her family), Jean's condition created a climate of heightened awareness of a variety of social relations. Relations between Jean and other individuals, between her family and other family groups, between her hamlet and the other three hamlets in the village, and between her village as a unit and other villages, particularly the two villages where the majority of her cognatic kin lived, were all minutely scrutinized. There was constant re-evaluation and discussion of past events, interpersonal and intergroup interactions, in order to determine why, and by whom, she was sorcerized. Jean's personal crisis as an individual escalated to the level of an intervillage social crisis.

Jean added to the escalating tensions by making specific charges of sorcery against three men in the village. She accused Ken, her deceased husband's brother. His motive, she said, was revenge: Ken and his kin group were avenging the death of their brother by attacking his wife. The second man she accused was Lari. She had no specific reason for accusing him, except that he had renown as a powerful sorcerer, and was, at the time, under suspicion by everybody in the area as the individual responsible for the current drought.[7] She argued that if Lari would create hardship in the whole area in his efforts to destroy a rival, then it was reasonable that he should attack her for no motive other than that it was in the nature of his disposition

to do so. The third man she accused was Tomi, her sister's husband. Tomi was obsessively jealous of his wife and resented the time she spent in Jean's company. By eliminating her, Jean reasoned, Tomi was eliminating a major competitor for his wife's affection.

In all these accusations, Jean portrayed herself as an innocent victim. At no time did she name anyone who may have had reason to resort to sorcery in retaliation for some misdeed on her part. In proclaiming her innocence, she was implying that sorcery was being practised arbitrarily and, therefore, that everyone was vulnerable unless it could be stopped. Jean's steady decline, the general unease generated by the active presence of sorcery in their midst, the increasing strain between her cognatic and affinal kin and the intervillage tensions arising from Jean's accusations coalesced one morning with the arrival of a delegation of Jean's male kin from her natal village. They came both to express their anger that someone was "killing" their sister and to demand that a meeting be convened to "break the talk," to expose and punish the sorcerer.

Breaking the Talk

To "break the talk" means to cut through the multitude of conjecture and gossip about why a person has been sorcerized and by whom. When the "talk is broken," it is exposed to public scrutiny so that its veracity can be analyzed and a logical sequence of events leading up the illness or death can be reconstructed. When the nature of the victim's offence has been determined, thereby identifying those who had reason to sorcerize her, witnesses can either refute or confirm the charges of culpability. The meeting to "break the talk" also provides a forum where persons who are associated with the illness or death, because of past disputes with the victim, can proclaim their innocence and clear their names, thereby avoiding the possibility that they might be sorcerized by the victim's avenging kin group. Ideally, this procedure culminates in a solid case of circumstantial evidence identifying the protagonists in the conflict, and leaves no doubt as to who caused the victim to become ill or to die. Any doubt as to the identity of the sorcerer is dispelled when those who witnessed the meeting between the sorcerer and the persons who employed him produce the length of shell-money they were given to "buy" their silence. Ultimately, the "talk is broken" when the silence surrounding the act of collusion is broken, thus publicly exposing those who participated in the decision to sorcerize.

A meeting to "break the talk" is a highly charged public confrontation and represents the most complex level of the adjudication of deviance in Kabana culture. At such meetings in the past, it is said, the end came with a fight and the killing of the exposed sorcerer. The sorcerer's death was con-

sidered compensation for the death of the victim, and obviated (in theory, if not always in practice) the need for retributive sorcery by balancing the losses on both sides of the conflict. The death of the sorcerer was a public statement to those who sought control over others that homicidal sorcery was an amoral act so heinous that death was the only appropriate social response.[8]

On the day of the meeting, all the adult males from the four concerned villages convened in the plaza in front of the "men's house." There were no women (except myself) or children visibly present.[9] It was dangerous for them to be there. The meeting lasted for five hours, during which the discussion ranged widely. Several young men professed their lack of knowledge of sorcery, and called on their senior male relatives to attest to the fact that they had not instructed them in the ways and means of sorcery. Another man acknowledged that he had disputed with Jean and her sister over the ownership of certain sago palms, but said they had settled the problem, and that the altercation could not, therefore, be construed as a motive for sorcery on his part. Much of the meeting proceeded in this manner, the underlying premise being that unchallenged, public denials of guilt or involvement are sufficient to prove innocence. The most important contributions came from the three men specifically accused by Jean, and from Jean's brother.

The three accused took the opportunity to refute Jean's charges against them. Tomi, Jean's sister's husband, stated that he did not and could not know sorcery because he was associated with women (a consequence of his jealous obsession with his wife). This was common knowledge, he went on, for did not everyone refer to him as "first woman"? Sorcery is the business of men, and a man who spends his time with women would not have occasion to learn the art. Even if he did, his powers would be diminished by to his contact with females, who are "different" (Tok Pisin: *narapela kain*) from men.[10] It was true, he admitted, that he had tried to purchase rain magic (a form of sorcery) from an old man in another village, but he had been refused. Tomi had given valid reasons why he could not know sorcery, and why, even if he did have some skill as a sorcerer, this skill would be minimal. He had admitted to being in the company of a sorcerer, given reasons for being there and revealed the outcome of the meeting, thus forestalling any misconstruction of his behaviour by others who might have witnessed the meeting. No one challenged what he had to say.

Ken, Jean's husband's brother, also denied her accusations against him. He pointed out that when she first became ill, she had come to him on her own initiative and asked him to use his skills to cure her. He had assumed she was suffering from the effects of "bad blood," a problem peculiar to post-menopausal women. He had prepared the appropriate cure, which proved ineffective. Because of this and her worsening condition, she be-

came fearful and accused him of sorcerizing rather than curing her. He also noted that she, and perhaps other members of her family, thought he might have attacked her in revenge for the death of his brother, Jean's husband. He denied the credibility of such speculations on the grounds that he was a member of the Catholic Church which forbade the practice of sorcery. He further denied the fact of sorcery, saying that sickness and death were not caused by human actors, but by God, as divine punishment for sins committed. Jean was dying, he concluded, because God was punishing her as a sinner.

The third man accused by Jean was Lari. As the person considered responsible for the drought and a self-acknowledged sorcerer, Lari defended himself on both counts. He argued that no one could claim they had actually seen him practising weather magic. Even though he had all the paraphernalia, which he then produced for all to see, without eye-witnesses, all the talk about him was nothing but air, insubstantial and without truth value. Did people think, he demanded, that he or a member of his family would be so "insane" (Kabana: *mangamanga*) as to attack this woman and run the risk of retaliation from her kin? They must look to the woman herself, he admonished, for the origin of her problem. From the time of their ancestors, he continued, there were two reasons why females were attacked by sorcery. They were sorcerized for being foul-tempered, malicious gossips, and for repulsing the sexual advances of males, or conversely, for engaging in illicit love affairs. (The seeming paradox of this situation is more apparent than real, but a detailed discussion is beyond the scope of the task at hand.)

Lari's point here was to prompt people to examine Jean's behaviour rather than continuing to look for wrongdoing on the part of others. He was, in effect, both denying the validity of the scenario that Jean had created in which she played the role of innocent victim, and situating the whole episode within the accepted explanatory framework—people are sorcerized for breach of social norms. It then came out that during the weeks of Jean's illness, there had been a great deal of discussion about her reputation for maligning others, particularly two senior women who were highly respected. There was also talk of her affair with a married man who was also a person of some renown. It was further reported that she had accepted a proposal of marriage, and the shell money that accompanied it, from a man in the Kove district.[11] She had later reneged on her promise to marry him, claiming that she wanted to remain a widow and live near her children, but had failed to return the shell money. The rejected man thus had motive—the loss of his shell money, not the broken promise—and the wherewithal to attack her, the Kove being notorious sorcerers. All agreed, that any one of the foregoing was a likely origin of her illness and, if so, that (1) she had gotten only what she deserved, and (2) that, if the sorcery originated with the Kove man, her

chances of recovery were slim because no one knew either the Kove techniques, or, consequently, the specific counter spell to effect a cure.

Discussion turned to the possibility that Jean was part of a long-standing vendetta to eliminate all the members of her family. In the past five years, sorcery had claimed the lives of Jean's father, her 20-year-old son, a classificatory son and her eldest son's wife. Everyone knew that her father had died of *mosi* "privately owned designs." Without permission or payment, he had used the traditional totemic designs of another kin group on a set of spirit masks of his own group. Death by sorcery was the expected and accepted response to such a serious crime; hence, there had been no "talk" or retaliation, and the incident was closed. Perhaps, however, the issue was not closed, and Jean was the most recent casualty of the offended group's unrequited anger for her father's transgression against them.

These observations focussed attention on indigenous ancestral laws, and Lari began a forceful harangue about the loss of traditional customs. In the past, he began, this meeting would have taken place inside the men's house, not in the open plaza. Now the men's house stood abandoned, and young men no longer gathered there to learn from their elders. Now men slept, not in the men's house, but with their wives and children in the women's houses. Even the practice of sorcery was no longer done according to tradition. In the time of their grandfathers, sorcery was always undertaken by two or three men with the sanction of their kin group. With these several people involved, it was possible to "break the talk," discover who worked the sorcery and why, and thus permit resolution of the situation. This was no longer possible because sorcery was being practised on an individual basis, making it impossible to expose and control the practice of sorcery.

Jean's elder brother Karl, located at the outer perimeter of the assembly, had stood quietly throughout the foregoing, awaiting his opportunity to speak. When he had everyone's attention, he began by reprimanding people for listening to Jean's accusations. The ravings of a sick person should not be given credibility. Such talk is *mangamanga*, "hysterical," and based on fear. He went on to point out that those who brought up his father's death by sorcery were wrong to revive this incident, for it implied that he, or a member of his family, had avenged their father's death and that Jean's illness was retaliation for that second death. When their father died, he and his brothers had "put on the grass skirt" worn by women. Metaphorically, he was arguing that they had become like women, and thus did not know or engage in sorcery. The death of their father had nothing to do with his sister's dying, and such talk must cease, he emphasized, so that old animosities were not revived. He reiterated that they must look to Jean's own behaviour

as the cause of her dying, and, having nicely set the mood, he went on to elaborate what, in his opinion, that behaviour might have been.

Some years before, Jean and her husband had contracted a marriage between one of their sons and the daughter of Rio and Sandra, a couple who have considerable prestige in the area. During a ceremonial feast at another village, Jean's son had an affair with another woman. The young people were discovered, and, when confronted with the options of either paying fines to "buy their shame," or with getting married, the two said they wished to be married. With this public declaration of intent, they were married *de facto*, and the betrothal previously arranged by the young man's parents was nullified.

When the jilted girl's parents heard this, they were furious and confronted Jean and her husband. While venting her anger, the girl's mother assumed the stylistic stance associated with throwing spears during battle, and called down the name of her personal protective spirit upon Jean's head, an effective and sometimes deadly curse. She berated Jean for breaking the marriage contract, thereby shaming both her and her daughter. Jean claimed she had nothing to do with the situation, and had heard of her son's behaviour and marriage only after the fact.

Two days after this confrontation, Jean sat on some wood shavings on her verandah, and, several days later, her legs became swollen. It was assumed that Jean had been sorcerized by the offended parents through the medium of wood shavings. She was treated by a curer familiar with that type of sorcery, and the condition was removed. It now appeared that the sorcery had not been neutralized, but had lain dormant in her body these past years, and was only now manifesting itself as her current illness.

Karl's speech was extremely effective. He had discredited Jean's accusations against others as the ravings of a sick and frightened person, thus soothing the anxieties of the accused; he had denied that her illness was a continuation of the conflict that resulted in their father's death, thus avoiding the possibility of old animosities resurfacing, and he had described a specific breach of moral obligation – the breaking of a marriage contract. At the same time, he had left it an open question whether or not Jean was responsible for the breach. (Everybody knew that nowadays children made up their own minds about whom they would or would not marry.) His suggestion that specific, known events and individuals might be responsible for Jean's illness helped defuse the tensions that had built up around people's fears that sorcery was being practised arbitrarily. The individuals implicated had been away from the village for the past year, living in urban centres, and so were not on hand to give their interpretation or to defend themselves. No one else present hurried to defend them either, possibly because one of them was already considered responsible for other recent, and unresolved,

sorcery related incidents. At the conclusion of his speech, the meeting was brought to a close. Karl had provided an acceptable explanatory framework for Jean's condition, thus redressing the "threat of disorderliness" that a motiveless death implies (Zelenietz 1981:9). The consensus was, however, that the meeting had not been totally satisfactory. They had been unable to "break the talk" and prove conclusively the validity of the reconstruction. No one had come forth to bear witness against the sorcerer whose behaviour threatened Jean's life and the moral infrastructure of social order. Because the situation was not totally resolved, there was little hope that Jean could be cured.

Three weeks later, Jean died. When the funeral rites and period of mourning were finished, life in the village reverted to the status quo ante; the crisis created by Jean's dying and death might never have occurred. When I inquired of my informants what steps, if any, would be taken to avenge her death or punish the sorcerer, I was advised that we ought not to discuss such matters. Others might hear of our talk, assume we are plotting vengeance and take steps to protect themselves by striking first; we could be sorcerized. Circumstances surrounding her death are not forgotten. The entire experience will be woven into the fabric of ongoing personal and social relations where it will affect people's motives and behaviour in the future.

Conclusion

This analysis of sorcery and deviant behaviour in Kabana society shows that the generic processes noted in labelling theory can be applied to the cross-cultural study of deviance, even in a society in which deviants are not specifically "labelled." Certain kinds of behaviour, under certain conditions, are reacted to as deviant in Kabana society, and there are rules about what constitutes a socially acceptable response to deviant behaviour. The Kabana data show that, regardless of the level of community involvement, the reaction to deviant behaviour does not result in the typing of individuals as permanently deviant, or in the differentiation of people into groups defined as "normals" and "deviants." Given the egalitarian ideology and lack of stratification in Kabana society, the creation of a class of deviants is unlikely, and, in Kabana terms, philosophically untenable. Rather, deviance is a highly negotiated, highly complex phenomenon which occurs in an interpersonal network. Sorcery is an interesting case in point. While it is inherently neither deviant nor a normative sanction for the social control of deviance, it may be negotiated as *either* according to the specifics of any particular case. It may begin with individual relations and end there; it may rise to the familial level and end there or escalate to even more complex levels before it is publicly mooted. In the moot, sorcery may be judged to be

a device for the legitimate control of deviance, deviance in and of itself, or the problem of what it is may prove to be insoluble. *Whatever* the outcome, the case remains in the cultural memory of the groups involved and forms part of relevant knowledge that will be brought to bear in subsequent cases of sorcery or other trouble.

Afterword

The events described above took place in early 1983. When I returned to the village in 1985, one of the first pieces of news that I was given was that Ken, Jean's husband's brother, had been ill for some months and was currently at the local health clinic for medical treatment. The public explanation for his illness was that he "had no blood" (acute anaemia, possibly leukaemia?); the *very* private explanation was that he had been sorcerized. In response to my queries about who had sorcerized him and why, people referred to the case of Jean and her accusations against her brother-in-law. I was also advised not to pursue this matter with "certain other people," lest those people infer that my inquiries were informed by the (malicious) speculation of the people who spent time with me, thus placing them at risk. It was clear that Ken's lingering illness was linked to Jean's death by sorcery, but people preferred not to make this connection a matter of public record or public moot. The feeling was that, if ignored, the attacks and counterattacks of sorcery would cease, and order and well-being would prevail. I respected these views and did not pursue the matter further. Ken died in 1986 after a prolonged and painful dying process.

Notes

1. This paper is based on 22 months of field research in the Kabana village of Kokopo, West New Britain, Papua New Guinea in 1981, 1982-83 and 1985. Funds for the research were provided by the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada in the form of a Doctoral Fellowship and a Post-doctoral fellowship. Special thanks are due the Kabana, who not only took me in, but undertook to explain their world to me. Thanks also go to Drs. Rick Goulden, Bil Thurston, Richard Brymer and David Counts for their unstinting patience and critical commentary throughout the evolution of this paper.
2. The Kabana live in Bariai Census Division, a political and geographic district on the northwest coast of the Island of New Britain in Papua New Guinea. Rural Bariai is a relatively isolated and undeveloped area with a total population of about 900 people, the majority of whom speak Kabana, a Siassi Austronesian language. Although affected by their contact with the larger Western world system, the Kabana continue to depend for their subsistence on swidden horticulture and maintain much of their traditional world view and lifestyle. Kabana society is small-scale, unstratified and founded on the structure of human relations. The Kabana are fiercely egalitarian; the obligation to share, the redistribution of wealth in ceremonials and the threat of sorcery are effective levelling mechanisms for maintaining and enforcing the egalitarian ideology.

3. Local magistrates and village constables are appointed to enforce and adjudicate breaches of the law as defined by the introduced Anglo-Australian legal system. Sorcery was outlawed by the former colonial administration and sorcerers might be accused, tried and, if convicted, incarcerated. The "village court," discussed here, is a traditional precontact institution based on customary law, the "law of the ancestors" (Tok Pisin: *lo bilong ol tumbuna*). Although the village magistrate and constable attended this "court," they did so in no official capacity: they were concerned kinspeople, not representatives of the government.
4. Victims of sorcery are those who perceive themselves or are perceived by others as having been ensorcelled.
5. To become involved in sorcery is dangerous indeed. Individuals who initiate a sorcery attack put not only themselves but their families at risk from counterattack. The most effective way to destroy an opponent is to attack the source of his wealth and prestige – his family, especially his wife and children. For this reason, the decision to initiate an act of sorcery with its attendant risks must be taken as a group decision.
6. Although the persons referred to here will surely recognize themselves, I have used fictitious names throughout in the event that they may not wish to be recognized by others.
7. The 10-month drought during 1982 and 1983 affected the entire northern coast of the island of New Britain, and caused critical shortages of food and water throughout the area.
8. Such an outcome was the ideal of such a village moot, and accounts of them form precedent for current moots. They do not, however, often end so neatly.
9. As a female, it was equally dangerous for me to be there and, in fact, my hosts were very concerned that I might inadvertently become a victim of what they saw as indiscriminate sorcerizing. The villagers reasoned, however, that since it was my work to learn about their way of life (and death), it was important that I know and understand the process of "breaking the talk." For my protection, I was closely accompanied by six male members of my adopted family who later helped me translate my tapes of the proceedings and provided background information on the incidents referred to during the moot.
10. The implication here is that female essences, such as bodily fluids or menstrual blood, render males ritually and magically impotent.
11. The Kove are culturally and linguistically related to the Kabana. They inhabit offshore islands in the Kombe Census District, which covers an area east from the boundary of the Kaliai District to the western base of the Willaumez peninsula.

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DEVIANT SPIRITS IN WEST MALAYSIAN FACTORIES

Susan McLellan
Saskatchewan Executive Council, Ottawa

Abstract: This paper examines spirit possession among Malay female factory workers and shows the way in which a "normal" village reaction to stress in rural areas has been transformed into "deviance" by foreign owned transnational corporations operating in the new urban industrial estates.

Résumé: En étudiant la possession d'alcool parmi des ouvrières d'usine au Malay, cet article démontre comment, dans une communauté rurale, une réponse normale au stress s'est transformée en déviance sous l'influence d'entreprises multi-nationales opérant dans les nouvelles zones industrielles urbaines.

Introduction

Spirit possession has always been common in rural Malay villages (Firth 1967; Kessler 1977; Banks 1976). It should be pointed out that in rural areas spirit possession is motivated by problems such as illness, sorrow, tension and family problems. Many kinship compounds have a member (male or female) susceptible to spirit possession and trancing, but these tend to be "private," rather than the "public" and dramatic performances which anthropologists have concentrated upon (Firth 1967; Kessler 1977).

However, patterns of spirit possession have increased very dramatically during the tenure of the Malaysia's New Economic Policy and industrialization, particularly in the urban areas. As Ackerman notes:

> A stereotyped pattern follows the many events. Victims, predominantly unmarried Malay girls, suddenly begin to scream and shout in terror, run aimlessly, complain of chest pains and breathing difficulties, become aggressive and abuse everyone in sight. Some exhibit trance-like behaviour, others experience convulsions or hallucinations and report seeing supernatural beings. This behaviour becomes highly contagious and spreads through the group. Victims struggle violently and display extraordinary physical

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> strength. After recovery victims universally claim amnesia and insist they were unaware of their behaviour. (Ackerman 1980:171)

Malays interpret these outbreaks as supernatural possession and the victims are believed to have disturbed the spirits. Some interpret them as punishment for the violation of moral codes, while others see spirit possession as the work of spirits who attack victims while they have weak soul essence. The victim becomes a source of spiritual power, so is not responsible for any of her actions. Whatever occurs is the machination of a spirit. To pacify the spirits a Malay ritual expert, *bomoh*, prepares a sacrifice, gives the victim protective amulets, holy water and orders her to follow certain taboos for a time (see also Lee 1981; Ackerman and Lee 1978, 1981).

Contrary to "orthodox Islam," the Malay world view includes a tenacious belief in a spirit world, and even the most sophisticated Western-educated Malay holds to such concepts. This includes animistic, Hindu, Buddhist and Islamic elements which are fused in a syncretic manner. The foundation of this syncretism is the concept of soul essence, "*semangat*," the "spirit of physical life and vitality." There is a close interaction between *semangat* and the body it occupies. Any strength or weakness of *semangat* is transmitted to the body and vice versa; they are both weakened by illness, care, worry and fear. When *semangat* is in a weak condition, a spirit can enter the body and cause disruption by possession (Endicott 1981:48).

Malays strive at all times to be refined, to hide negative feelings, to remain in perfect control of their demeanour, never to cause offence and always to "give face" to others. This is glossed by the term *budibahasa* which comprises a matrix of ideals relating to harmonious relations between individuals. A Malay who is well socialized in *budibahasa* is considered to be refined (*halus*), and worthy of respect as a person "in control" of his or her emotions and life.

> *Budibahasa* can be attained through mutual adaptation and compromise in social interaction, the norm of unobtrusiveness is treated as the ideal in any form of social interaction. A person who displays insensitivity to the dignity of others is coarse (*kasar*). Subscription to these codes of behaviour is maintained by a desire to avoid feeling shamed (*malu*). *Malu* is a major technique of instilling discipline by shame. It is an effective mechanism of social control. (Lee 1981:236)

Raw emotions are unacceptable since they bring shame to people and may provoke anger which will be expressed through supernatural attacks. During personal interaction, Malays are always aware of subtle communication nuances; they constantly look beyond explicit messages and seldom take direct speech literally (Ackerman 1981). Spirits actually form an integral part of Malay cultural management. The fact that hostilities can be re-

solved on a supernatural level preserves "harmony" in Malay life. Such a state *must be maintained* if debilitating shame is to be avoided and *budi-bahasa* retained. According to Lee (1981), *budibahasa* is a Malay structural characteristic that separates individuals along the refined-coarse behaviour continuum. Spirit possession is the antithesis of this structure in that it constitutes a release from normative structural constraints; it facilitates role reversal and role enhancement in Malay culture-bound syndromes.

A Village Case

The case of Ma' Su is an example of the way in which spirit possession allows an individual, unconstrained by the requirements of *budibahasa*, to say what cannot otherwise be expressed, in a blunt, direct and very dramatic manner. Ma' Su's younger sister, a divorcee aged 40, came back to the village after her marriage with a soldier husband was dissolved. The younger sister Ka' Ngah had lived in the capital city of Kuala Lumpur for a considerable number of years, and so, by contrast with her rural kin, was somewhat "street wise" in a manner unbecoming to rural values. She spoke in a rather coarse manner, told lewd jokes and talked to young girls about sexual matters; in these actions she transgressed the bounds of decency. Since Ka' Ngah had moved into her elder sister's house with two young children there had been a constant round of irritations over domestic work, money and food. Ka' Ngah soon found work tapping rubber trees, but scandalized villagers by frequenting Chinese-owned coffee shops and conversing with men. In order to earn additional income, she baked Malay rice dishes and sold them house to house in a nearby fishing village. After some five months, rumours came back that Ka' Ngah was having an affair with a married man in the next village—a rumour which so shamed her elder sister that, in one week, three events of spirit possession took place, all between the hours of 1:00 and 3:00 in the morning. Each time Ma' Su was possessed by the spirit, she screamed and woke up the whole compound—everyone came pressing into the house to witness the spirit possession. Each time she yelled obscenities, threw her sarong off until she was naked and rolled upon the floor of her house. This was a complete inversion of her controlled, quiet daily demeanour. The scene was terrifying for her eight children who cried incessantly. Her husband calmly orchestrated events by lighting special heavy incense and preparing ritual bowls of rice, betel nut and a Malay *kris* (a weapon).

The spirit (of a grandfather from the state of Kelantan where Malay magical powers are very powerful) spoke through Ma' Su and demanded that the younger sister cease her shameful activities, Ka' Ngah was told to take special medicine to be found under the banana tree in the compound to

"cool" her down. The spirit ordered Ka' Ngah to leave the village. Ka' Ngah herself was totally shaken and terrified by the spirit possession; she descended the house ladder and braved the snakes to rush outside for the medicine. It was there—a phial of holy water. In the two subsequent visitations that same week, the spirit actually cited the misdemeanours of everyone in the compound. A *bomoh* was not called until the third evening, but he was a kinsman who thus knew about the tensions in the compound. A ritual dish of uncooked rice, betel nut and sireh leaves was placed in front of him. The specialist spoke for a while with Ma' Su, blew upon various parts of her body and, eventually, managed to despatch the spirit. On the second and third nights, the spirit revealed the tensions that existed between Ma' Su and her sister-in-law over a sack of rice, between Ma' Su and her eldest son who refused to find work and, finally, between Ma' Su and her factory-working daughter. The latter, like Ka' Ngah, was ordered to take medicine to protect her virginity from the "love magic" of urban men in Sungei Petani. Ka' Ngah wrote a letter to a "boyfriend" who came all the way from Kuala Lumpur by taxi to collect and take her back to the capital city. Ma' Su recovered immediately after Ka' Ngah's departure.

Malays use ancient methods to deal with the differing realities of the rural and urban settings. The recent emphasis upon urban spirit possession in factories is dramatic, yet public and media coverage emphasizes its "extraordinary" qualities. Like Banks (1976), my research indicates that trance and spirit possession are part of the normal range of behaviour to be found in villages and that most people are capable of it. At the rural level, spirit possession is not considered to be deviant—indeed it is an integral part of village life and cultural management.

Background

The political impetus to rapid industrialization in Malaysia came about as the result of ethnic riots in 1969. The targets of the New Economic Policy, set up in 1970, required the establishment of labour-intensive, export-oriented electronics, garments, textiles, rubber goods and food-processing factories. Malaysia is now deeply integrated into international markets because of its role both in establishing free trade zones and in inviting transnational corporations from Europe, Japan, Korea, the USA and Canada to open factories. At the same time, the dismantling of industrial relations was deemed necessary in order to attract foreign capital which demanded "no unions." Transnational corporations specifically request female workers, and operate night shifts to ensure the continual operation of assembly lines. The Malaysian government states that, at the present stage of industrial development, workers would only be manipulated by trade union leaders and that such

manipulation would be contrary to their own, and the nation's, interests. It is further maintained that collective bargaining will drive foreign investment away and will, therefore, have adverse effects on the growth of employment and incomes in the country.

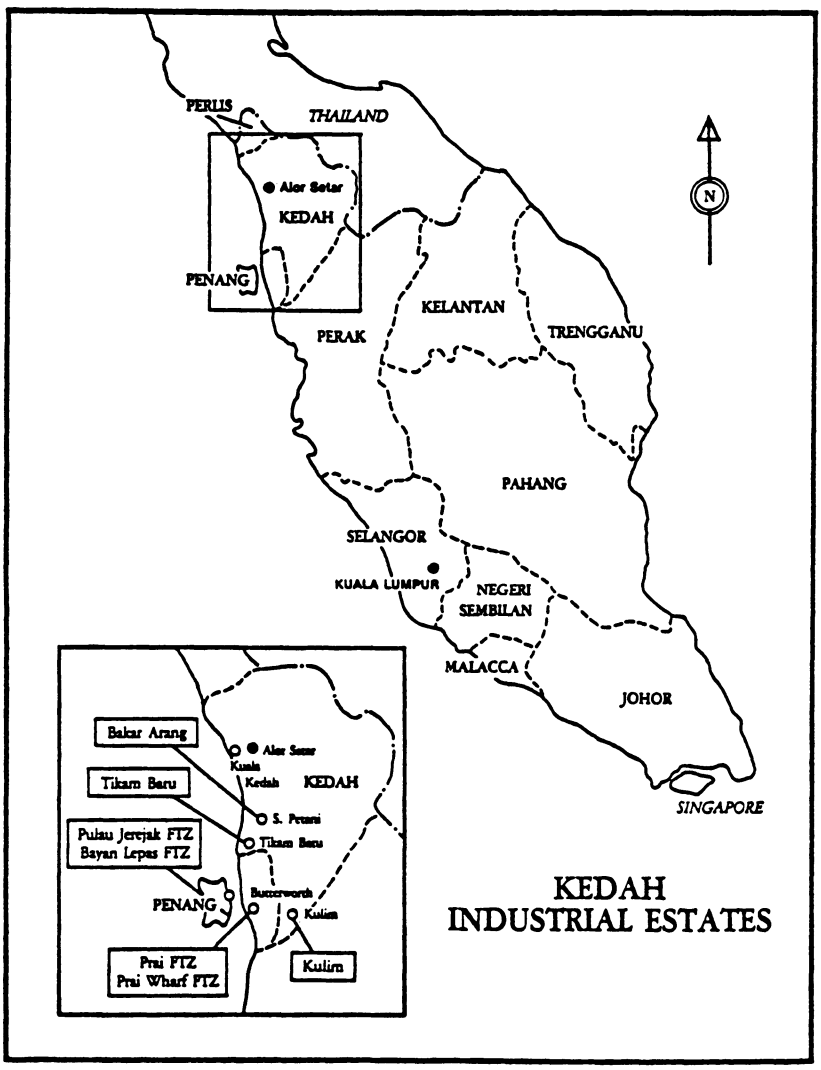
The wages of female employees of transnational corporations are low in comparison with average earnings in other sectors of the economy. Families live in rural areas and young daughters may commute or migrate to urban industrial estates. Young girls contribute a significant portion of their earnings to their families (from 20% to 100%). This income is crucial to peasant households which must develop strategies to cope with the high cost of living and low returns in the agricultural sector.

In the Northwest Malaysian border state of Kedah, where I carried out research, transnational corporations have been encouraged by the Kedah State Development Corporations and the federal Malaysian Industrial Development Authority to locate in peripheral rural zones designated as Regional Development Areas.

Since 1973, the Kedah State Development Corporation has opened six industrial estates, comprising 91 factories which employ some 9700 workers. The factories in the Sungei Petani industrial zone are representative of the major trends in Malaysian industrial development in their bias towards electronics, textiles, rubber and wood-based processing. Transnational corporations open factories in rural Kedah to take advantage of incentives and to reduce their production and labour costs. Factories which operate in Kedah can avoid the relatively more expensive "urban workers" of Penang (see map). Electronics factories now saturate the so-called "Silicon Island" which has three free-trade zones. Silicon Island rates second in the world to California's Silicon Valley in the output of integrated circuits. By branching into Kedah, factories remain close to the container port, the free trade zones and the international airport at Penang. The transnational corporations, by establishing factories in peripheral rural areas and by utilizing labour *in situ*, pay even lower wages and rent or buy very cheap land. Wage rates in Kedah range from a mere M$3.20 to M$6.70 per day compared with the M$5.50 to M$9.00 per day in Penang, a three-hour bus and ferry ride away.

> The manual dexterity of the oriental girl is famous the world over. Her hands are small and she works fast with extreme care . . . who, therefore, could be better qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a bench assembly production line than the oriental girl? No need for a zero defects program here! By nature, they "quality control" themselves. (Malaysia FIDA 1970:71-22)

The industries, newly established in the Sungei Petani area of South Kedah, reflect the thrust of Malaysia's New Economic Policy in terms of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KEDAH INDUSTRIAL ESTATES

product and equity ownership. Two of the four electronics factories are foreign-owned (Northern Telecom and General Electric) while two are joint ventures (Singatronics and Sharp Roxy). Northern Telecom took over a large part of the telecommunications component production from its North American plants after a reported loss of some US$60 million. After one year's operation in Penang, the factory made a profit of M$500 000 for its parent company and, by 1983, profits rose to M$80 million. The Canadian Corporation expects Asian sales to form much of its future growth. With US$4 billion in total sales in 1983 and a steady 15-to-25 percent annual growth, Northern Telecom hopes to become a primary supplier for the telecommunications infrastructure in the Asia-Pacific Rim. The Canadian-based corporation's Malaysian factories, upon the receipt of an order, can deliver digital switching gear to North America within one week. This contrasts sharply with the 26 weeks required to fulfil an order in Canada or America. In addition to Northern Telecom, there are four textile factories and six rubber products factories (owned by Uniroyal, Nike USA and the London Rubber Company). Because of their Malaysian branches, the corporations have made profits and their relocation in the Malaysian hinterland reflects the value of overseas processing and cheap Malay female labour.

> Our workers have reached a skill standard beyond that of our American plant. Now they have to improve their skill level to that of the Korean, Japanese, Taiwanese and Hong Kong workers. The Asian standard consists of longer working hours combined with high productivity, low cost of labour and good quality products. I aim to cut down on the training time and introduce more fragmentation. (British expatriate executive of an American transnational, personal communication, 1983)

Management Methods

Factories use various methods of recruitment, the most effective one being visits by Malay male personnel managers to the padi-growing villages in the District of Kuala Muda. They utilize the traditional Malay authority system of the headman and village elders. The village elder ensures that factory vacancies are announced after Friday prayers and that the news circulates round the coffee shops, market and general store. These all-male networks pass on the message to their unmarried female kin at home who, depending on household economic circumstances, call at the factories for work.

In order to alleviate worries over Muslim girls meeting men, much stress is laid upon the separation of the male and female working areas. Personnel managers state that the girls leave the protection of their fathers for the protection of the factory manager which, a process which "reassuringly stresses paternalistic values" and attention to the girls' moral welfare. Some factories have a family day to which they invite village leaders and parents

for a traditional feast, utilizing the Malay core-cultural values of food and reciprocity as an industrial recruitment strategy. Malay male personnel managers have to work hard to convince peasant Malays that factories are good places to work in, and to dispel the severe social stigma currently attached to factory work. Factory work contravenes the Malayo-Muslim view of virgin girls. Before marriage, they are, ideally, sheltered and totally dependent upon their kin in all matters. They must be shy, demure and modest in their behaviour and afraid of anything outside their villages and kin. Because of this ethos, parents fear for their virgin daughters' virtue and reputation — marriage prospects and bridewealth may be severely damaged by factory work. On the other hand, peasant households need the small amounts of cash income that the girls can bring home.

The larger foreign and joint-venture factories offer various facilities as incentive devices to attract girls to assembly line work. These include subsidized canteens, air conditioning, prayer rooms, free uniforms, sports clubs, annual dinners and outings. Workers are, however, susceptible to dismissal and layoffs without warning or compensation. Factories prefer to employ young, single girls and use very specific segments of the labour market which are more easily controllable. Girls acquire only fragmented skills which cannot be used outside the factory and employers do not provide unemployment, sickness or old age security benefits. My observations reveal that production levels are set high and occupational diseases are common. Discipline and time keeping are strictly regulated by a clocking-in system, and girls are under constant surveillance by line leaders. Visits to the washroom have to be timed with permitted breaks.

Various forms of incentive bonus subsidize the low basic wage. Working conditions are presented as extra benefits to offset an average pay packet of M$120 a month which, in Kedah, is two-thirds below the poverty line income. Most factories operate a 24-hour day on a three-shift system; workers are hourly rated and paid fortnightly for a basic 48-hour week. New workers must undergo training; they learn the job in several days but are not confirmed in their job until 12 months later. This long period means that management do not have to raise the wage rates. Frequent layoffs, shut-downs and retrenchment mean that permanent work is difficult to find. To avoid paying benefits required by law, hourly-rated workers are often put on short time or unpaid leave. Factories violate labour laws by forcing girls to work "voluntary" overtime, and avoid paying correct overtime rates by calling the extra time worked "overlap" (Law-Asia 1983). When workers approach a personnel manager for a day or two of annual leave, they are frequently told it is inconvenient and will disrupt production; consequently, paid leave is seldom granted. The falsification of workers' leave records is common practice in Kedah factories whether they are owned by foreign or

local capital. Workers who do not ask for time off are forced to take their leave at the convenience of factory schedules to coincide with stock-taking, slow-downs or audits. A worker can have paid sick leave only if she is certified by a panel doctor as being ill. Since the factory appoints panel doctors, it is difficult to obtain a medical note. The panel doctors (who are non-Malay males, trained in Western medicine) receive retainers from the factories; their treatment invariably is to administer aspirin and order the girls to report back to work. Factory management does not consider any medical certificates obtained from government-run, free clinics to be suitable.

An unofficial ''gentlemen's agreement'' between factories curtails the efforts of workers to change their employment from one factory to another. The subtle workings of the agreement were explained to me, independently, by managers of textiles, electronics and rubber products factories, and were even endorsed by the Kedah State Labour Office. Each month, all managers participate in a joint meeting which discusses and exchanges current labour lists. Lists of workers and their identity card numbers are exchanged. Whenever new workers apply for jobs at the factory, their names and identity card numbers are checked off against the factories' master lists. If an applicant's name appears on the list, she is refused employment unless the original factory agrees to release the worker. The lists prevent the practice of factory-hopping, whereby workers seek employment in a factory which offers better basic wages. The philosophy behind this unethical practice is to ''instil work discipline and company loyalty into the workers'' (American expatriate 1983). For factory workers, security, benefits, long term prospects, training in transferable skills and even a basic living wage are denied.

Western and Japanese management techniques have been transplanted to the Malaysian cultural environment in attempts to create a disciplined, non-unionized workforce with a high output. The gender, age and ethnic division of labour is utilized to the benefit of management who manipulate the inferior status of young, unmarried girls in Malayo-Muslim culture. Management exerts control of the labour force through subtle manipulation of cultural values such as ''shame'' and ''fear.'' This is coupled with the necessity to work in order to discharge the reciprocal obligations which the girls have to their natal households. The use of twin concepts of shame and fear as a form of control, is particularly evident when personnel report to kinsfolk on absenteeism or the girls' shortcomings. Factory management propagate an ideological view of the factory as a family to enforce control over the work force, so authority is legitimated within the framework of the social structure and cultural values of Malays. This works to the advantage of management in that the traditional hierarchical criteria of age, gender and ethnicity, rather than the rational criteria of skill levels and labour value, appear to justify low wages.

The Happy Family

In the family atmosphere, the factory hierarchies emphasise paternalism, and male supervisors are referred to by fictive kin terminology such as "elder brother" or "uncle." Malay girls are culturally trained to be tolerant, to obey male kin, never to express anger or frustration and to follow strictly the requirements of *budibahasa*. By these means, young, inexperienced school leavers can be moulded into the factory system. One expatriate American factory manager walked with me around his production lines, chatting and joking with his workers, although he spoke no Malay nor did the girls speak any English. He would occasionally pat them on the head, arm or back, and constantly praised what he termed as his happy family. Many of the girls tried to pull away and he laughingly interpreted this as sexual coyness but, from a Malay cultural view, it is most distasteful for any male to approach a female and touch her. The head is subject to taboo and must never be touched by anyone unless they mean to carry out black magic, for it is the place where the soul (*semangat*) is believed to reside.

Local and expatriate managers are proud of their grievance procedures, whereby assembly line operatives refer problems to their line supervisor who, in turn, refers them to the section leader. If the difficulty cannot be resolved at this level, it goes to the personnel manager who is expected to deal with any difficulties—and he consults the managing director only when every other measure has failed. Both local and foreign management make much of this open door policy, yet production operators are afraid and too shy to utilize this hierarchy. Given the fact that problems frequently arise from verbal abuse and from personality or ethnic clashes with the supervisors, difficulties occur at the lowest level of the hierarchy. Problems are common, and workers would rather lose a day's wages by staying away from work to avoid unpleasantness and contradictions in *budibahasa* values. Workers will suffer agonies of shyness and shame rather than discuss their problems with any person of a higher status. Malay culture is status conscious to such an exceptionally high degree that it negates the culturally alien, "open door" policy; few workers dare to utilize it.

> All management mix freely with the workers, there is no discrimination, no status differentials, the relationship between management and workers is good. We go around the factory on a regular basis to break down barriers, so they know they have access to us, we are very approachable. (American TNC, personal communication, 1983)

When pressed as to the exact number of times he went around the factory, the executive admitted to doing so only once in two months or so, or "whenever I feel like it." My suggestion that unions might be a better way of representing worker grievances met with a negative response. All local

and foreign managers deny the usefulness of unions in Malaysia and are quick to cite examples of unions in Europe that "destroy" business because, "They are only concerned with the workers' interests and not with profit" (American expatriate, electronics TNC, 1983).

The irony of the reverse logic of his statement is echoed by the following European policy:

> The company looks after the workers and we will not have a union here. It is up to us to deliver or not deliver the goods as we see fit. Basically these girls are ignorant and the advantage lies on the side of the company. The girls are all shy, come from poor families and are forced to work to supplement the income of their parents. (Malay personnel manager, European medical rubber products factory, personal communication, 1983)

and

> These people are simple and they do not understand anything about unions. We have a paternalistic company and look after them. Unions would only destroy the factory and the economy of this country—look at what is happening in Britain. (American rubber products factory manager, personal communication, 1983)

In spite of the managerial ideology of the happy family, many young women to whom I spoke complained of the conflict between the requirements of *budibahasa* and the requirements of their jobs. This appeared to lead, in turn, to an increase in stress over and above that which usually occurred in a village setting.

Spiritual Unions

In response to these conditions of stress and conflict, traditionally rural spirit possession has begun to occur in a new urban industrial setting. On the one hand, it is viewed by young Malay females as a reasonable response to stress and conflict; on the other, it is increasingly viewed as "deviant" by factory management personnel. While factory management may not have a clearly developed term for the deviance which is evidenced in spirit possession, they *do* react to it in ways that make it appear very much out of the ordinary. Furthermore, these reactions appear to differ between Western and Asian managers and seem to be becoming institutionalized.

In one electronics factory, an outbreak of spirit possession, affecting over 50 assembly line workers, coincided with an efficiency drive for high production rates of 1000 cassette radios per day. Labour relations had deteriorated and workers complained about the low wages (then M$3.20 per day), the impossibility of getting paid leave or sick leave, and a dislike of non-Malay supervisors. In retaliation, the workers produced faulty goods,

which were rejected, and pilfered considerable amounts of gold wire (intended for integrated circuits). The Japanese management were totally confused by the mass outbreak of spirit possession, but the local personnel manager (a Malaysian Chinese) asked permission to bring in a Malay *bomoh* to conduct a sacrifice and get rid of the spirits disturbing the workers. The ritual specialist was called in only when it became clear, after nine days of factory closure, that management could not get any of the workers back to the assembly lines. At first, the management refused to believe that spirits could stop work in such a way. It was only after the local personnel manager prevailed upon them to call in a specialist that workers would agree to return, once the ceremony had been completed and the spirits had quit the factory. It was rumoured that one girl died as a result of an injury suffered during her possession, but it was difficult for me to substantiate this. After the outbreak, the girls were taken to the Sungei Petani hospital for an injection to calm them down and then, by the factory bus, back to their villages. Once at home many of the girls consulted with *bomoh* known and trusted by their own kin as an added precaution.

Similar outbreaks of spirit possession on the assembly lines occur in other foreign-owned textiles and rubber products factories, particularly during the night shift which, for Malay virgin girls, is a period fraught with danger from the spirit realm. In a British rubber products factory which makes rubber gloves and condoms, 18 girls were attacked by spirits; their screams and trance state terrified the other production workers who ran out and refused to return to the plant until appropriate spirit propitiation rituals had been correctly conducted. The personnel manager in this factory was from a minority ethnic group; because he had been in the British navy, he used somewhat dictatorial military tactics in labour management and did not enjoy good rapport with the workers. After laying off some of the labour force, this locally born personnel manager became a target of worker frustration.

> There were problems with labour discipline. . . . They have to be made into disciplined workers and change their attitudes—it disrupts our profit and production lines. We dislike the quality of Malay labour but are forced to take them on to meet government Industrial Coordination Act quotas. (Personnel Manager, British Rubber Products Factory, personal communication)

Eventually, the spirit possession events required the factory to call in a Malay *bomoh*, who sacrificed a cockerel and sprinkled holy water around the assembly line area. The English manager was at a loss as how best to explain to his London office precisely why production had been at a "ghostly standstill" for some two weeks. His efforts to explain the outbreak of spirit possession were rewarded by a vituperative telex from Lon-

don which suggested he had been in Asia "too long and, perhaps, gone native." He was advised to sack the workers involved—a ridiculous situation which necessitated hiring a completely new work force.

In contrast to the European reaction which treats spirit possession as worker deviance, Asian-owned corporations are less sceptical of the power of spirits.

> We call a *bomoh* every year to make sure there are no spirits here. We have had many outbreaks. The girls are probably too weak, nervous, undernourished and tense so they let go. We try to handle them psychologically and get the *bomoh* to conduct prayers to give them peace of mind. (Malay personnel manager, Japanese textile factory, personal communication, 1983)

and

> We have had many spirit outbreaks here. We called a Chinese to pray, to select a site and bless the factory before building started and, again, before production started (this was a Cantonese *feng shui* expert in "winds and water," learned in the selection of auspicious sites for buildings, graves etc). For the past two years the night shift operators complained that they were bothered by ghosts so I had to call a Malay *bomoh* to make offerings and calm the workers down. About thirty years ago, we had similar things in Korea when simple girls started to work in factories. (Korean manager of joint venture rubber products factory, personal communication, 1983)

This factory judiciously catered to the ritual requirements of its considerable number of Korean expatriate, local Chinese technicians and Malay female operators.

Toward the end of every year, most factories at the industrial estate now call a *bomoh* as a matter of routine. Asian-owned factories give feasts for the spirits "to keep things calm and the Malay workers happy" (Malay personnel manager, Japanese textile factory, 1983).

Only one joint-venture electronics factory is out of its 10-year pioneer status and an in-house union was formed recently. The Malaysian personnel manager had the following comments:

> Labour turnover, before the 1982 Collective Agreement was high at 12% and we constantly had outbreaks of spirit possession. Since 1982 turnover has dropped to 2%, and worker management relations are much better. We no longer have night shift work and are reducing to a 44 hour week and fighting for international standards. I am pleased with the way things have worked out since the agreement and am in favour of unionisation. Workers need the union in order to protect themselves and it is the only way they will get a decent wage or benefits. Before 1982 management could, and did, browbeat workers, now they cannot. Previously, the workers were so ignorant that we could talk them into resigning to avoid paying compensation be-

> cause they did not know the law. Now, with the union it is different. (Personal communication)

In spite of his glowing statement, the unionized factory conditions are still far from satisfactory; basic pay rates have improved, but forced leave, orchestrated sick leave and the lack of benefits have still to be resolved. Girls say that the union representatives are all hand-picked by management, and, being non-Malays (i.e., male Chinese and Indians), the union representatives concern themselves only with their own ethnic interests and are reluctant to speak out about real issues affecting the Malay female production workers. The union is of the in-house variety and merely a window-dressing exercise by the Japanese to counteract the critical comments in the Malaysian press on the exploitation of, and lack of representation for, female workers in Malaysia's industrialization process.

Summary

It is apparent from the foregoing that the spirits have a special role in expressing grievances and tensions both at the rural and urban level. Spirit possession prevents direct industrial conflict with the management of transnational corporations and so *budibahasa* values are maintained. Outbreaks of spirit possession in factories are also reported for other parts of Malaysia, such as Penang, Selangor and Malacca, by Grossman (1978), Ackerman (1980), Ackerman and Lee (1978, 1981) and Ong (1984). Trance and possession are part of behaviour patterns found in Malay villages. When spirits close down an assembly line, it is a Malay cultural reaction to a situation of extreme stress and conflict and is linked to the maintenance of control and harmony. I would suggest that spirit possession is now deemed deviant in *urban* Malaysia because foreign industrialists are perturbed at the closure of assembly lines, so that spirits, in lieu of government-outlawed trade unions, conflict with production targets and the profits of transnational corporations. There is an undue emphasis placed by management upon "Westernization" and "modernization," as if Malay workers should leave their culture behind in rural villages before entering the new industrial estates. Foreign and "official Malaysian" judgment is based on the assumption that "superstitions" should disintegrate in the face of urban development, but Malays continue to utilize traditional methods in urban factories. Spirit possession has not become obsolete as a result of industrialization; instead, it has assumed new functions which reflect changing structural conditions, tensions and, most evidently, exploitation in Malaysian factories.

Acknowledgments

The paper is based on field research carried out from June 1982 until July 1983 in a rural village and industrial estate in the northwest border state of Kedah, West Malaysia. In order to understand the way in which transnational corporations affect peasants in a major rice-producing zone, I conducted research in 20 factories and in a village from which the labour force is drawn. The research would not have been possible without the financial help and assistance afforded to me by Royal Professor Ungku A. Aziz, Vice Chancellor of the University of Malaya and Director of the Hawa Project, Institute of Advanced Studies, University of Malaya. Professor Yip Yat Hong of the Institute, Dr. Susan Ackerman Lee of the Hawa Project and Dr. Gordon P. Means have a special mention for their professional and personal help. The research was supported by funding from McMaster University, a Graduate Scholarship from the Provincial Government of Ontario and by the Toyota Foundation.

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TREASURE HUNTING AND PILLAGING IN SICILY: ACQUIRING A DEVIANT IDENTITY

Sam Migliore
University College of Cape Breton

Abstract: Treasure hunting, the pillaging of archaeological sites and the resultant trade in antiquities have been increasingly subject to negative sanctions both by governments and international bodies. Rural Sicilians, conditioned by a history of exploitation at the hands of outsiders to view government regulations with suspicion, do not label treasure hunting as *ipso facto* deviant. However, if such actions cause damage to property or persons within the community, the perpetrators will be labelled as deviants and will be subjected to formal sanctions in accordance with the unwritten code of *omerta* ("manliness," respect). A specific ethnographic case is examined in detail.

Résumé: La chasse au trésor, le pillage de sites archéologiques et le commerce d'antiquités sont de plus en plus sujet à des sanctions négatives par les gouvernements et les organisations internationaux. Pour les habitants des régions rurales de la Sicile, longtemps méfiants des interventions gouvernementales à cause de l'exploitation historique de leur pays par des étrangers, la chasse au trésor ne représente pas une activité *ipso facto* déviante. Par contre, si ce genre d'activités cause des dommages aux propriétés ou blesse les habitants, les auteurs seront vus en tant que déviants et devront répondre à des sanctions formelles en accord avec le code du pays *omerta* ("manliness," respect). Cette étude examine un cas ethnographique en détail.

Introduction

Treasure hunters have desecrated and pillaged ancient necropolises for centuries. Surviving papyri dating back to the reign of Rameses IX (1142-1123 BC), in fact, indicate that Egyptian tombs and monuments have attracted treasure-hunting robbers from the moment they were built (Fagan 1977:609). Today, most countries have heritage laws to protect their archae-

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ological sites. According to concerned individuals and organizations, however, these laws are often insufficient and ineffective; the illicit trade in antiquities has reached a critical level (see Adams 1981; Bator 1983; Coggins 1972; Meyer 1974; Muscarella 1981; UNESCO 1970, 1972; Vitelli 1984). They suggest that action must be taken to protect our collective cultural heritage.

In this paper, I will focus specifically on treasure-hunting activities in Sicily. Although Sicilian archaeological sites are protected by Italian heritage laws, certain people continue to search for treasure in the less-well-known sites. The local people regard treasure hunting as an acceptable way of improving their financial status; they do not identify treasure hunters as criminals. It is only when these individuals engage in activities that have severe ramifications for other community members that they are identified and treated as deviant.

Many Sicilians, then, do not share the sentiments of the individuals, organizations and governments that are preoccupied with terminating treasure-hunting activities. This indicates that the role of "treasure hunter" can be viewed in either a negative or a positive way depending on the audience. My aims in this discussion are to examine how: (1) various audiences view treasure hunting; (2) the positive role of "treasure hunter" in rural Sicily can be transformed into a negative role; and (3) certain individuals come to acquire a deviant identity.

Treasure Hunters and Their Audience

The International Scene

During the last 15 to 20 years, various individuals and interest groups, including archaeologists, have spoken out against the illicit traffic in antiquities. These people feel that there is a need to protect and preserve our collective cultural heritage. In order to accomplish this goal, they have developed two primary plans of action. The first plan of action involves making people—i.e., collectors, museum officials, government officials, as well as the general public—aware of the problem.[1] The second plan of action involves active lobbying to persuade governments not only to institute and enforce heritage laws, but also to develop international agreements that will make it difficult for dealers to transport antiquities from one country to another. The primary objectives of this awareness campaign and lobbying process, then, are: (1) to encourage government intervention; and (2) to discourage individuals and institutions from purchasing antiquities that may have been obtained illegally.

These plans of action have achieved some success. At the 1970 and 1972 UNESCO general conferences, a number of countries ratified various reso-

lutions concerning the prohibition and prevention of illicit traffic in antiquities. Once these resolutions were ratified, the lobbyists began to pressure governments, particularly that of the United States, to pass a bill(s) to implement the UNESCO convention. This effort has also met with success; the U.S. legislature, for example, passed such a bill on January 12, 1983 (see Herscher 1983).

At the international level, treasure hunters who pillage archaeological sites are portrayed as thieves or vandals. They are petty criminals who are not only breaking the law, but destroying (by disturbing the sites) and selling their own cultural heritage. Since treasure hunters are difficult to deal with at the international level, the rationale behind the awareness campaign and lobbying process is to discourage treasure hunting by drying up the demand for antiquities in the industrialized countries.

The National Scene

Most, if not all, countries have instituted heritage laws to protect their national treasures for posterity.[2] Italy has made a particularly strong commitment to preserve and protect its antiquities. By law, all antiquities discovered on Italian soil fall under state ownership (Burnham 1974; Lerici 1966). Both treasure hunting on archaeological sites and trafficking in antiquities are criminal offences in Italy. The Italian government, however, does not have the funds to actively seek out and discourage treasure hunters who prey on the less well-known sites. Italy is simply too rich in archaeological sites to allow for adequate enforcement of existing laws. The problem is complicated further by some local officials. For example, certain officials may ignore or take a less active interest in treasure-hunting activities on minor and/or uninvestigated sites, in order to preserve friendly relations with members of the community. Although treasure hunting is officially frowned upon and punishable by law, it continues to occur in certain areas of Italy.

The Local Scene

In order to understand how rural Sicilians view "treasure hunting" and "heritage laws," it is necessary to first outline some aspects of recent Sicilian history. The earliest evidence of human habitation in Sicily dates back to the Paleolithic – 20 000 BP and earlier (Brea 1966). The island was occupied by the Greeks, the Romans, the Saracens and the Normans (Ahmad 1975; Finley 1979; Mack Smith 1968a). After a period when it languished under Bourbon rule, Sicily officially became an integral part of the newly united Italian state in 1861 (Mack Smith 1968b).

This extended period of foreign domination and exploitation created a state of economic and social poverty in the region. According to Lopreato

(1967), this state of affairs reached severe proportions during and after the period of Italian unification. The economic policies of the new government favoured the northern regions of Italy; unification did not improve conditions in the south. In response to government inaction, and increasingly adverse economic and social conditions, a large portion of the population chose out-migration. Initially, southern Italians migrated to northern Italy and other European countries. By 1900, the pattern changed; people began to travel to overseas destinations such as Argentina, Brazil, Canada and the United States. John C. Weaver (1977:10) estimates that "between 1900 and 1910 roughly two million southern Italians" emigrated, permanently or temporarily, to overseas destinations. A second major wave of emigration occurred after the Second World War.

It is ironic that the land which attracted so many foreign invaders now sends its own people to foreign lands. The tremendous out-migration and emigration from Sicily, however, has helped improve socio-economic conditions on the island. Today, although conditions in Sicily are not yet comparable to those in northern Italy, the gap between southern and northern Italy is finally beginning to diminish.

In summary, this historical sketch suggests that Sicily suffered from an extended period of foreign domination and exploitation, which led to severe social and economic problems. Due to these factors, reticence became an ingrained behavioural trait. People in positions of power have taken advantage of the situation to maintain the status quo. This, in turn, has given Sicilians the impression that they cannot trust the official system and the people who run it; in order to get by, Sicilians have learned to rely on the unofficial systems of economic and political patronage (Blok 1975; Boissevain 1966, 1974).

Rural Sicilians, in general, do not believe that the Italian government instituted "heritage laws" for their benefit. People feel that laws are made to benefit the rich and powerful; they simply do not trust the governments intentions. Based on the historical sketch outlined above, it is not surprising that Sicilians should feel this way. At the same time, rural Sicilians have a wealth of folk tales concerning buried treasure.[3] Many of the treasure tales indicate that, as a result of the Saracen conquest of Sicily, a very large quantity of gold, diamonds and other valuables are buried at particular locations. These treasure tales provide rural Sicilians with an incentive to actively search for the hidden treasure troves. The legendary sites, however, are often located on ancient necropolises.

The following excerpts from a conversation with Zio AnM., one of my informants, will serve to illustrate how rural Sicilians view both treasure hunting and heritage laws:

> In ancient times the Saracens took possession of Sicily; they came in through Syracuse in the east. Those that fought against the Saracens moved back, retreating, until they arrived at a point called.... In that area they fought for years. Those that retreated included rich people who brought with them whatever they had—objects of gold and valuables were brought with them. The time was passing and the people were dying, so they made a type of cemetery on the ... mountain. They dug in the rock, made graves, placed the dead in the graves, and placed, depending on their ability, whatever they could in the grave—pieces of gold, pottery, cardboard. As a symbol everyone placed something in the grave.
>
> In the period after the War of 1944-45, after 45, all the people went ... to dig. [They hoped to] find antiquities, money, pottery that was thousands of years old, and some found empty graves. Maybe they had been poor people. Then the government came to know about the digging and made a law that no one could now dig without government authorization.... The law still exists, but people continue to go and dig. But as far as money and things in abundance, no one has found any; neither those that went on the government's behalf, nor those others. But as far as objects of terra cotta, designed in the style of the Greeks and Romans and Arabs there have been many finds.

Zio AnM. makes it clear that Sicilians are aware of government regulations protecting archaeological sites. He also makes it clear that people disregard the law in the hope of discovering a major cache. Upon further questioning, Zio AnM. provided the following rationale for disregarding the law:

> The people would complain about this government law about not digging.... The government had made it like a tourist zone. If [they were] tourists, foreigners from out of the country, they got authorization quickly to dig for as long as they liked and whatever they found they could keep. Therefore the people could no longer hold back, because it was said that there was a large treasure around that mountain. So the people continued to go and dig, but up to now no one has found the treasure, neither the tourists nor the local people.

A number of rural Sicilians confirmed that they shared this view.

If one examines Zio AnM.'s comments, it is apparent that the local people do not completely understand the rationale behind the heritage laws and/or they have devised their own rationale to justify their decision not to abide by those laws. The government is portrayed not as the protector of archaeological materials, but rather as a political force that is attempting to redirect local wealth to foreigners. Since Sicilians feel that they cannot trust the government to look after their interests, the laws are only effective when the authorities are present to enforce them.

For rural Sicilians treasure hunting is an acceptable means by which individuals can improve their financial status in the community. Mistrust of

government, the presence of a well-developed treasure lore, social and economic problems, as well as a variety of other factors, have led rural Sicilians to place a "positive" value on the role of "treasure hunter."

Treasure Hunters

The individuals who actively seek out buried treasure on archaeological sites share the sentiments of other rural Sicilians. Treasure hunting is viewed as a legitimate, although potentially dangerous, profession. The individuals who engage in this type of activity are ordinary members of the community; they have various economic, social and kinship ties with other community members. Treasure hunting is simply a way of supplementing their income and, if they find the major cache, a way of drastically improving their financial status.

Treasure hunters have little difficulty locating appropriate sites for their activities. Many Sicilian hills and mountains are dotted with what look like small caves. People refer to these hollows as the "caves of the Saracens"; in reality, however, they are *tombe a formo* (oven-shaped tombs) built during the Sican and early Greek periods. Little, if anything, can be found in these tombs. Treasure hunters are much more interested in the underground sepulchres containing valuable grave goods that are sometimes found adjacent to the earlier sites. These burial grounds often date back to the Greco-Roman period.

Sicilian treasure hunters have devised a variety of methods to locate grave goods; the two primary methods, however, are:

(1) to slowly, but systematically, dig test pits along the slopes of specific hills; and

(2) to obtain information concerning the location of buried treasure from spirits. A group of four or five men, for example, may conduct a spiritualist meeting, in which a particular spirit is questioned, through a medium, about the location of a treasure trove. Zio AnM. provides the following description:

> About six months went by and the same three persons returned. . . . They did another spiritualist sitting. . . . I was present too. They invoked the spirit Solomon and the subject fell asleep, in response that he was ready to speak. They asked if he had a treasure for them to find. . . . [H]e gave them explicit instructions of where to dig. He [Solomon] said: "Dig because there is so much gold and diamonds to load 12 animals." So the next day . . . he [the spiritualist] did another sitting and the subject, while asleep, got up and with the pick struck the spot where they were to dig.

The first step an individual(s) takes when he finds an item of value is to travel to Palermo. Once in Palermo, he must rely on one or more contacts, who are often paid, to locate a suitable buyer. The *ragattieri* (black marketeers) purchase coins and decorated pottery at relatively low prices, but resell the material at very high rates. Rural Sicilians insist that the person who locates the items makes very little in this transaction. People continue to search for treasure, however, because they hope to discover a major cache. The treasure hunters are more interested in the legendary gold and jewellery than they are in the actual archaeological material.

In summary, the treasure hunters do not contravene local expectations. Their behaviour is acceptable not only from their own point of view, but also from the point of view of other rural Sicilians. This allows the treasure hunters to maintain a positive self-image.

Acquiring A Deviant Identity

Based on the preceding discussion, it is fair to say that rural Sicilians do not regard treasure hunting as a deviant activity. It is an acceptable means by which individuals can supplement their income. The treasure tales provide people with an incentive to carry out this activity, while distrust of government provides a rationale for not abiding by heritage laws. The positive role of "treasure hunter," however, can be transformed into a negative role if the individuals fail to meet local expectations. Recently, three treasure hunters were labelled and treated as deviant, at least temporarily, for precisely this reason.[4]

The three individuals chose one of the less-well-known, and virtually unprotected, archaeological sites to conduct their treasure hunting activities. They made use of a tractor to uncover a layer of earth in the hope of discovering gold and other valuables. The police, however, caught them in the act and placed them under arrest. According to Zio Sa., the shopkeeper who related the story to me, the three men were quickly released. He explained this by stating: *avivanu la mani* (they had a "hand" in a position of power). The local rumour is that someone paid the owner of the land adjacent to the site to inform the authorities that he had hired the men to plough his field, and that they had mistakenly moved onto the archaeological site.[5] Several days later, although much more cautious, the three men were again on the site searching for treasure.

The treasure hunters' return to the site coincided with a major fire on the mountain. Someone, apparently, set fire to the site's vegetation. The flames quickly spread down the slopes consuming the grain, prickly pears and olive trees on the adjacent properties. The local people believe that the three men set fire to the site's brush, in order to make it easier to locate the treasure.

Although the three individuals denied setting fire to the mountain, they instantly became "deviants." The local people began to treat them differently not because treasure hunting itself is a deviant activity, but rather because the methods they employed had severe ramifications for other community members. The farmers obviously lost their crops and other food products; however, the entire community was affected. The shepherds lost grazing land. The hunters complained that game became scarce in the area. Shopkeepers and travelling merchants complained that their volume of business had declined. In general, then, everyone had something to complain about. As a result of the fire, life in the community had been disrupted.

The community residents made no attempt to contact the legal authorities. Instead, they abided by the unwritten Sicilian code of *omerta*: an honourable man does not inform on others, nor does he rely on the authorities to protect his interests. The local people devised their own means of taking action against the individuals they held responsible for causing the disaster. These plans of action were based on the notion that the three treasure hunters no longer deserved the respect of others.

Sicilians associate "respect" with the notions of *honour* and *shame*. These two concepts are of major importance throughout the circum-Mediterranean region. In 1954, Julian A. Pitt-Rivers (see also 1966, 1977) presented a discussion of the Andalusian moral or value system in terms of honour and shame. This early discussion of the topic has influenced the work of most, if not all, mediterraneanists who deal with the phenomenon. Pitt-Rivers (1966:21; 1977:1) defines "honour" as not only the "value of a person in his own eyes, but also in the eyes of his society." Honour, then, is intimately linked to an individual's *reputation*.

Among Sicilians honour and shame are interrelated and complementary qualities. An individual's honour is a reflection of his or her reputation within the community. This reputation is based on both moral and economic factors. In order to maintain a good reputation, the individual must live up to local expectations. Honour, then, is a positive quality. Shame, at least in certain respects, is also a positive quality. A person who has *shame* does not act in a *shameful* way. It is a quality that enables individuals to regulate their own behaviour, and thereby maintain their honour. A person who has both honour and shame commands respect.

An individual's reputation influences how he or she is able to interact with other members of the community. Engaging in what the community regards as "shameful" behaviour may have severe ramifications. The individual may be subjected to negative sanctions such as vicious gossip, partial or total ostracism and, in certain cases, violence. These negative sanctions obviously have an immediate effect on the individual. More important, however, are the long-term effects these sanctions may have on both the ac-

tual individual who committed the "shameful" act and his or her entire family. They may have severe implications,, for the entire family's future in the community: (1) a negative reputation affects the individual's ability to make suitable marriage arrangements for his or her children; (2) the descendants of an individual who has committed a "shameful" act may be referred to not only by their own name but also by a qualifier such as son- or grandson- of the fool, cuckold or some other term appropriate to the specific misdeed that had been committed; and (3) the individual and his or her family may no longer be viewed as suitable business partners. By maintaining a "good" reputation within the community, Sicilians are taking positive action towards avoiding negative sanctions and ensuring their future well-being.

The treasure hunter's alleged involvement in "setting fire to the mountain" earned them the reputation both of failing to meet local expectations and of engaging in "shameful" behaviour. Certain individuals displayed their resentment toward the treasure hunters by openly cursing them. One individual, for example, stated that: "the persons who set fire to property should have their hands become paralysed, so they would not be able to strike a match again." Sicilians usually regard verbal curses of this sort in a negative way. From a Sicilian point of view, verbal curses and vicious gossip are variants of the *mali lingua* (evil tongue), the casting of evil by means of the spoken word. More specifically, Sicilians believe that strong emotions such as anger and envy may activate an evil power residing within each of us. The verbal curse provides the mechanism by which this evil power is directed toward others. Although only witches and sorcerers can actively control this power to cause intentional harm, everyone has the potential to inadvertently injure others by means of the evil tongue. Since verbal curses may harm others in situations where there is no purposeful intent to injure, Sicilians display their respect for others by avoiding this type of behaviour. When a person utters a curse in anger, he or she often tries to qualify the statement to ensure that everyone knows that it should not be taken literally. Sicilians regard verbal curses in a negative way, because they recognize that this type of behaviour disrupts interpersonal relationships. By openly cursing the three individuals, the local people made it clear that the treasure hunters' status in the community had changed. They were no longer respected community members.

The treasure hunters soon found that this change in status affected the way people interacted with them. The male members of the community, for example, chose to display avoidance behaviour toward them, in order to express their displeasure at what had transpired. Much of this avoidance behaviour took place within the context of ritual drinking and other leisure activities. Ritual drinking is a key male activity in Sicily. After supper the

men usually walk up and down the main street or *piazza*, and occasionally enter one of the bars for a friendly drink. Once in the bar, the men literally struggle with one another to pay for the drinks. This struggle, however, is not chaotic; it is regulated by the following implicit rules.

(1) If someone is already in the bar when others arrive, he should buy the drinks. It is a sign of disrespect for a man to ignore, or try to avoid, this convention.

(2) It is morally wrong for an individual to constantly take advantage of the hospitality of others. Everyone is expected to take a turn at playing the role of "host" during the course of the evening. If this is not possible, it is expected that the individual will make an effort to even things out in the near future.

(3) Unless it is a special occasion, only a fool would constantly insist on buying drinks for everyone. A man's first loyalty is to his family; therefore, he should not be extravagant with his money.

(4) It is also a sign of disrespect to refuse the hospitality of others. Everyone is entitled to play the role of "host."

Providing others with hospitality, then, is one way that a man displays his respect for others. In addition, it serves as a means by which the host himself gains *honour*. From a Sicilian point of view, a good host commands respect. The treasure hunters, however, were not treated as true men; they were not allowed to take part in the ritual drinking process.

When the three treasure hunters entered one of the local bars, either individually or collectively, the other male members of the community did not acknowledge their presence with the usual courtesy. Instead, the men continued to converse with one another, and in some cases turned their backs to the treasure hunters. Sicilians regard this type of behaviour as an explicit insult. In the bar context, individuals go to great lengths to avoid turning their backs on others, and to apologize whenever they are in a position where there is no alternative. The treasure hunters experienced further insult, because no one offered to buy drinks for them. If the treasure hunters themselves attempted to take part in the ritual drinking process by offering to pay for drinks, the other individuals would excuse themselves by saying something to the effect that: (1) they were on their way out of the bar; or (2) they had only entered to quickly look for someone. The male members of the community, then, would neither offer nor accept drinks from the treasure hunters. In effect, they were denying the treasure hunters both respect and a means by which they could attain honour.

The female members of the community engaged in activities that tended to complement the plan of action adopted by the men. The women took action through both verbal curses and gossip. During the course of the day,

women often take time off from their various chores to visit each other and have a cup of coffee, while they discuss the events that have taken place in the community. The behaviour of the treasure hunters drew a great deal of attention. The conversations focussed not only on the fire and destruction, but also on the very character of the individuals involved and of their families. While discussing her feelings about a particular treasure hunter, for example, one woman asked others: *cu lu caca?* (who *shit* him out?)—in reference to his birth. The obvious intent of this statement is to identify the individual as no better than excrement. However, at another level, it implies that the individual's parents, and his mother in particular, are responsible for producing this filthy creature. In addition, if he himself is a filthy creature, then those family members who have preceded him and those that he has fathered, or will father, may also be contaminated. These types of negative statements were often followed by verbal curses such as: *malanni chi ci pozzanu viniri* (may many misfortunes befall them). Vicious gossip of this type eventually reaches the individuals under discussion.

Although both males and females displayed negative feelings and actions toward the treasure hunters, their plans of action did not include physical violence. To a certain extent, violence was avoided because of two interrelated factors. First, no one actually witnessed the treasure hunters setting fire to the mountain. Secondly, the treasure hunters consistently denied their involvement in this tragic event. The fact that the treasure hunters appeared to have friends in high places may also have operated as a factor.

In summary, then, the plans of action of both male and female members of the community tended to complement each other. The men effectively denied the suspects "honour," while the women heaped "shame" upon them. The treasure hunters, and to a certain extent their families, virtually became outsiders within their own community. The treasure hunters were no longer respectable human beings.

This attitude, however, was not maintained over an extended period of time. The treasure hunters and their families were not "outsiders"; instead, they had various kinship and/or friendship bonds with practically everyone in the community. Although their actions were "shameful," people could also point to numerous occasions when they themselves had engaged in positive interaction with the treasure hunters. This made it difficult for them to view the individuals solely as "excrement." Slowly certain people began to suggest that the fire on the mountain may have been started accidentally by a careless smoker. Others began to suggest that hunters from another town may have been responsible for the fire—i.e., outsiders had deliberately set fire to the mountain in order to attract game animals to their own area. These types of statements indicate that community members, or at least some community members, were interested in the reintegration of the trea-

sure hunters into the society. This reintegration process had not been completed when I returned to Canada, but I suspect that the treasure hunters and the other community members have reached some type of accommodation. The negative sentiments are probably no longer as pronounced. The individuals, however, are likely to be reminded occasionally of the events that transpired. Implicit in this is the notion that further "shameful" behaviour will not be tolerated.

Conclusion

In this paper, I have tried to demonstrate that treasure hunting on archaeological sites is, or is not, a deviant activity depending on the views of the audience we are dealing with. At both the "international" and "national" level, this type of activity draws a negative response. Various individuals, organizations and governments regard treasure hunting as a deviant activity. Treasure hunters are viewed as grave robbers and petty criminals. Since treasure hunting is a "deviant" activity, every effort must be made to stop the practice and punish the culprits.

At the local level, the situation is different. Although rural Sicilians are often aware of government regulations protecting archaeological sites, the laws and regulations have little meaning for them. The long period of foreign domination and exploitation has left them with the impression that government regulations are not instituted for their benefit. Instead, many believe that it is "outsiders" who will benefit from the heritage laws. This attitude, combined with a rich lore dealing with buried treasure, has ensured that treasure hunting remains an acceptable way of improving one's financial status. In general, rural Sicilians do not consider treasure hunting to be a "deviant" activity.

Although treasure hunting is not regarded as a "deviant" activity by the local people, individuals who engage in this type of activity may quickly be transformed into "deviants" if they fail to meet cultural expectations. Whether a treasure hunter is, or is not, considered "deviant" depends on the methods he uses. More specifically, the individual(s) must avoid gaining financially at the expense of others. By setting fire to the mountain side, the culprits created hardship for other community members. It was the severe ramifications of their activities, and not treasure hunting itself, that led people to: re-evaluate their views of the treasure hunters; identify and label them as "deviant"; and treat them as individuals unworthy of respect.

Notes

1. The editors of the *Journal of Field Archaeology* have been particularly diligent in this awareness campaign.
2. For a country-by-country discussion of heritage laws see Burnham (1974).
3. For a discussion of treasure tales in other societies see Crossman (1979), Erasmus (1961:250-251), Foster (1964, 1965), Schryer (1976) and Wagley (1968:127-128).
4. Certain details have been disguised or changed to protect my informants.
5. Due to the sensitivity of the issue, I made no attempt to interview the landowner, the police or the three treasure hunters.

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THE EMERGENCE AND MAINTENANCE OF A DEVIANT SUB-CULTURE: THE CASE OF HUNTING/ POACHING SUB-CULTURE

Richard A. Brymer
McMaster University

Abstract: Few accounts of deviant sub-culture properly examine their historical context and relationship to the dominant culture. This paper attempts to achieve both goals. It is an account of the social organization and practice of members of the hunting/poaching sub-culture in North America. An historical ethnographic description of poachers includes a description of the sub-culture and the strategies adopted by members both to deal with the increasing technological sophistication of regulators and to achieve social control within their own small-scale group.

Résumé: Il y a peu de récits concernant la sous-culture déviante qui examinent de façon approfondie son context historique et sa relation avec la culture dominante. Cette étude entreprend d'achever ces deux mêmes buts en examinant l'organisation sociale et la pratique des membres d'une sous-culture de braconneurs en Amérique du Nord. Une étude historique et ethnographique de braconneurs décrit la sous-culture et les stratégies adoptées par les membres pour mieux combattre les développements technologiques utilisés par les autorités et pour établir un contrôle social parmi leur propre groupe à petite échelle.

Sociology has made heavy use of the concept "sub-culture" in explaining and analyzing deviance. Generally, it is used to account for socially organized and patterned deviance as it exists in communities. The notion of sub-culture helps to understand the apparent paradox of the immorality of deviance *and* its continued existence. In spite of the importance of this concept, it remains a "sensitizing" concept that is barely analyzed and is, indeed, ignored (McCarthy-Smith 1990). Some analysis of the emergence of deviant sub-cultures has appeared in the work of Cohen (1955), Kitsuse and

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Dietrick (1959) and others. This work generally emphasizes the "collective reactions" of disenfranchised groups as they pursue solutions to the status frustrations imposed by middle class institutions. More recent critical work by various British and neo-Marxist schools has emphasized the "proactive" and indeed even "oppositional" sources of emergence (Taylor, Walton and Young 1973; Mungham and Pearson 1976; S. Cohen 1972; Willis 1977; Hebdige 1979, etc.).

In my view, all of these works suffer from two problems. First, none *does* any historical analysis. Even the neo-Marxist approach, using the notion of "historical specificity," rarely gets beyond an analysis of the current existence of the sub-culture. In their analysis of current sub-cultures few – especially labelling theorists – examine the detailed day-to-day ties between the deviant world and the straight world, even though their argument suggests that such ties should exist. Rather the ethnographic discussions treat the sub-culture as essentially static and isolated from the rest of society. Finally, none of the foregoing perspectives uses an approach to history which would locate sub-cultures as part of the more general process of the development of scalar complexity in human societies.

In this paper, I address these problems by examining a sub-culture in the context of its history and its location in the development of human societies (Johnson and Earle 1987; Raybeck 1991). I suggest that changes in the organization and content of sub-cultures are a result of continued contact and negotiation with the dominant cultural world. The dominant cultural world, in turn, changes its responses to the sub-cultural world so as to give its world a new "problem" to solve. Thus the relationship between deviants and "straights" is not static, but interactive or dialectical. I conceive of the straight world as providing not only a reactive or proactive focus, but as also providing an opportunity structure which makes it possible for members of sub-cultures to create new ways of "*being*" deviant. This latter point is suggested by Farberman (1975) but not elaborated.

The data are provided in a case study of one type of hunting/poaching sub-culture which has as a part of its repertoire systematic violation of game laws. My experience with this sub-culture spans 45 years, in many locales in North America, including Canada, the United States and Northern Mexico.[1] It is further reinforced by the experiences of my father and grandfather as contained in their oral histories and memories which date to the middle 1800s. These orally transmitted historical events on which I draw occurred in the frontier move from the southeastern United States into Texas.

I have also consulted historical sources where appropriate, although these are rarely directly valuable because few deviants write their own history. Rather, such documents are written by crusaders against the deviance, legislators and politicians who create laws and the various persons charged with

controlling the deviance. Thus one must read between many, many lines.[2] My data from years of experience in these different locales reveal very similar and consistent patterns of one type of hunting/poaching sub-culture, and we now turn to these patterns.

Hunting/Poaching Sub-Cultures and Their History

Introduction

Historically, hunting, along with gathering, was the major mode of subsistence for the smallest scale societies. Recent or contemporary examples include the Great Basin Shoshone and the peoples of the Kalahari in southern Africa. With the development of more complex extractive technologies and their associated, more complex social organization, human groups placed less and less dependence on hunting, and comparatively fewer person hours were involved (Johnson and Earle 1987:309-310).

Hunting has continued to exist, and is carried out by a small number of persons in North America. As an activity, however, it is now located in a very complex industrial society, and its nature has been transformed by this "new" location. A very significant part of its new existence in an industrial society concerns game laws and official agencies responsible for their enforcement. While the vast majority of modern hunters are law-abiding, there are various groups who more or less routinely violate game laws, and these violations are socially and culturally patterned. This patterning would seem to qualify them as sub-cultures of the larger North American industrial society. I suggest that there are four main types of illegal hunting/poaching subcultures. Each has its own level of organizational sophistication (Best and Luckenbill 1982:25) and a different rationale for engaging in such activity. These types are as follows:

Market Hunters

These groups operate strictly for profit and are often international in scope. Their purpose is to kill large numbers of commercially valuable game animals and to sell them on the black market. In Best and Luckenbill's (1982:25) terms, they exhibit a high degree of formal organization that can approach that of the currently notorious Colombian cocaine cartel. Occasionally more localized "mobs" (Best and Luckenbill 1982:25) will pursue this illegal market activity, although their division of labour and knowledge of the black market suggest some formal organizational connections.

Trophy Hunters and Guides

The purpose of these hunters and guides is not to kill large numbers of animals, but to obtain a single high quality "trophy." Most guide services are legal and above-board because of a high commitment to conservationist values and, also, because of the strict and multi-level surveillance of such activities. The presence of trophy hunters who are willing to pay extremely high prices for illegal trophies does serve, however, as an opportunity structure for a minority of guides, as well as a motive to carry out such illegal activities. A high degree of organizational sophistication is required to enter forbidden areas, to negotiate international boundaries and avoid international law enforcement.

Tourist Hunters

These are persons who work and live in urban areas and cannot afford, or do not use, guides. They are not connected with rural kinship networks and thus they must hunt wherever they can, often in areas with which they are not familiar. This may lead them into game law violation. The organizational level appears to be that of the peer or friendship group (Best and Luckenbill 1982:25)

My primary focus in this paper is on the fourth type, Local Rural Hunters.

Local Rural Hunters

These are traditional hunters whose activities are holdovers from a pre-industrial, agrarian communal/familial network. With the imposition, by the state, of game and property laws, many of their activities became illegal. Yet, they continue to hunt and their interaction with various authorities and "outside others" has produced a type of sub-culture. Not all of their activities are illegal, by any means, but some are.

The organizational nuclei of this sub-culture are extended families, still retaining rural lands which serve as the centre of their hunting territories. Even though they may work in town, the members of such groups commute home, and pursue an essentially "rural" lifestyle. The hunting territories may be small or large, depending upon the traditions and requirements of the geographical area, but will usually have been "in the family" for at least three generations, and often longer. This home tract may also provide the basis for extended hunting claims on land that may now be owned by the government or absentee land lords. If such lands have traditionally been hunted for generations, they too may form part of the "territory." The groups in this sub-culture also include members who may live and work in distant urban areas, but return periodically to hunt with their extended kin. Finally, the social network may include non-familial members who, for a

variety of reasons, have established fictive kin relations of interpersonal trust. Such groups are tightly knit, and outsiders are likely to be distrusted and treated with a friendly but formal distancing.

Hunting is viewed as a "traditional activity"; it is not engaged in for profit or personal gain. Indeed, it is not defined as fun or recreation in the sense of other leisure activities such as vacations, dances, etc. Hunting is the performance of a traditional role. A primary value is to *actively* hunt the game, making a clean kill or tracking a wounded animal until it is located. Game is rarely lost as tracking skills are the basis for personal status, and intimate long-term knowledge of the area is vital in this regard. "Tourists," in contrast, often lose game because of lack of knowledge and skill and, hence, are defined by the Local Rurals as "deviant." Finds of dead or wounded animals are occasions of great pejorative debate and discussion as to who might be the culprit (fieldnotes 1980, 1985).

The game taken is also used and wastage is negatively sanctioned, as in the oft-used phrase (especially when socializing younger members), "If you're not going to eat it, don't kill it; and if you do kill it, you damned well be *ready* to eat it!" Almost total usage of the animal occurs, although intestines and stomachs and other tripe are eaten only by a few small sub-sub-cultural groups. What isn't consumed by the nuclei is fed to pets or farm animals, and hides are either tanned for gloves and other clothing or are traded for "favours" with other Local Rurals.

Another value is sharing game within the social network so that, even when few animals are taken, "at least everyone gets a taste" (fieldnotes 1986). This is analogous to Christian Communion in that consuming the game is an affirmation of membership in the network and in the tradition. This is particularly true when the game is illegally obtained and, thus, the boundary between insiders and outsiders is demonstrated. Alternatively, to refuse, or be refused, commensality is to be set apart. On one occasion, I had dinner with a family while I was still an outsider. I was pretty sure that I was eating venison, but I was told that it was an older steer. Two years later, they admitted that it was, in fact, an illegal deer. Sharing is also extended to network members who, for reasons of age or physical infirmity, are unable to actively hunt. "Great-aunt ___ hasn't gotten her deer yet this year, son, so go and get her a nice, young fat doe" (Father to son, fieldnotes 1980). Great Aunt ___'s membership in the network is thus affirmed.[3]

Forms of poaching include taking game out of season, or without a proper license, or by other illegal means. Game laws are often viewed as arbitrary and illegitimate invasions of the state into a traditional activity that is governed by its members.

(X) I've been hunting [this area] for forty years and no damned game warden is going to tell me when and where I can hunt.
(Brymer) What if the warden catches you?
(X) I'd like to see that s.o.b. try, because I know [this area] better than anyone and can outrun any one through it. (Fieldnotes 1987)

Sometimes bag limits are exceeded, but only if someone "needs" it or the hunters/poachers' judgment of the game population is at variance with that of the governmental agency that sets the limits. If the hunters/poachers judge that there are too few animals, bag limits are kept small, or they voluntarily restrict hunting in claimed or owned territories. I have personal recollections and fieldnotes detailing such judgments. In at least one case, hunting was suspended for a four-year period. During this time, the "official" judgment retained previously set limits. Conversely, when the hunter/poachers' judgment is that there are "too many," legal bag limits are routinely ignored and the game-sharing network is intensified and, sometimes, expanded. Occasionally, for example, an additional freezer will be purchased solely for storing extra game. At other times, canning, drying and jerky preparation (especially for larger game animals) will help to handle the need for storage and avoid violation of the taboo against waste.

History

I was introduced to hunting/poaching and its history (and am now perhaps part of it) 45 years ago by my grandfather. He and my grandmother were share-cropping a small ranch in southwest Texas, and I went to live with them. He had a one-third share of the goat crop, and kept chickens and two cows, selling the eggs and cream for cash—a scarce commodity. Subsistence activities were routine, including fishing, hunting and foraging for wild fruits and berries. Food was provided by fresh or canned garden produce, roosters and goats that came out of his share. Skim milk was processed into clabber (thick, sour milk) and cottage cheese; honey and bartered cane syrup provided the only sweeteners. About the only foods purchased were pastry flour, sugar, coffee and tea.

> One day we were riding the mule checking the goats and, as usual, my grandfather was carrying his cheap, single-shot shotgun. He saw and shot a large wild turkey gobbler, and I was overjoyed. This was not only meat for several meals, but it meant roast turkey(!), as opposed to the small frying roosters we ate occasionally and the more regular goat. I was allowed to carry the turkey home and was thrilled to be able to make the presentation to my grandmother. In this day and age, it is difficult to appreciate the significance of this event.
>
> As we approached the house, my grandfather stopped about a quarter mile from the house and told me to stay there with the turkey until he came for

> me, because someone was at the house. A few minutes later he returned for me, and I was introduced to the fact that we had just killed a turkey illegally. The man at the house had been a neighborhood gossip. I had no idea that my grandfather didn't have a license, that it was "out of season," and that shooting turkeys was illegal anyway. We were also riding a mule and one wasn't supposed to shoot from a mule.

Although this is a personal and retrospective account, I think that my grandfather was a typical representative of the category "redneck" and was caught in the vortex of change from an essentially pre-industrial, agrarian society to an industrial, urban one. Our lifestyle in 1945 was little different from that described by Roebuck and Hickson (1982) as characteristic of the antebellum white southerner. Roebuck and Hickson (1982) provide the most recent survey of the historical emergence of the redneck as a type of white southerner. I rely heavily upon them in the next few paragraphs, and use their data to comment on the emergence of similar sub-cultures in other locales, all of which include "local rural" type hunter/poachers.

> Before 1770 there was opportunity for all whites, including the poor, to become independent artisans or farmers in the colonies. In the eighteenth century however, the establishment and development of the plantation slave system in the South made it more difficult for the freed indentured servants and other poor people to rise or maintain their own. . . . In the South, agriculture based on slave labor provided limited employment opportunities for white laborers and small landholders. The land tenure system, the one-crop system, and soil exhaustion caused the planters to move to new lands constantly, leaving in their wake worn-out fields . . . to the yeoman farmers and poor whites. . . . [M]ost of the small farmers were pushed onto a new frontier by the plantation system, or to the outlying hills where they grew some tobacco and cotton. Downward mobility was the rule for many, as opposed to upward mobility for the few. (Roebuck and Hickson 1982:9, 10)

In this frontier, the poor white became, essentially, a squatter on open land, engaged in subsistence farming, hunting, fishing and herding.

> Most obtained food, clothing and shelter from rural pursuits and lived in self-constructed cabins or houses. . . . They raised pigs and chickens, cultivated corn and other vegetables, and occasionally planted a small crop of cotton or tobacco. Some had cattle, horses and a milk cow which grazed frequently on open land. They also hunted, trapped and fished for food. Animal furs and hides were sold at a town market. (Roebuck and Hickson 1982:12)

> The folk culture and physical circumstances encouraged the development of rule by men instead of law and institutions. Individualism developed from a self-sufficient life on the frontier . . . often just beyond the frontier stage of development, the plain folk depended on and asserted themselves according

> to a personalized set of human relations (man to man) and a code of violent behavior based on the redress of wrong. (Roebuck and Hickson 1982:13)
>
> In the post bellum period, between 1865 and 1900, the poor whites were integrated into the economic system as one, dependent lumpen lower class. They shifted from small subsistence farming, hunting, fishing, and herding to tenancy and sharecropping, and to wage earners as mill workers, miners and factory hands. Most poor whites and blacks became tenants and sharecroppers in a competitive situation. The poor white, in short, was for the first time reduced to an equal work status with the black, which intensified white racism. (Roebuck and Hickson 1982:16)

Roebuck and Hickson go on to argue that this intensified white racism was manipulated by upper-class white elements in order to deflect the development of a white underclass consciousness of class. Accordingly, this white racism is used as a major defining characteristic of the modern-day redneck. Roebuck and Hickson's historical summary is quite useful, but their portrayal of the modern redneck is condescending insofar as they consider the redneck to be ignorant, racist and culturally impoverished. A more serious flaw in their work is that they ignore the positive features of the redneck's adherence to traditional cultural patterns, except to note that the retirement dreams of even urban rednecks are to return to the South and a little patch of land (Roebuck and Hickson 1982:120, 178, 188).

They also ignore analogues of the plantation economy in other contemporary geographical locations in agri-business, factory-ship fishing and the mechanization of herding and stock-farming that have led to the death of the small, family farm. Even where a slave economy is *not* present, these analogues *did* give rise to similar types of sub-cultures, at least with respect to hunting and poaching. In addition to white southern lower-class rednecks, those affected include the *rancheros* of Northern Mexico, the "cowboys" (marginal ranchers) of Western Canada and the U.S., the marginal farmers of Northern Ontario, Québec and the Maritimes, and the marginal fisherman of the Maritimes.[4] While these groups lack the racist traits that southern rednecks exhibit, they have a healthy distrust and disrespect for outsiders and "tourists," and they *all* engage in hunting/poaching styles of the "local rural" type.

All of these groups have been squeezed off the land and now work at the mercy of the industries of the post-industrial state. Nevertheless, they retain an identification with the values of a long-gone pre-industrial era that focusses on *using* land in a communal sense rather than *owning* it as a commodity. In their traditional hunting practices, rural poachers are doing roughly the same thing that their forefathers did, though some of their activities are now illegal. They have become more or less instant and involuntary

deviants. More importantly, knowledge of their own deviance, coupled with a vigorous sense of individualism and a populist distrust of authority, has led them to construct a deviant sub-culture in a self-conscious manner. On the one hand, they want to continue this tradition; on the other, they are aware of the power and organization of the state which enforces laws and can have consequences for their total lives.

This leads to a kind of "cops-and-robbers" contest between members of the sub-culture, and the state and its enforcers. As new laws and surveillance tactics are developed, the sub-cultural group attempts to create counter-tactics. If a counter-tactic works, or if a new hunting technology is developed, then the Game Law enforcers respond, creating a new problem for the sub-culture. Not only is there constant improvement of surveillance technology, but the increasing public objection to hunting means that the sub-culture's members now must both contend with the problem of informers and maintain even tighter internal social control. This kind of dialectical interaction appears to account for the continuing change in the hunting/poaching sub-culture.

Dialectical Interactions with the State and with the Community

In this section, I illustrate some instances of problems that the hunting/poaching sub-culture has with the State and with their own community. Within the community, I note two types of problems: first, there is the problem of internal social control in the extended family nucleus; the second problem concerns maintaining relationships with other extended family nuclei in the same small rural community. Concern with the latter problem is generated by the fact that there is competition between nuclei for use of "unowned" or government land and disputes over what constitute the boundaries of "territorial" hunting tracts. This problem may be exacerbated because the same individual may belong to competing nuclei. The in-laws of group X may in fact be sisters or brothers or other kin of group Y. Thus individuals may be able to choose the hunting group to which they wish to be identified. Generally, membership is more or less exclusive and longlasting, given the extreme sense of trust necessary to evade the authorities. At times, this can become a *very* divisive issue. Such problems are reminescent of Richard Lee's (1984:57-61) discussion of the same kinds of difficulties occurring among the Dobe !Kung of the Kalahari.

All of the problems noted above derive from the position of the local game law enforcers, or game wardens as they shall be henceforth called. It is not widely known, but game wardens have a legal mandate that is sometimes broader than that of the usual police authorities. The following pas-

sage appears in *Hunting Regulations: Summary, Fall '88-Spring '89*, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario, p. 8:

> OFFICERS: An Officer may, without a search warrant:
> 1. stop, enter and search any aircraft, vehicle, or vessel;
> 2. enter and search any fishing, hunting, mining, lumber or construction camp or any office of any common carrier; and
> 3. open and inspect any trunk, box, bag, parcel or receptacle.
>
> if he has reasonable grounds for believing that any of the above contain game or fish taken, shipped or possessed in contravention of the Game and Fish Act and Regulations. . . .
>
> An Officer has the authority to request information about hunting and fishing.

Most other Canadian national and provincial and U.S. national and state jurisdictions have similar laws and regulations. Additionally, game wardens can call upon police forces for aid and assistance in investigations which are crimes under various wildlife acts. This potentially creates a substantial police presence with which the sub-culture must cope. In fact, directive (2) above has been construed as referring to homes and outbuildings which are believed to be used as a hunting base (fieldnotes 1986).

Compounding the problem for the sub-culture is the recent attempt to involve the general citizenry in surveillance. Just as hot-lines have been set up by police for criminal offenses, so hot-lines have been set up and particularly focussed on poachers in certain jurisdictions. Such hot-lines maintain confidentiality and allow for anonymous tips. Such services are often advertised at sports shows and are often part of displays by various hunting and fishing groups. Occasionally, these groups will also distribute free Violation Report Forms with self-addressed postage-paid envelopes. Such tactics have also become weapons, in small communities, to settle feuds between nuclei. And, as with most tactics, the poachers themselves occasionally put them to use.

Problems with the State

Some problems stemming from game laws have already been solved by the sub-culture, and are now a part of their cultural knowledge. Most jurisdictions have laws against baiting game animals with salt or feed. This challenge has been fairly easily resolved by the rural locals because they generally either own small tracts of land, or lease grazing rights. They pasture the odd cow or horse on this land, and provide *that* animal with a salt lick, or with a small patch of oats or other small grain. In drier climes, water tanks are often set up. Should a game animal avail itself of the facility and get killed, it can then be argued that this was not the original intent of the land-

holder. This is a convenient, but demonstrably true, rationale, because farm animals need salt, water and food—just as a game animal does.

Another tactical problem already solved by rural hunters has been the game wardens' use of mandatory checkpoints on major thoroughfares. Given the broad mandate in most jurisdictions, very thorough checks can be made and are very effective against tourist hunters. Once known, though, these points are almost useless against local rurals, whose knowledge of the area often exceeds that of the game wardens. Back roads and old ranch or logging roads across private property are well known. The recent advent of small four-wheel drive and all-terrain vehicles is also an effective solution to road checks. Technology in the form of Citizen's Band radios also allows members to ascertain the location of, and avoid game wardens fairly easily, either through contact with local base operators or through monitoring the game wardens' own frequencies. Game wardens in some jurisdictions are beginning to react to this situation by shifting to other means of radio communication, often involving the use of military systems.

Jack-lighting, or taking game at night with the use of a light to "freeze" them, is a technique that has a very interesting history. It was originally developed in pre-industrial times when pine-knot torches were used with birch-bark or whitened leather reflectors to concentrate the light in the eyes of the game animal, usually a ruminant. It is a *very* effective technique for taking game animals. Its history more or less parallels the technological history of concentrated lights. Historically, kerosene lamps and candles were concentrated by using mirrors in what is known as a "bull's eye lantern." Then followed the use of pressure-operated lights using mantles. Each new development led to more and more game taken. Eventually, most jurisdictions made such techniques illegal and the practices then became part of the deviant sub-culture.

Once the practice was ruled illegal, the nature of the "contest" shifted to the use of light that was minimally detectable. One solution was to use telescopic sights, which don't require "silhouette" sighting, against a broadly lit target. During this phase, various automobile headlights were used, but game wardens responded by using hydraulically powered small "cherry picker" cranes to achieve a height from which lights could be observed for fairly long distances, especially in prairie-like settings. One of the latest technological responses has been to use extremely small quartz halogen lights, with long beam concentrators, which are mounted on scopes with mercury microswitches, allowing the light to be turned on by simply raising the rifle to the firing position. These lights, and the scopes, are pre-targeted. The short duration of lighting activity is effective in taking animals, but difficult for enforcers to observe. Ironically, such devices are legal in the state of Texas for hunting predators, and they are advertised in the magazine pub-

lished by the Texas Department of Parks and Wildlife (Texas Parks and Wildlife 1975:19, 24).

A problem that is currently being solved by the sub-culture also constitutes an opportunity for innovation. This possibility stems from recent rules referred to as the "cow-calf" rule. Depending upon the jurisdiction, these rules specify that only bulls and calves may be killed, and cows are protected. Bull elk and moose have horns and are readily identifiable; cows and calves are distinguished generally by size, and elk and moose calves grow rapidly during their first year. This has given rise to various practices designed to "convert" illegally taken cows into legally taken calves. One reported practice is to remove a set of ribs from the middle of a cow prior to quartering it. This reduces the absolute size of a cow to that of a large calf. Presumably "once it is quartered, no on will ever know" (fieldnotes 1988). Because most jurisdictions require that a tag be affixed to the lower jaw of a calf, and because inspection of the teeth is the definitive criterion for a calf, this technique may not be that effective. To date, I have no reports.

Another problem that has *not* yet been solved by the sub-culture also stems from the evolution of technological complexity. A recent development in wildlife research has been the use of electronic transmitters affixed to game animals such that their movements can be tracked by radio telemetry. This research has been very productive in the development of scientific knowledge about game animals, and will ultimately allow for more conservation of game. In the short term however, it produces a problem for the hunter/poacher. When the radio transmitter stops moving for any length of time, or ceases transmission, the research biologist assumes that the animal is dead, locates its last known position and attempts to retrieve it for study.

From the poachers' perspective, this provides very detailed information about his illegal act and its location, and leads to an official actively seeking the animal, something a poacher avoids at all costs. While collars or external tags are fairly obvious, implanted tags are not. Thus far, poachers are worrying about how to locate such implanted tags, or what to do should they shoot an externally tagged animal. The current consensus is that one looks for tags before one shoots, but, should one miss seeing the tag and kill the animal, one should immediately leave the scene and warn all others in the party. This is the chosen action, despite the fact that most regulations state that hunters will not be penalized in any way. (See *Hunting Regulations: Summary, Fall '88, Spring '89, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ontario*, p. iv, for an example from the Ontario jurisdiction.) Local rurals simply do not trust governmental statements. Currently, no acceptable solution to the problem of electronic monitoring has been developed. Some hunter/poachers are turning to their more electronically sophisticated

friends for information, but it is hard to discuss the immediate problem with such friends, because they are not usually part of the extended family network.

Extended Family Nuclei and Local Community Problems

Problems stem from a variety of sources. Both extended family nucleus members, and the members of other nuclei are usually mature males and as such are granted personal autonomy and individual freedom to do as they please within the local community. All are members of the local community, share the same values and often share the same intimate knowledge of the area, although obviously each nucleus specializes in its own territory. But members of such groups may so outrageously violate game laws as to focus official attention on the entire community. Such events do happen and are especially problematic for the entire local community.

The case of the Judas X is an excellent example. This case was one of the most problematic cases I have ever encountered, and has had consequences that have lasted to the present; and yes, the term Judas *was* used by locals to describe him!

In 1980, a few weeks prior to the opening of hunting season, Judas, a member of nucleus X, killed an animal at night on a rural road and butchered it a few yards away. He was turned in (on a hot-line), and the next morning game wardens, local and state police were on the scene investigating the crime. The location of the kill was closest to nucleus Y, and on a road that gave access to some 12 other nuclei. Initial suspicion fell on these nuclei, with the result that barns and outbuildings were searched, and many persons in the area were interviewed. The next few days saw the investigation spread to more outlying areas. Patrols by all levels of police were increased, and checkpoints were set up in order to question and search all traffic, the author included.

The impact was devastating, and the initial reaction was a drastic escalation of inter- and intra-nuclear gossip to figure out who was involved, and how the nuclear unit might protect itself. Suspicion and distrust, even inside nuclei, was rampant. The local community had lost its moral basis. Once the identity of the suspect was known, then all nuclei shifted their strategies to distance themselves from Judas and nucleus X, and reaffirm their own boundaries to ensure distancing and information control.

Ironically, the animal was never found, and Judas was never charged. The social order of the community was disturbed and remained so for at least three years. Other consequences will be discussed below.

Equally, there is inter-nuclei competition concerning territorial boundaries and "use" of land. This is particularly true if a section of the territory

has not been used for some time; in such a case, it is deemed "vacant" and up for grabs. Finally, members of other nuclei are potential members of one's own nucleus; should the numbers of a given nucleus drop, there may be competition for their loyalties.

The social control of insiders is especially difficult. Where all are ostensible equals, decisions about hunting and poaching get made by an often lengthy discussion and debate process. Yet the equality is rhetorical; there are major differences *within* the group. Some members are simply better hunters and trackers; others have more knowledge of the outside world and are better able to negotiate on behalf of the nucleus. Decisions are arrived at on a consensual basis that takes these differences into account. One is reminded of the decision-making process of the !Kung camp described by Richard Lee (1984:87-90).

One method of controlling the behaviour of members and maintaining a boundary vis-à-vis other nuclei is the development of a highly specialized argot that refers to a particular group's experiences. Such an argot is replete with undefined references that are incomprehensible without knowledge of the group's history, for example: "Do you remember where X sat when Y shot the deer two years ago? We'll go a couple of hundred yards past that to where that old tree fell down and watch there. The deer will probably be coming from over the rise" (fieldnotes). That communication is impossible for any outsider to understand.

Other methods of control are the usual teasing and joking, with mock threats, and discussions of possible consequences of hypothetical acts. Inside such groups, detailed information is also passed around, particularly by permanent residents when talking to their temporarily visiting kin. The two or three days before a hunt are usually filled with recounting of the past year's activity. This occurred in the Judas case mentioned above, and information was passed on in great detail, with instructions that extreme care must be taken in the future. Furthermore, hunting areas were shifted to regions that were least likely to come under observation because they were so distant from even minor roads, and were located on locked private property.

Another control mechanism is ostracism and expulsion from the local community. In the season immediately following the Judas case, post-hunt activities included discussions of opportunities to poach that were not taken because of increased surveillance due to the case. Judas was the subject of much threat and pejoration. Apparently the same kind of discussions took place in nucleus X, because gossip had it that a fellow nucleus member distrusted him and used a "hot-line" to turn him in. This was adjudged appropriate treatment for a Judas. The process took about two years, but it was apparently effective. He not only lost his place in his own nucleus, but in the entire community, for no other nucleus would take him in, and he left

the community. This incident occurred in the early 1980s, and recent contact with the nuclei reveal that the individual is still gone, and that no one has heard from him or tried to maintain contact with him. The case continues to be part of the exemplary lore of the area (fieldnotes 1980-88).[5]

Another form of control is the use of outright lies. The following case illustrates the process. I had been invited to go hunting with a family nucleus who were my relations and friends, but with whom I had never been hunting. Before the hunt, I was informed that X was an untrustworthy "old fart" who would tell anybody anything. Yet he was a family member and therefore included. As we were hunting on line stands, individual members were separated by several hundred yards and hills and ravines. Line stands require that hunters form a line at right angles to deer trails, separated from each other by a "safe" distance. Deer drift through, and by the end of the hunt the persons on the last stand would walk back through and pick everyone up. "X" was on the first stand, and I was on the second, with the others strung out in order. I heard a few shots further "down" the line. When the group reached my position, they said that they had gotten a doe, but not to say anything about it because they didn't want X to know, and that they would come back and pick it up that night. I said nothing and we ended the hunt with the usual few beers and supper. When X left, I asked if they needed my help to go and get the deer. At that point, they told me that they really hadn't shot a deer but were just fooling around and teasing me. As a hunter, I joined in the laughter and bought another round of beer. As a sociologist, I know that they were testing my trust in the hunting situation. I was invited back several times so I know I passed *that* test, because further forms of game law violation were revealed. X didn't pass, and although he was allowed to hunt, no further information was revealed to him nor was he allowed to witness poaching. He eventually withdrew from hunting, voluntarily, a few years later (fieldnotes 1978-89).

Such information control and explicit testing often takes place over lengthy periods of time and it is rare for complete strangers to be taken in. One simply must have some prior stake in or connection with, the group. Even then, trust is only gradually developed. It is as if there are only two extreme levels of sanction involved in control. The lowest level is simple joking, teasing and nicknaming. If these methods are employed, a member can come to be progressively and gradually trusted and given more responsibility for maintaining secrecy and involvement in poaching. One's involvement can be halted at any level, as in the case of X. The highest and ultimate level of control is banishment.

In summary, internal and external problems must be handled by the subculture. External problems are handled on a trial-and-error basis, and mostly solved by technology or modifications in hunting practices. Internal prob-

lems are a more delicate matter, because they deal with basic values and membership in the network, yet there are few techniques for dealing with them. Fission of a group, be it voluntary or involuntary is an ultimate outcome, but this disrupts the balance of the entire network and violates the basic value of communal sharing.

Conclusions

In this paper, I have described a sub-culture that is based in an extension of values and hunting practices originating, at the latest, in the early 1800s in a pre-industrial agrarian era. It has its analogues in other parts of North America. Many of the values have remained the same over nearly two centuries.

Comparisons with the !Kung suggest that some of the same cultural values and internal problems also occur in small-scale societies. What has changed is that the hunting practices have become deviant by virtue of the emergence of an increased level of complexity which includes not only game laws but game law enforcers. Self-consciously, the sub-culture's members have responded in ways that allow them and their culture to remain in existence. Technological changes provide one dimension along which such changes have occurred. Perhaps more deeply divisive has been the response of the sub-culture to its social milieu which now includes potential informers who, in previous eras, would have been neighbors. This change has led to an increased need to screen carefully any new members and to guard boundaries somewhat more closely. It is also possible that increased fission will lead to the demise of the sub-culture.

I suggest that sociologists and anthropologists should study deviant subcultures historically, and that some of the changes in these sub-cultures can be traced to the "new" locations of these groups in more recently evolved, organizational levels of complexity. Thus I argue that a sub-culture cannot be fully understood by an analysis of its existence in a given present. Hunting/poaching sub-cultures have had a long history and are clearly able to adapt to new milieux. This adaptability, and the viability of the extended family in a rural context leads me to argue that this sub-culture is not moribund, but vital.[6]

Notes

1. Because of the nature of the data in this chapter, we shall use composite cases constructed from scenes and characteristics from different locales and time frames (Brymer and Farris 1967:315-316).
2. A similar problem arises in the work of E.P. Thompson (1975). His work on hunting and poaching in the early 18th century in England uses data drawn largely from legal and other archival state records, and he notes the difficulty in making inferences as to

the organization of the poachers themselves. I might note that there are similarities in the patterns he locates and mine, but there are many more differences.

3. In line with my assertion that this sub-culture has deep pre-industrial roots, note how closely it matches Sahlins' analysis of generalized reciprocity (Sahlins 1965:147 and, passim, 186-200).
4. See Okihiro (1989) for a strikingly similar description of contemporary outport Newfoundlanders.
5. The lack of a concrete and definitive resolution of this case is very similar to that of case of Jean in McPherson's chapter in this volume. Even though they were not resolved, they both entered the cultural memory of the groups.
6. The death of all hunting has been predicted, for England at least, by Thomas (1983). I will address this comparison in future work.

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CONCLUSIONS

Richard A. Brymer
McMaster University

Abstract: Anthropological literature on small-scale societies, including some of the ethnographic material in this volume, suggests that the five organizational settings which form the conceptual setting for sociological theories of deviance are not universally present. Small-scale societies are devoid of large, competing pressure groups with different values, differentiated regulatory organizations, distinct sub-cultures and a concept of the individual separate from the group. Consequently, many of the statuses and roles beloved of labelling theorists, e.g., moral entrepreneurs, generic labelling, deviant subcultures and deviant identities are absent. The development of a scalar model is the first step toward an understanding of deviance in cross-cultural terms. The emergence of deviant identity and deviant sub-cultures may perhaps be seen in some of the "middle-scale" ethnographic cases discussed in this volume, e.g., the self-confessed sorcery specialist. The scalar model assumes that large-scale societies are often composed of small-scale subunits, and both dominate and interact with small-scale folk societies which they partially absorb. A clash of values may occur. Thus spirit possession, which is not deviant in a small-scale unit, is viewed as deviant when that unit is absorbed within a larger group. Poaching and treasure-hunting, not necessarily regarded as deviant in small-scale rural groups, fall foul of the new industrial culture. The new scalar model will be of value not only to sociologists but also to anthropologists who have paid so little attention to deviance.

Résumé: La littérature anthropologique portant sur les sociétés à petite échelle, y compris quelques-unes des études ethnographiques du présent volume, constate que les cinq paradigmes organisateurs de différents concepts sociologiques de la déviance ne sont pas toujours présents. Les sociétés à petite échelle manquent non seulement de grands groupes de pression rivalisants à cause de leurs différentes valeurs et de différentes organisations régulatrices, mais aussi de sous-cultures distinctes et d'un concept de l'individu à part. Par conséquent, beaucoup d'états et de rôles favoris des théoriciens de l'étiquettage, comme par exemple les entrepreneurs moraux, l'étiquettage générique, les sous-cultures et les identités déviantes, sont ab-

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sents. Quant à une meilleure connaissance de la déviance transculturelle, le développement d'une échelle modèle s'impose. Il se peut que la naissance d'une identité ainsi que de sous-cultures déviantes se dégage dans certains cas ethnographiques «à moyenne échelle» étudiés dans le présent volume, comme par exemple la spécialiste sorcière déclarée. L'échelle proposée présuppose que les sociétés à grande échelle soient souvent composées de sous-unités à petite échelle; toutes les deux dominent et influencent d'une manière réciproque les communautés traditionnelles à petite échelle qu'elles absorbent en partie. Par conséquent, les valeurs des différentes sociétés peuvent entrer en conflit les unes avec les autres. Ainsi la possession d'alcool, qui n'est pas déviante dans une unité à petite échelle, est censée être déviante lorsque cette unité est absorbée par une unité plus grande. Le braconnage de même que la quête de trésors qui ne sont nécessairement pas considérés comme déviants dans une société rurale à petite échelle, deviennent inacceptables pour la nouvelle culture industrielle. La nouvelle échelle sera donc utile non seulement aux sociologues mais aussi aux anthropologues qui n'ont pas encore eu grand égard à la déviance.

In the introduction to this collection, I was critical of both sociology and anthropology. The purpose of my critique is to inform sociology's focus (or mis-focus) by relying upon anthropologists' ethnographies that are sensitive to labelling theory. My fundamental conclusions are that modern sociological views of deviance as a highly differentiated and organizationally complex entity are inappropriate when smaller-scale societies are examined. Anthropology is in equal difficulty, though, for it has no systematic view of deviance, despite the fact that, when pressed, anthropologists can provide materials on deviance. I have used the concept of societal scale primarily for its heuristic value, because sociology—while paying attention to socio-economic development—does not focus on the full range of scalar forms.

In the light of our anthropological evidence, I first reconsider in this conclusion the utility in cross-cultural terms of the five major "arenas" which sociology uses as concepts to organize the study of deviance in large-scale societies. Material from the smallest-scale societies is of particular importance in this section. Secondly, I reorganize these materials in order of societal scale, and attempt to make sense of the gradual emergence and differentiation of the sociological arenas. In both sections, I use the same material, but reorder it in terms of different logics. Finally, I offer some suggestions as to the possible future for an integrated sociology *and* anthropology of deviance.

The Five Major Arenas

1. Society-at-Large

The smallest-scale societies lack the political heterogeneity which is the basis for competition between groups seeking societal acceptance for their own definitions of moral behaviour and its obverse, deviance. Deviance is then *not* the outcome of a shifting political process. Generic and institutional labels are either completely absent, or, where found, appear to be derived from a very conservative (and consensual) tradition of morality. Particularly apposite here are Preston's cases of Margaret and Helen from Cree society, where possible conjuring and sorcery were involved. *Any* person can be a sorcerer or conjurer, but no separate class of persons is created by the label and the label, if used, is not generic. Labels are more likely to be negotiable, highly particularistic and applicable to one and only one person, although they may indeed be highly pejorative. Savishinsky's chapter indicates that the imported generic label of "alcoholic"—along with the alcohol—has little if any impact on the Hare, even though drinking behaviour itself may include or come to be the source of episodic and staged deviance.

The Counts' chapter dealing with Lusi-Kaliai, although it does not deal with a very small-scale society, again indicates the rarity of generic labels, and the prevalence of particularistic labels or "nicknames." Somewhat further along a scale of complexity, McLellan's material from Malaysia indicates that "possession" behaviours that are normative in a village become the subject of generic labelling when translocated into a larger-scale industrial society. Thus the "moral entrepreneurial process," one of the bases of labelling theory, simply does not exist in smaller-scale societies. What may take its place is a micro-level analogue of the process at an interpersonal level. That is to say, the micro-politics of a small group can give rise to pejorative nicknames that are applied to one particular invididual and, as such, establish that person as deviant, at least while the behaviour persists.

2. Regulatory Organizations

Small-scale societies lack the formal regulatory institutions that serve as loci of definition and control of deviance in complex societies: there is no separation of legislative, policing, judicial, penal or rehabilitative functions such as are to be found in large-scale societies. Furthermore, deviant individuals are not set aside as a separate category of persons. One implication of this is that there is no possibility of a deviant *career* without such a network of institutions. McPherson's Kabana chapter indicates that cases of sorcery may ultimately be mooted ultimately by entire villages or sets of villages with all concerned present. There are no separate institutional bod-

ies or specialized roles to deal with what is regarded as a clearly deviant act. In his review of the ethnographic literature, Raybeck suggests that Mbuti acephalous groups make collective decisions, including what to do about recalcitrant individuals. In these small societies, every attempt is made to reintegrate individuals into their groups, but, where this is not possible, as in Raybeck's reporting of !Kung deviance, executions also appear to be collective, although this is not entirely clear from Lee's original data.

3. Sub-cultures

In the small-scale societies treated in this work, there appear to be no subunits which might qualify as deviant sub-cultures. The societies are relatively homogeneous, and have no mechanisms for setting people aside, nor is there evidence that categories of people set themselves aside for reasons of stigma. There are "symbiotic" or trade relations between different cultural groups such as between the !Kung and the Herero and Tswana (Lee 1984), and between the Mbuti and their Bantu neighbours (Turnbull 1976; Raybeck). Occasionally these groups use each other as foils for deviance (see especially Ben-Ari 1987), but they remain separate societies and, as such, they are not usually considered to be part of a larger integrating unit.

4. Small, Informal Groups

There are, of course, small informal groups in the small societies that are reported by our contributors. In fact, such groups sometimes constitute the largest possible social unit in a small-scale culture. Thus these groups *are* society. Johnson and Earle (1987:27, 29, 214) characterize such societies as having a low population density and small absolute size (around 30 persons), with cyclical aggregations into larger temporary groups. Both Savishinsky and Preston note these characteristics in their papers. Daily life is carried out, for the most part, in extremely small groups built on kin ties and long-term personal relations.

Deviance in this context is both constructed and controlled at a very informal, face-to-face level, with rare permanent stigmatization of an individual as deviant. Levels of control seem to have two extremes: gossip and nicknaming, or permanent exile, flight or execution.

5. The Individual

In large-scale societies, where the stigmata of deviance are so pervasive, deviant individuals constitute a special unit of analysis because they carry a special "master status" that "straights" do not possess. In small-scale societies where such master statuses do not exist, the individual *as a special unit of analysis* is clearly inappropriate. Any particular person is simply an-

other player in the never-ending interaction between all persons in the group.

Preston describes cases of deviance (or, more appropriately, reactions to trouble) among the Cree which led to the offenders' reintegration in the community with no accompanying deviant identity. Interestingly enough, the only suggestion of a long-term deviant identity arose from threats imposed by representatives of the larger-scale society, the police in the case of Peter (#5) and Ella (#4), and mental health authorities in the case of Louise (#3). In the cases of Peter and Ella, the local community actually intervened to move the threatened individuals away from contact with the larger society, and back into the protection of the smaller society.

Similarly, the Rodmans note, that while anyone in Longanan society can be a rainmaker, it is very difficult for the community to assign this identity to a given individual. In the case of Henderson, even when it is voluntarily adopted, it does not appear to have acted as a "master status." This stands in sharp contrast to industrial societies in which deviance is often involuntary, and where even mistakes ("erroneous" assignment of a deviant identity, for example) have serious consequences for the individuals so assigned (Schwartz and Skolnick 1962; Rosenhan 1973).

To summarize this section, I note that sociology, in general, and labelling theory, in particular, present a very incomplete theory of deviance. While sociology's theory may be appropriate in analyzing deviance as it exists in large-scale industrial society, it obscures the character of deviance in smaller-scale societies. I now turn to anthropology and the possibility of a complementary Anthropology of Deviance, and a potential hybrid.

The Anthropology of Deviance

Anthropologists in general have not paid much attention to deviance. The contributors to this collection have done so systematically, and this material can be used to suggest the emergence of the complicated kind of deviance that is characteristic of complex societies. While anthropology has long been concerned with the perplexing problem of cultural evolution, not even the most fervent of evolution's defenders (Johnson and Earle 1987) pays attention to deviance as an evolving phenomenon. The examination of materials in the chapters of this collection suggests that if anthropologists begin to pay systematic attention to deviance, using and refining the concept of societal scale as a gradient for comparison of cross-cultural materials, they may be able to remedy some of the lacunae in sociologists' explanations of deviance.

To raise the issue of evolution in this context should not be taken to mean that I am arguing for "survivals": it is beyond argument that each human society has its own history, and that none can be taken to represent a stage

of some other society's past. I do not wish to reiterate the ontological and epistemological debate about the concept of cultural evolution. I do wish to argue for the heuristic value of the notion of scale and evolution in that it helps us to understand the differences between complex and simple deviance, the reactions to it, and how these change and emerge. So as not to get caught in the evolution debate, I use the term "scalar type." Such usage is partially outlined in Raybeck's initial survey of small, middle and peasant societies in this collection. In this concluding chapter, I suggest extending Raybeck's model on three fronts.

First, I suggest extending the notion of societal scale to allow us to explore both the implications of the primate material discussed by Zeller and others, and to re-examine the industrial and post-industrial societies suggested by sociology.

Secondly, I examine the effect that a large-scale society has on the smaller units that constitute it or become embedded in it through historical events – families, peer groups, sub-cultures, ethnic groups, regional groups, encapsulated aboriginal societies and so on. In all these kinds of aggregations, the nature of deviance and its regulation is altered by the presence of the larger-scale unit. Embedded units are not autonomous but must take into account the larger unit, and, conversely, must themselves be taken into account by it. In either case, the relation of each to the other modifies the structure of both and alters what constitutes deviance and its regulation.

Finally, I reconsider sociology's arenas for the analysis of deviance in the light of enlarged scalar comparison and the problem of embeddedness. I offer some tentative speculation about the emergence of these arenas.

Primates

Primates have social – if not cultural – organization. Zeller is creative in discussing primate deviance as it is labelled by occupational groups having varying interests in primate behaviour. Laboratory scientists, with the most narrow functional interests, see the most deviance; "free range" researchers (with the broadest social interests) see the least deviance. Zeller, a primatologist herself, defines non-human primate behaviour apparently unconducive to evolutionary fitness as "abnormality." She then conceives of deviance as statistically modelled, with the positive and negative behavioural extremes constituting deviance, and the modal ranges representing normal behaviour. This is similar to Raybeck's distinction between hard and soft deviance, with hard representing the extreme, and soft falling within the range of modal behaviour. In both cases, extreme behaviour is that which threatens, or, in the case of primates, appears to observers to threaten, the survival of social order.

I suggest another perspective from which to view primate behaviour as either deviant or normal. If one takes *reaction to behaviour*, as observed among the primates themselves, rather than statistically abnormal behaviour as a criteria for alleging deviance, then different data become crucial. This becomes especially important in examining studies of free-ranging primate groups, particularly if the reactions form a chain or involve more than one individual. Raybeck's and Zeller's chapters focus on the effect of deviance in the maintenance of social order. I am interested in the emergence of deviance at different levels of organizational complexity.

Zeller refers to a statistically normative situation in which alpha males copulate with all females; and if alphas perceive a non-alpha male copulating, the alpha male reacts by interrupting or stopping the copulation. She then goes on to describe cases where such non-patterned copulation occurs. In such cases, the couple may move out of the alpha males' perceptual field (hiding? a recognition of the abnormality of their own behaviour?) and the female inhibits her usual copulatory call, although she expresses the standard facial responses (a reaction to "self"?). A second-level scenario then can occur when a non-alpha male observes such a non-standard copulation, and then drags an alpha male into the presence of the copulating couple. (A third party reaction to others' "deviant" copulation?) The alpha male then attacks, restoring the *status quo ante* of social order.

There are also other cases where immediate statistical normality is *not* restored, and bands fission and establish separate statistical modalities. In the discussion of possible reasons for the contentious problem of infanticide, at least one hypothesis advanced is that of male competition for scarce females. In addition to infanticide, Zeller notes that male gorillas attempt to steal females from other groups, and that female gorillas may leave their groups. In each of these outcomes, the structure of the group is altered.

While few sociological theorists would be interested in such a scenario, the material that Zeller reports does, in my terms, exhibit monadic, dyadic, triadic and quadratic coordinated reaction to behaviours. These behaviours also appear to be closely analogous to human deviance, in that there are collective attempts to avoid sanctions, and coordinated efforts to control such behaviours and restore normative order. Although such behaviours are neither a random nor representative sample of *all* behaviours, they are strategic behaviours from the point of view of deviance. They are also similar to the collective behaviours observed by McPhail (1991). McPhail's observations of crowds, riots, football games and other performances focus on formal properties of behaviour without respect to meaning, intent or symbolism. It is interesting to note that other social scientists have also recently developed an interest in the analysis of primate behavioural analogues of human behaviour, particularly the political scientists, G. Schubert and R.D. Masters (1991).

While our closest primate relatives may lack symbolic culture, they do make trouble to which others react in socially organized and innovative ways. However such behaviours are learned, they are organized and may constitute a pre-human analogue of trouble as it is discussed in the next section.

Band-Scale Societies

Discussions of band-level social organization have had a long history in anthropology, beginning with Morgan, Weber and Durkheim, and continuing into the present in the work of Steward, Turnbull, Lee and others. All characterize social relations in such societies as egalitarian, leaderless and highly interpersonal. Such social relations have been described as primitive, organic, multiplex, dense, information-rich (Raybeck), etc. Few ethnographic or theoretical accounts of band-level society attempt to explain deviance, because, as I argued earlier, *sociological varieties of deviance* simply do not exist in such societies.

Trouble and problems, however, *do* exist. As an example, consider the introduction to Leacock and Lee's 1982 summary of the politics and history of band societies. Following their listing of the "core" traits of band society, they say that:

> The foregoing does not mean that foraging societies are without problems or contradictions. All social life is fraught with contradictions and foraging life is no exception. . . . Contradictions [problems] arise when individuals desire to hoard rather than share, to marry in, to be lazy and freeload, to try and lord it over others, to be sullen and isolate themselves, or to be quick to argue and fight. The ridicule, misfortune, or social isolation brought on a person habitually indulging in such behaviour are widespread themes in gather-hunter belief, mythology, ritual and child-rearing practice and daily life. The social life of foragers is in good measure the continual prevention or working out of potentially disruptive conflicts in accord with the particular cultural ways of each society. (Leacock and Lee 1982:9)

This quotation, and other accounts of band-level difficulties, suggests that trouble begins at either intra-personal or inter-personal levels. In other words, one person may feel that something is "wrong" with him- or herself, or that someone else has in some way slighted them. This is reminiscent of Emerson and Messinger's work (1977) which uses data from large-scale society in a critique of "official labelling" theory. They suggest that many forms of official deviance may, in fact, begin in informal groups with informal definitions of trouble and informal remedies for it. This kind of trouble may, if formal agencies become involved, result in the designation of the original trouble as official deviance. Informal trouble, thus, may be

the precursor of official deviance, given the existence of a set of specified and escalating conditions. While Emerson and Messinger developed their views in large-scale society, and intended them to apply to sub-units embedded in a large-scale society, these views may also help us to understand the emergent character of deviance in a scalar order.

In band-level societies,there are only internal troubles and remedies, and no external agencies available to remedy or classify the trouble as deviance. Trouble is inevitably intra-and inter-personal, as is its resolution. Although individual, family and band levels exist, and the family does mediate between the individual and the band, the extremely small, close and public nature of trouble makes its resolution available to all. This perhaps accounts for the continuing observation that band-level troubles are not often connected with the quality of a particular act, but with the quality of that act in relation to the history of the persons involved. One metaphor that both Preston and Savishinsky use is the notion of the "personal file" that each member keeps on all other members of the band. Such a file is updated daily, and each update modifies all previous entries. Thus, any given daily update, considered in the light of the total file, may be grounds for the continuation or the withdrawal of trust. This is in contrast with the middle scale, where more levels are found, and with industrial societies, where each differentiated institution keeps files on its members, but only for highly specialized and narrow reasons. Any given individual may have many files, but they are all more or less isolated from each other and, as yet, no single institution keeps *all* files on each individual. (More of this later in the post-industrial scalar analysis.)

Band-level societies, like primate groups, have systemic trouble, and their troubles are resolved internally or the groups fission. Unlike primate groups, the normative structures of bands that give rise to such troubles are not statistical or species wide, but culturally variant, although Leacock and Lee do infer a common set of core traits (Leacock and Lee 1982:8).

Middle-Scale Societies

Middle scale societies are difficult to "bound." In this work, I treat them as belonging to a residual category and argue that "middle" constitutes any scalar type more complex than band level, but simpler and smaller in scale than a pre-industrial, urban societal scale. This latter boundary has some importance for deviance.

Compared to band-scale societies, middle-scale societies exhibit a gradual increase in the levels of complexity of interpersonal affiliation. While middle-scale societies are also characterized by strong interpersonal bonds and their members operate on the basis of the personal file, there are more

constituent groups and personal arenas – at differing levels of oganizational complexity – within which deviance or control can be created, discussed and remedied.

In the scheme that I am using, each newly emerging level incorporates the prior levels and alters their relations with each other and with itself. Note also that these new levels in middle-scale societies are not differentiated by function, such as occurs later in industrial and post-industrial scale units, and all persons in the unit have some personal "stake" in the matter.

This is most clear in the cases presented by McPherson and the Counts. McPherson, in Jean's sorcery case, notes at least five levels in the construction and adjudication of behaviour as deviant or normative: the individual, the family, the men's house, the village and, finally, inter-village moots. As each level comes into play, the "deviance" itself becomes more and more complex, involving individuals with diverse and shifting interests. Band-scale societies simply have fewer levels.

The Counts' paper indicates the development of both particularist labels or nicknames, and generic nicknames as well as the appropriate social control associated with each sort. Nicknames are used in gossip, ridicule, shaming and teasing. The Countses show how adultery can be treated particularistically and joked about, or generically, as in "people who act like dogs," with different control mechanisms. In this latter case, suicide, sorcery and compensation payments as well as inter-village mooting occur as a means of control and to bring about the restoration of traditional order. But, as in the case presented by McPherson, such procedures often fail to reach a consensus, even though the higher levels of organization exist.

The Rodmans' material from Longana indicates similar levels of organization, but we also get a hint of the development of specialized regulatory roles. Rainmaking per se may or may not be deviant, and it is adjudicated in a manner similar to that discussed by Counts and McPherson. The use of Anglican lay persons and of the Bible as a set of diagnostic rules and roles may be an importation of colonialism, but it combines with traditional procedures to produce limited specialization in the allegation of deviance. McLellan's chapter on material from Malaysia, too, is similar. In the traditional village context (pre-industrial agrarian?), a *bomoh* is the specialized personage to involve in order to alleviate spirit possession. In its new industrial context, spirit possession is deviant because it disrupts industrial efficiency and because industrial specialists, such as human resource managers and union representatives, have little effect on it. Whether the use of traditional *bomohs* in these new circumstances will spread is not as yet known.

The materials in this volume suggest, too, that some codification of law begins to develop in this "middle" level, at least in terms of a rhetoric of sorcery that is understood by all, and used by some, on occasions when sor-

cery is suspected. If so, then the idea of deviance has become concrete at a level over and above the intimate negotiations of concerned persons. Donald Black is working in this area in his attempt to create a sociology of law, and more importantly, a theory of social control, in his *Towards a General Theory of Social Control* (1984). His approach is best summed up in a brief selection from a footnote in his introduction (Black 1984:15):

> The theory of social control provides a radical alternative to theories of deviant behavior of every kind. Given that deviant behavior is conduct that is subject to social control, every instance of deviant behavior is also an instance of social control. Thus to say that poor people are more likely to commit crime is also to say, simultaneously, that poor people are more likely to be defined as criminals. Variation in the nature and rate of deviant behavior—across a population, across time, or whatever—necessarily reflects variation in the nature and rate of social control. It is therefore possible to explain deviant behavior with the theory of social control. (Original citation in Black 1976:9-10)

Black seems to have created a chicken-and-egg problem; valuable, but nonetheless a problem, and his choice is to begin with a study of social control and law. His work is admirable and is one of the few sociological studies that uses anthropological and cross-cultural materials. His focus, however, is always on the differential distribution of social control. I prefer to accept the co-constitutive nature of social control and deviance, *and* to organize our materials in a scalar order as a corrective to labelling theory, in particular, and sociological theories, in general.

This examination in terms of scalar types allows us to see the emergence of social trouble in non-human primate groups, the presence of culturally organized intra- and inter-personal trouble in band societies, and trouble organized and remedied in levels of increasing complexity in middle scalar types.

Pre-Industrial Urban Societies

I have chosen this as a boundary in our discussion of scale because it seems to make sense in explaining the emergence of the various arenas of deviance. Pre-industrial urban societies—unrepresented in the case studies in this collection—are characterized by social stratification and functionally differentiated political, economic and ecclesiastical institutional organization. In addition, the élite members of political/ecclestical/economic institutions are to be found in distant centralized urban locations rather than, as in middle-scale societies, close at home in face-to-face relations with other members of their society. The urban location serves as "headquarters" for administering the various "middle-"scale units that continue to exist in tra-

ditional areas. I rely on the classic work of Sjoberg (1960) in summarizing the major characteristics of such a scalar type. For the study of deviance this scalar type is a watershed. It allows us to differentiate an anthropological focus on "folk" deviance from a sociological focus on "urban" deviance. A pre-industrial society contains *both* the forms of folk society that exist in the hinterland and the complex organization of urban deviance. Furthermore, all five arenas appear to be present in the urban sphere of pre-industrial, urban society. Sjoberg's original comparison was with the industrial city. My comparisons run both ways, with what is structurally earlier, and with that which comes later.

In his discussion of the government functions of political structure, Sjoberg (1960:244ff.) first discusses the maintenance of social control and order. Generally, law is highly codified and in the hands of ecclesiastical or moral experts. Although a full fledged moral entrepreneurial process may not be present in society at large, there are competing moralities, especially in times of inter-city war and conquest. The existence of folk law and urban law means that all are subject to at least two sets of laws. Furthermore:

> Turning to the local scene, often urban officials have a small police force to search out law breakers. In addition, the wards, the guild, and various ethnic groups, religious organizations, and extended families all assist the governmental apparatus in maintaining order on the local level. (Sjoberg 1960:246)

While the governmental control structure is highly and formally organized into multiple levels and backed by codified law, it is not *bureaucratic* in the sense that it is impersonally administered. Rather, adjudication and punishment are often Draconian and based upon a plaintiff's interpersonal, political and social standing. Punishments are extreme and public, and often permanently physically stigmatizing, such as branding or mutilation. Thus deviants are not reintegrated, but given a permanent master status which sets them apart from all others. And,

> despite the strong sanctions against lawbreakers, these seem to thrive, and criminals have organized themselves into guilds in cities from Timbuctoo to Seoul. . . . Evidently, crime will persist as long as there are laws to be broken; norms take on meaning because of their violation and the subsequent punishment of offenders. Moreover, in feudal cities, petty criminals, so long as they do not directly challenge the authority of political and religious leaders, come to be viewed as part of the natural order of things. A modus vivendi is . . . achieved between the criminal guilds and the broader society. (Sjoberg 1960:249)

From Sjoberg's reference to criminal guilds, it is fairly obvious that the pre-industrial world develops sub-cultures which are organized along so-

phisticated lines. Equally, he notes the presence of an aggregate of persons who might, in turn, be available for membership in such a sub-culture: outcasts. Outcasts are those people who are included in neither the class structure of the city nor the interpersonal network of the folk hinterland. They are literally displaced persons who perform whatever work is left over. Many are slaves, but others are wandering ethnic groups. Some labour in ethically enjoined occupations, e.g., leather workers in India and prostitutes in many locales, along with dancers, actors and other entertainers.

Deviant sub-cultures seem to have been in full bloom in the pre-industrial city and, with them as a referent, it is possible to see some "buds" of embryonic sub-cultures in middle-level scalar societies, although the evidence is sketchy. In both Kabana and Kaliai society, there is a suggestion that while all males can be sorcerers, *some* are better at it than others and "advertise" themselves as such. Insofar as specialized knowledge may be required, and *if* this knowledge is passed down through generations, we may indeed see the glimmerings of sub-cultures. Levy's discussion of the concentration of deviance in certain Hopi clans and lineages may also indicate a peculiar kind of sub-cultural differentiation of a sub-set of the community as "more trouble" than other sub-sets (Levy 1984).

Some deviant sub-cultures generated in the pre-industrial urban era have continued to exist to the present (Inciardi 1974). Equally, the pre-industrial, urban scalar type may also generate sub-cultures which are normative in their original setting but, when translocated and embedded in a later industrial urban type, become deviant. The papers by Migliore and Brymer contain materials of this order. Both treasure hunters and hunter/poachers began their traditional sub-cultures when hunting (for either treasure *or* game) was a legal and a traditional activity. With the advent of the industrial era and the construction of bureaucratic regulatory laws, both sets of activities became illegal except under very narrowly specified conditions. Participants have, as a result become self-conscious about their activities. Both sub-cultures now have problems that they didn't have in the prior era. Both must respond to the state and its concerns but, beyond that, they must also be cognizant of their neighbours' concerns about illegal activity that could endanger all residents of the neighbourhood.

With respect to deviance then, the pre-industrial, urban scalar type seems to be a watershed in that it exhibits institutional differentiation, codification and control of deviant behaviour along very complex lines. The five basic organizational settings discussed in the Introduction are fully emergent, including the stigmatized deviant individual. Having seen the emergence of the five arenas, we can now begin to take a retrospective look at middle scalar types as being strategic in the emergence of these arenas. I have speculated about sub-cultures; my final conclusions will suggest a wider focus.

In spite of the emergence of the crucial arenas, the vast majority of the population of a pre-industrial society lived in the hinterland and was not continually subject to the state's laws. Sjoberg's rough estimates are that no more than 10 percent, and probably less than 5 percent, of the population lived in urban areas (Sjoberg 1960:83). People in Raybeck's study of swidden and peasant societies, those in isolated areas in industrial societies, as well as those studied by Migliore and Brymer seem to be as concerned with the informal control of deviance as they are with the centralized formal controls. Yet, I argue that such societies are of critical significance because the basic patterns for the organization of deviance in industrial society are already set.

Industrial Societies

What follows from the foregoing discussion is an argument that in industrial society we are concerned primarily with the elaboration of previously set patterns of deviance. The most fundmental difference seems to be one of quantity. The consequence of very large numbers of people is what is at issue. With the development of industrialization, massive migration from rural to urban areas began to occur, such that informal deviance and social control increasingly came under the scrutiny and jurisdiction of urban authorities. Formal methods of control take precedence over the informal ones in such conditions. In early industrial society however—and perhaps even into the early part of the twentieth century—policing and ecclesiastical control personnel were still in short supply. The work force may have been moving from farm to factory, but it was not involved in service-related organizations as indicated in Table 1.[1] In the newly burgeoning metropolises, deviance grew at a rapid rate. It is during this era that modern sociology began its concern with deviance as a systematic focus of attention and its description of deviance discussed in the Introduction, beginning with its view of ghettos as pathological, then as disorganized, or as the loci for cultural conflict between the newly arrived folk-ethnic groups and the "modern" city.

A second theme in industrialization that has implications for deviance was the growth of "bureaucracy" as an organizational ideal. It began in industry as the social organization of mass production, which focussed on impersonality, hierarchy, equal work for equal pay, etc. (Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris 1967). Its value seemed to be its emphasis on "fairness" and, when coupled with the growth of liberal democracy, it led to a push for equal law enforcement for equal crime. While this theme led to the proliferation of moral entrepreneurial processes, the actual construction of institutions using such a theme lagged far behind. There were few client-oriented institutions

Table 1
Canada's Occupational Structure, 1880-1987

Year	Primary (%)	Secondary (%)	Tertiary (%)
1881	51	29	19
1901	44	28	28
1921	37	27	37
1941	31	28	41
1961	14	32	54
1987	7	23	70

Primary = Basic extraction; farming, fishing, mining.
Secondary = Manufacturing and construction.
Tertiary = Transportation, communication, trade, finance and other services.

(including law enforcement, penology, social work, etc.), and most were essentially non-bureaucratic and thus ideologically and inter-personally oriented (Gilbert and Specht 1976).

The industrial scalar type has provided the majority of sociology's views of deviance. In the last few decades, however, some have begun to refer to contemporary society as "post-industrial," although implications for the nature of deviant behaviour are as yet unclear.

Post-Industrial Society

Post-industrial society seems to be characterized in the first place by the rapid move of the labour force from secondary production into client-oriented tertiary organizations, leaving very few workers engaged in primary resource extraction (see Table 1). Secondly, post-industrial society exhibits the perfection of bureaucratization in a process sometimes referred to as technological rationalization. This latter process began during the Second World War and continued, more systematically, with McNamara's reorganization of the U.S. Department of Defence in the 1960s (Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris 1966:325-326).

The first of these trends has led to a geometric increase in the number of organizations that deal with one form of deviance or another. Table 2 below illustrates such trends.

The data in Table 2 are drawn from various annual directories of the Human Service Organizations in Hamilton, a medium-sized Canadian city usually characterized in terms of its reliance on heavy industry, especially steel production. The data were made available to various agencies for referrals, information, etc. The data do not reflect the number of workers or clients involved, nor do all of the agencies process deviants. The agencies

Table 2
Growth of Human Service Organizations in Hamilton, Ontario, 1950-1983

Year	Population	# of Orgs.	# Orgs./1000	# of persons/Org.
1950	196 245	82	4.18	2393
1955	225 638	109	4.83	2070
1961	263 750	113	4.28	2334
1965	277 847	147	5.29	1890
1970	296 826	212	7.14	1400
1975	310 595	312	10.05	996
1980	306 538	329	10.73	932
1983	310 000	350	11.29	886

Source: T. Scandlan, "The Bureaucratization of Client-Oriented Organizations," Senior B.A. Honours Thesis, Department of Sociology, McMaster University, 1985.

are available to handle trouble as it may be periodically defined and redefined by moral entrepreneurs, and thus some agencies appear and disappear from the directories. There is not only an absolute increase in the number of agencies, but the ratios in the last two columns also exhibit rapid growth. The highest period of growth was between 1965 and 1975, when the rates were 26 percent and 32 percent above the previous year.

Thus, growth has not only been continuous, it seems to have undergone periodic geometric increases. One outcome of this proliferation of processing agencies is that the possibility of secondary deviance is increasing as the number and ratio of organizations reacting to new forms of deviance increases. More and more people have more and more organizations interested in them, and keeping official files on their involvement in various organizations. While such agencies are intended to help their clients, it is still possible to conclude that what is defined as "deviant" is increasing and becoming more complex.

The second of these trends has perhaps led to a qualitative change in the nature of deviance in post-industrial settings. Service or "client-oriented" groups bureaucratized their organizations much later than did production organizations. Their increased concern with efficiency and technological rationalization led to some unanticipated consequences. Sjoberg, Brymer and Farris (1967) have argued that it is the nature of bureaucratization itself that maintains the post-industrial class structure.

If the argument above is extended to the relationship between deviants and non-deviants, there is a suggestion that social service agencies are becoming less able to cope with deviance. The implication of this would lead one to expect an increase in the number of deviants and kinds of devi-

ance. Previews of this future may already be indicated in the work of W.J. Wilson and his focus on the "truly disadvantaged" (Wilson 1987 1991).

Summary

My critique of anthropology and sociology suggests a new approach to deviance. Such an approach should rely on anthropology's sensitivity to cross-cultural and cross-scalar materials, and sociology's sensitivity to deviance and the generic processes whereby it is created and maintained. This broader study of deviance must take account, too, of social reactions to deviant behaviour and the construction of various levels of both control *and* deviance.

What is needed are careful ethnographies, focussed explicitly on deviance and its organization, at *all* scalar levels between primate and industrial. Of particular interest would be a further attempt to characterize deviance in terms of the presence—or absence—of the five arenas of deviance. With such data and with attention to comparative analysis, detailed study of the emergence of deviance and its parallel relation to order could begin. It would then be possible to flesh out the skeletal outline that we have presented in this volume.

Note

1. This table was adapted from R. Hedley, "Industrialization and Work," in Hagedorn 1990. Hagedorn in turn adapted it from Smucker 1990 and Statistics Canada *The Labour Force*, October, 1987, p. 20.

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Sadie Brower Neakok: An Inupiaq Woman
Margaret B. Blackman
Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1990. xviii + 274 pp. $19.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Jean L. Briggs
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Sadie Brower Neakok is, indeed, an Inupiaq (North Alaskan Eskimo) woman, and a remarkable one. As teacher, health aide, welfare worker and finally magistrate in Barrow, Alaska, she has been an extraordinarily effective force in the development of that community. This book is as much a history of Barrow as of Sadie.

Barrow, on the northwest tip of Alaska, has grown in the last 100 years from a small Inupiaq hunting settlement into a large bicultural town, the administrative centre of the North Slope Borough, which covers the north coast of Alaska. Sadie is the daughter of Asianngataq, a vital and widely respected Inupiaq woman, and Charles Brower, a white whaler and powerful "trader baron" (p. xii), who was instrumental in changing Barrow.

Sadie was taught to value both traditions. Sent to school in California, she came back to live in Barrow, where she immediately put her knowledge and vast energy to the service of her community, service that ultimately earned her recognition throughout Alaska. Her domestic life—as the wife of a successful hunter and whaler and the mother of 13 children—was as busy and productive as her professional life, but one learns much less about these private roles, a fact that may be related partly to Blackman's aims and partly to Sadie's own reticence.

The book is a case study of a rare phenomenon, a person who has productively managed to bridge two cultures that are often on a collision course. As a strong voice from their midst, Sadie provides the young people of Barrow with a path into both past and future. She also gives a voice of unusual power to native North Americans. At another level, she carries on the Brower story, telling us more about the role of that famous family in the history of Barrow.

For me, the organization of the book works well. Sadie's personal story is framed by an introductory chapter on the history of Barrow and by a methodological appendix on "the examined life." The body of the book is largely in Sadie's own words. Where Blackman adds comments to clarify or elaborate, they are printed in italics, to set them off distinctly from Sadie's narrative. I am sorry to say, however, that the narrative itself does not always work well. I suspect that Blackman, imbued with the vibrant atmosphere that Sadie clearly creates in the telling of her tale, did not realize the disadvantage under which the uninitiated reader labours. The narrative often moves bumpily— as does life, of course, but, in written form, the mode can be tedious. Sadie's Inupiaq ways of organizing her thoughts, the assumptions she leaves unexpressed, and her informal, colloquial English also produce a certain obscurity at times. I should like to have seen the text either more fully edited or more fully explained. As it stands, the book has to be *analyzed*, as an historical document or ethnography. I, at least, could not read it as

a "novel." Nonetheless, it is an interesting and worthwhile book, which should appeal to a variety of audiences.

One final point, which may seem minor but which I think is not, is that a much more impressive sense of Sadie's personality is conveyed by the photograph (facing page 174) than by the photograph used on the dust jacket. I wish that readers might have been introduced to Sadie through the other picture.

Actes du Vingtième Congrès des Algonquinistes
William Cowan, ed.
Ottawa, Ontario: Carleton University, 1989. viii + 363 pp. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: James R. Jaquith
Saint Mary's University

The scholarly genre usually labelled "proceedings" in English and "*actes*" in French has had a long and distinguished history. The volume under review fits comfortably into that tradition, updating as it does Algonquinist conferences dating from 1968 and their attendant scholarship.

The 1989 proceedings/actes presents 26 papers (two in French, none in an Algonquian language). It also contains Christina Thiele's valuable "Cumulative Index: Papers of the Algonquian Conferences, 7th through 20th."

The topics addressed encompass an extraordinary range of anthropological interests: linguistics, literacy, values, morality, social organization, culture change, archaeology, religion/revitalization, history of scholarship, education, geographic spread, political leadership, museology, folktales, hatchets/knives, basketry, economics and midwifery.

The work impresses the reviewer as very well edited and thoroughly proofread. It contains almost no "padding" and virtually no typographical errors. The research which it reflects is modern, including linguistic materials based on contemporary theory, computer applications to teaching, Salishan and Northeastern connections, and aspects of Native Studies curricula. The range of authors is admirably broad: Anglophone, Francophone, Native American, academic and non-academic.

All in all, the volume strikes the reviewer as a sterling example of its genre. It makes available a sufficient number of papers which have been most competently selected for their relevance, variety and quality. Certainly the work will be valuable not only to Algonquinists but also to many others whose concerns include matters of Native American history, culture and intercultural relations.

The Same as Yesterday: The Lillooet Chronicle the Theft of Their Lands and Resources
Joanne Drake-Terry
Lillooet, British Columbia: Lillooet Tribal Council, 1989. xviii + 341 pp. $29.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Robin Ridington
University of British Columbia

This is a remarkable book in that it touches on the entire history of European trade and settlement in North America from the perspective of one aboriginal nation. Chapters 1 and 2 tell about the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763; the journeys of MacKenzie, Fraser and Thompson; the resistance of Eastern Indians led by Tecumseh; and the complex trade relations in which Lillooet people were already engaged when the first Europeans passed through their territories. Later chapters document how the foreigners who created the governments of Canada and British Columbia systematically excluded aboriginal people from the political process. The book gives encyclopedic detail about events that the Lillooet people experienced as Europeans had the nerve to claim aboriginal lands as their own.

Drake-Terry explains clearly how dominion and provincial governments managed to avoid responsibility for negotiating treaties with Indian nations. She tells how this avoidance (neatly achieved through Article 13 of the terms of union) continues to energize both levels of government in their costly legal resistance to aboriginal title and government. She exposes men such as colonial land commissioner (later Lieutenant Governor) Joseph Trutch for implementing racist policies that excluded the majority aboriginal population during and after the time of Confederation. Similar thinking continues to exclude aboriginal people from discussions such as the attempted *Meech Lake Accord.*

This Indian history of the Indian presence within land claimed by British Columbia is most clearly focussed through a remarkable document, the "Declaration of the Lillooet Tribe" of May 10, 1911, signed by 17 Lillooet chiefs representing about 1400 people. Each chapter of the book begins with an appropriate passage from the declaration. The chiefs of 1911 had a better understanding of British Columbian history than today's apologists for the status quo. They made the simple and obvious observation "that we are the rightful owners of our tribal territory, and everything pertaining thereto. We have always lived in our country; at no time have we ever deserted it, or left it to others. . . . We are aware the B.C. government claims our country, like all other Indian territories in B.C.; but we deny their right to it" (p. 268).

The government of British Columbia has continued to deny an Indian polity within its borders since the time of Joseph Trutch. At great expense, it repeated Trutch's views in its defense against a 1987 suit by 54 Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en chiefs. At the same time, it encourages clear-cut logging of precious heritage lands such as those of the Stein Valley in Lillooet territory.

Each chapter is easy to scan because of topic headings such as "Dishonesty Increases, Dominion of Canada Born, Indian Nations Not Consulted." Points of information are well footnoted. There is a good bibliography, numerous maps, pow-

erful archival photographs and detailed colonial-period engravings from the *Illustrated London News*. An epilogue chronicles events since the 1911 declaration, and an appendix reprints an extract from the *Royal Proclamation* of 1763.

This book should be required reading for any student of Canadian or British Columbia history. The Lillooet Tribal Council and Joanne Drake-Terry must be congratulated for telling this aboriginal history in an objective and professional manner. The book provides essential information for courses at the high school or university level dealing with First Nations, their lands, and their contemporary legal and political activities. More generally, the information it provides may not be available in more conventionally Eurocentric histories. In telling about the theft of their lands, the Lillooet people have taught us all an important lesson about what it means to live in Indian country.

Silent Looms: Women and Production in a Guatemalan Town
Tracy Bachrach Ehlers
Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1990. xiv + 165 pp. $27.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Marilyn Gates
Simon Fraser University

In her preface to this book, June Nash refers to the powerful method that Ehlers is developing as "an ethnography of engagement" (p. xi). Indeed, this is a highly "engaging" portrait of Mayan women and social change in an upland Guatemalan town, both in terms of the author's intimate involvement with her informants and in her unassuming and direct writing style. This combination makes for a book which is, at the same time, "new ethnography" and plain old-fashioned anthropology. Ehlers reminds us that ethnography is alive and well and is a very human, if sometimes frustrating and saddening, experience. The study will convey the essence of anthropology to undergraduates as well as make an important methodological and theoretical contribution to research on women and development.

Primarily through a series of vignettes derived from interviews with dozens of women in and around the town of San Pedro Sacatepequez from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s, Ehlers shows the differential effects of entry into a modern consumer economy on status and gender relations. San Pedro is an anomaly, a "highland oasis" (p. 47) where an expanding market economy has offered the local Indian population sufficient opportunities to support their families, without resorting to the seasonal migratory labour necessary elsewhere. The relative economic success of these *Sampedranos* has been sustained largely by the initiative and unceasing labours of the entrepreneurial women, who operate the "female family business," a system of cottage industry and trade which has supported highland Indian families for generations, while allowing women productive autonomy and some degree of discretion over family budgets. However, these traditional domestic enterprises are being eroded by the shift to piecework and to employment as factory workers, store clerks, secretaries and teachers, as changing values, as well as economic modernization, modify generational occupational patterns. In particular, mothers want daughters to be educated, even though their labour then will be lost from the family business, since the prestige of upward mobility and monetary contributions

increasingly outweigh their cooperative labour value. At the same time, the national economic crisis after 1984 has driven up both living costs and production expenses so that cottage industries, such as weaving, *traje*, the traditional Indian costume, are no longer viable. Although some women are proving amazingly adaptive to the new economic conditions, the majority are losing control over their own production and that of their children, as the local market for traditional female-based goods and services declines. As a result, women are also losing ground in the male-female power equation, as Mayan mutually supportive partnerships give way to the domineering relationships characteristic of middle-class *ladino machismo*, where women are dependent on the male breadwinner for financial support.

This delicate topic of the impact of changing economic conditions on the evolution of gender relations is handled with particular insight and sensitivity. However, the strengths of the book are also its weaknesses. The anecdotal approach, while conveying empathy and immediacy, provides a somewhat disjointed framework such that important issues are sometimes "left hanging." The readability of the work is due in part to the decision to relegate much of the major theoretical discussion to footnotes, but this proves distracting to the reader intent on following the arguments.

An important and surprising limitation is the failure to relate local realities to the turmoil of the guerilla war that has afflicted Guatemala over the past 15 years. Ehlers reports that San Pedro has been left largely unscathed by the military attacks on the indigenous population which have been the norm in surrounding areas. Even so, it seems likely that at least some of her informants experienced significant disruption of their entrepreneurial activities and family lives, in view of the regional and national scale of their networks. Given Ehlers' obvious good judgment, these "horror stories" (p. 11) could have been discussed in keeping with anthropological ethics, insofar as they have a direct bearing on the processes under analysis. It seems something of a disservice to her informants and to this book that they were not.

Family and Gender in the Pacific: Domestic Contradictions and the Colonial Impact

Margaret Jolly and Martha Macintyre, eds.

New York, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xiii + 296 pp. $49.50 (cloth)

Reviewer: Dorothy Counts
University of Waterloo

The essays in this volume were originally papers for a conference on "Christianity, Colonialism, and the Family in the Pacific" held in Canberra, Australia, in December 1983. All of them deal with the impact of missionaries or mission policy on the condition of women, gender relations and family organization in Pacific communities from Polynesia (Hawaii and the Marquesas) to Melanesia (Papua New Guinea, the Solomons and Vanuatu) and Australia. Chapter authors are anthropologists and historians, and most provide a diachronic perspective. The chap-

ters are of high quality, they are focussed on a set of themes, and many are cross-referenced to others in the volume. These features give the book a cohesiveness that is seldom found in collections of conference essays.

The goals of the volume are (1) to challenge the assumption that domestic life in indigenous societies is always the same, (2) to view interactions between European colonial agents and Pacific peoples from the female viewpoint, and (3) to examine the role of missionaries in transforming domestic life and the role of women. These goals inform the themes that unite the volume. Perhaps the most consistent theme is that of cultural misunderstanding: the misinterpretation by missionaries and other colonial agents of indigenous forms of domestic life, gender roles and female sexuality, and of the complex interdependence of gender, kinship, sexuality and religious belief. One gets the overwhelming impression from this book that missionary interference in the lives of Pacific peoples—no matter how well intentioned—was based on profound misunderstanding and underestimation of the complexity of native systems. Furthermore, despite the missionaries' intent, the lives of Pacific women did not benefit from the imposition of Christian models and mores.

The volume is replete with information on the rich variety of forms of domestic life and gender relations found in the Pacific, and with examples of how imposed models based on European-Christian values and assumptions had unfortunate, sometimes tragic, consequences for women. For instance, several chapters deal with European confusion over indigenous concepts of female power/danger/pollution. In Polynesia, the authors argue, these notions are based on the idea that women's bodies attract and are channels for dangerous divine or ancestral forces. Similarly, it is clear that the concept of female pollution differs in a variety of ways among Melanesian peoples. In the Solomons, the seclusion of women during menstruation and after childbirth sustains the spiritual and moral order, while among the Enga of Papua New Guinea these beliefs—though based on ideas of female inferiority—were a source of female autonomy which helped to protect women from sexual abuse. Rather than improving the situation of women, as was their intent, colonial attacks on these concepts put women at risk.

There are many other examples in this excellent book. I recommend it to anyone who is interested in Pacific history, gender relations or comparative ethnography. It is rich in content and easy to read, a combination that will make it a winner for university classroom use.

Economic Anthropology
Stuart Plattner, ed.
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989. xii + 487 pp. $49.50 (cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Donald W. Attwood
McGill University

This is a fine text for an upper-level course, better than most, because the editor has commissioned 12 specialists to write the chapters. It is also useful to researchers as a guide to the literature.

There are inevitable problems of thematic integration within and between chapters, but most chapters are stimulating. Some focus on the economies of particular types of societies, while others discuss analytic issues or economic behaviour in particular settings.

One strength of the book is that it focusses on production as much as on distribution. I was impressed by the chapters by E. Cashdan and A. Johnson, which outline the economies of foraging bands and of horticultural tribes, respectively. Both demonstrate the need to compare societies of a given type and build explanatory models based on variations in such factors as food resources and population density. Both enhance our understanding of how economic variation shapes social and political institutions. (The book could use a similar chapter on pastoral tribes.) L. Bodden's impressive chapter on women and economic institutions should be read along with the two just mentioned, since she compares and analyzes the division of labour among foraging, horticultural and agricultural societies.

The chapters on "Peasants and the World" by W. Roseberry and "Economic Behaviour in Peasant Communities" by F. Cancian are both valuable. Roseberry emphasizes the challenge posed by world-system theory while refusing to abandon the anthropological focus on local settings: "Although we try to see peasants as part of the wider world, we also view an approach that attempts to explain everything in terms of the needs or dynamics of the capitalist core, or of the system as a whole, as profoundly functionalist and reductive" (p. 111). Cancian reviews theories explaining "closed" peasant communities by their internal features, but I wish he had also outlined the external causes proposed by world-system theorists. The editor refers to these external causes in his chapter on markets and marketplaces, but the example from Guatemala needs to be fleshed out more concretely. The formal abstractions of central place theory will leave most anthropology students wondering just who has done what to whom.

P. Barlett's chapter on industrial agriculture provides illuminating contrasts with peasant farming; and farm-family dynamics in the U.S.A. have parallels in peasant families. Only Bossen's chapter, however, discusses the interactions *between* family and farm dynamics in the Third World – the basic link between economic production and social reproduction in peasant societies.

The book would benefit from a chapter on conscious efforts by Third World people to create new enterprises and organizations under changing circumstances. One advantage of economic anthropology, after all, is that it can view ordinary people as active, not merely reactive.

Several chapters discuss trade, markets and informal-sector enterprises, while others discuss Marxism, the management of common-property resources and the division of labour between anthropology and economics. Space does not permit me to discuss them all.

Nearly all the contributors have done their field research in the New World, particularly in Latin America, and this enriches the connections between chapters. However, I hope that future editions will include more work by specialists on Asia and Africa. The authors cite examples from these continents, but the overall framework of ideas is shaped by their experience in the New World.

The View from Officers' Row: Army Perceptions of Western Indians
Sherry L. Smith
Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1990. xix + 263 pp. $24.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Graham Reynolds
University College of Cape Breton

The history of the American West abounds with myths about the Indians as well as the soldiers who fought them. During the 19th century, Native Americans were seen as savages—either as stereotypical uncivilized brutes or as the romanticized "noble savage" of the sort that appeared in the popular writings of James Fenimore Cooper. Similarly, the soldiers of the United States Frontier Army have been commonly depicted as Indian-haters who were engaged in ruthless wars of extermination. All these images, Smith argues, bear little resemblance to the real people of the frontier, and they have prevented us from gaining an accurate understanding of the history of the American West.

The View From Officers' Row is based on a thorough analysis of diaries and correspondence of officers and their wives. It is an important study that focusses on the region west of the Mississippi during the period 1849-90, i.e., from the acquisition of the *Mexican Cession* to the *Battle of Wounded Knee*, the symbolic end to large-scale Indian resistance to the American military conquest of the west. Smith notes that Army officers were the most educated and articulate White group on the frontier, and that during this period they began to develop a sense of professionalism—with a common outlook, self-image and set of values. As a professional community, Army officers and their wives developed relatively moderate views about Western Indians. Initially, some officers and their wives possessed naïvely idealistic or romantic views about Indians, but these rapidly gave way to more realistic perceptions based upon their experiences on the frontier. Officers were vehicles for the American Federal Government's Indian policy which frequently brought them into open conflict with the numerous Native tribes in the West. But if warfare was the norm for cultural contact between officers and Indians, it did not inevitably result in negative views of the Indians, at least not of their military abilities. In perhaps the most interesting portion of her book, Smith describes how warfare between the Frontier Army and Indians generated respect and even admiration for Natives. As professionals, Army officers carefully observed the battles they fought and were often impressed with the courage and military skills of their "savage" opponents, which included such formidable fighters as the Apache and Nez Percé tribes. Officers observed that Indians were highly skilled horseback riders and expert marksmen with either the rifle or bow and arrow. Indeed, in the art of warfare, some Indian tribes were far superior to the U.S. frontier soldiers who were frequently inexperienced and poorly trained. Their skills were put to use by the Army who increasingly relied upon them to track and fight other Indians.

However, officers' accounts generally contained very little understanding of Native cultures. Officers and their wives, Smith argues, kept their distance from Indians, and their views about them often revealed more about themselves than about the Indians they described. In an informative chapter on Native women, Smith claims that officers and their wives agreed that Indians enslaved their women and

subjected them to a harsh and desperate life. This view was based in part upon the prevailing social norms of their class that placed women on a pedestal to be adorned and pampered. On the subject of childbirth, as with most subjects, officers expressed a variety of views. Some applauded Indian childbirth practices as more natural and healthy than those of civilized society, while others, including most officers' wives, strongly disagreed. These views tell us very little about the actual conditions and practices of Indian women; rather, they were a means through which officers and their wives reflected and debated the role of women in society.

Smith's study successfully dispels many myths about frontier soldiers and their attitudes toward Indians. She demonstrates clearly that officers were neither ruthless conquerors nor idealistic philanthropists; rather, their views and conduct were based upon their personal experiences. Although officers shared much in common as professionals, Smith wisely avoids making too many generalizations; instead, she concentrates on documenting the diversity of views and insights among those officers and officers' wives who took the trouble to write about their encounters with Native peoples.

The book will be of special interest, not only to students of American history, but also to social scientists interested in the history of ethnic and race relations and in women's studies.

Native Health Research in Canada. Native Studies Review, Vol. 5, No. 1
Frank Tough and James B. Waldram, eds.
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan: Department of Native Studies, University of Saskatchewan, 1989. 293 pp. N.p. (paper)

Reviewer: Juanne N. Clarke
Wilfrid Laurier University

Relative to others of its genre, this collection is excellent. It is based on conference papers presented at a workshop held during the joint annual meetings of the Canadian Association of Medical Anthropology, the Canadian Ethnology Society and the Society for Applied Anthropology in Canada, held in Saskatoon in May, 1988. Four thematic areas focussed the workshop: urban health issues, contemporary health issues, northern health issues and issues in traditional health, medicine and health care. Within this very broad field, the papers address a wide variety of topics, employ many different theoretical perspectives and levels of analysis, and use a multitude of research strategies.

There are papers with a primarily applied focus, such as one by Farkas and Johnson on a residential facility for Native men in Toronto and its program to teach the residents various practical things about food, including basic principles of nutrition. There are also papers of a more theoretical nature, such as that by Dufour on the etiology of *otitis media* (middle ear disease), which argues that current medical diagnosis is a reductionist explanation of complex symbolic interpretations of Inuit notions of environment, climate, and social and cultural life.

The articles range from broad and critical analyses of federal policy, such as Speck's work on the implications of the new "Indian Health Transfer Policy," to ideographic portrayals of the explanatory models of pregnancy used by a small group of

Native women in Toronto. It includes book reviews and some primary data in the form of letters describing health and medical care among two groups of Natives in 1926.

It is a virtual smorgasbord of good tastes that provides for many different appetites in a way that is pleasing to the imagination and intellect. As a result, the wide range of current anthropological research on Native Canadian health is uncritically included. I prefer a plate prepared by the chef offering a choice selection of foods that are deliciously compatible and aesthetically arranged.

I would like to have seen a critical introduction and conclusion which would have raised questions about such essential matters as the definition of Native people. Most especially here I would like to have seen attention paid to the question of whether Native people are best understood as sharing culture or as belonging to diverse cultural groups.

I also miss an overview piece, which would have located each article in terms of a description of the "sample/population" included (and, of course, excluded), as well as a theoretical piece which would have placed the papers in a broader framework. Absent also is a reflexive examination of various methodological issues such as validity, reliability or the relationship of researcher to research subjects.

Yet, as a report on a conference which brought researchers together to discuss an area in need of further research, this volume is an excellent offering that makes a promising beginning to more critical and systematic understanding.

Health Care in Saskatoon's Inner City: A Comparative Study of Native and Non-Native Utilization Patterns
James B. Waldram and Mellisa M. Layman
Winnipeg, Manitoba: University of Winnipeg, Institute of Urban Studies, 1989.
vi + 52 pp.

Reviewer: David H. Stymeist
University of Manitoba

This is a well-crafted and informative survey of patterns of health-care utilization among Native and non-Native residents in the west core area of Saskatoon. Undertaken with the co-operation of the Westside Clinic-Friendship Inn, the work sets out to examine a commonly held perception that urban Native people underutilize or inappropriately utilize available health-care facilities. The study's findings present evidence to the contrary: core-area residents, Native and non-Native alike, are similar in their health-care choices and orientations. The existing profile of health-care utilization is rooted more in socio-economic than in cultural factors, being influenced by poverty and economic marginality, rather than by simple ethnicity. Thus, while visits to emergency departments were slightly higher for Native people, the non-Native sector of the core area's population also made considerable use of those facilities. Many of these visits were occasioned by traumatic injury, and in this there appears to be little difference between Natives and non-Natives, reflecting, it is suggested, certain common realities of urban poverty in Canada today.

Perhaps the most interesting and vital section of this report concerns itself with attitudes toward traditional Native medicine. There is a widespread belief in the ef-

ficacy of traditional healing practices, especially among those whose first language was neither English nor French. These practices are seen as superior to those of Western-trained physicians in treating spiritual, emotional or psychological disorders, but it is also recognized that conventional medicine may be superior in other ways. The majority of Native respondents expressed a desire to see traditional medicine incorporated into the health-care system, suggesting the possibility of a fruitful co-operation between traditional and scientific medical systems, and the need for further research into traditional healing and its continued importance for many Native people.

Human Nature: Darwin's View
Alexander Alland, Jr.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1985. x + 242 pp. $25.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Anne C. Zeller
University of Waterloo

Alexander Alland's intent in compiling this book was to extract Darwin's thoughts on human nature from three of his major publications. Although Darwin described his encounters with non-Western (savage) man in his 1845 *Journal of Researches*, he purposely downplayed the effects of evolution on human development in his famous *Origin of Species* (1859), in order not to prejudice the reception of his theory by evoking a negative emotional response. In fact, his more theoretical writings on humans, *The Descent of Man* and *The Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals*, were not published until very late in his life.

In the Preface of this book, Alland notes that Darwin's ideas expressed in the *Journal of Researches*, *The Descent of Man* and *The Expression of the Emotions in Men and Animals* were derived from three sources: (a) Darwin's own observations; (b) the writings of others; and (c) the exigencies of Darwin's theory of natural selection. Alland's Introduction emphasizes that Darwin's skills as an observer were usually superior to those of his contemporaries, but suggests that Darwin undervalued his own perceptions and accepted the accounts of others, though sometimes noting that his own observations disagreed with them. Darwin's theory of natural selection led him to postulate a monogenic origin for humans, and then to rely on environmental adaptation, Lamarckian evolution and sexual selection to account for the wide range of variation expressed in humans. Due to his emphasis on adaptive and sexual selection as the source of development, and perhaps as Alland suggests, to the paucity of fossil hominids, Darwin eventually accepted the idea that "savage races" were evolutionary intermediaries between prehuman ancestors and civilized humans. Darwin's difficulties with this concept are demonstrated by his generalized statements regarding the low level of culture, rude language and the simplistic political organization of "savage races," which he then contrasts with his personal knowledge of the intelligence, sensitivity, moral improvement and good character of the Tierra del Fuegians who accompanied him on the *Beagle*. The imperceptible gradations in morphology, behaviour and morals between the many peoples Darwin encountered around the world convinced him that the "principle of continuity" applied to humans as well as to the development of animal

species. He expressed views contrary to public opinion when he asserted that even people of the highest moral and intellectual refinement could emerge by slow degrees from people like the naked, "degraded" savages of South America and Australia.

Underlying Darwin's evolutionary approach was an acceptance of the innate inferiority and superiority of different races. However, Alland is quick to stress that, although Darwin believed that Western Europeans would eventually replace other races, nowhere in these passages does he espouse the economic and political implications of Spencer's creed of "social Darwinism." Although Darwin accepted the idea of a heritable basis for differences in behaviour and intellectual capacity between races, his abhorrence of cruelty and the lack of regard for human life engendered by slavery made him an abolitionist. In many ways, his background as an educated Englishman significantly influenced his views and interpretations of Native life. He correlated cruelty with a low mind, lack of wealth differentiation with a lack of political organization, dirt and sullenness with indolence and moral laxity, and cleanliness with industriousness. One point not noted by Alland is Darwin's frequent reference to the countenances of the people he met, possibly reflecting a European interest in reading character through physiognomy. The Tahitians impressed Darwin with their cheerful, hospitable, mild expressions, which he compared favourably to the warlike savage visage of New Zealand Natives. "One glance at their respective expressions brings the conviction to mind that one is a savage, the other a civilized man" (p. 117).

Alland has authored several books on the development of human nature from an evolutionary perspective, and is well qualified to edit this one. His comments in the Preface and Introduction concerning the sources and influences on Darwin's thought provide a useful framework for the material presented here. The selection and compilation of this widely dispersed material not only saves readers the labour involved in sifting through the sources themselves, but also clarifies and reinforces the points which Darwin was trying to make. A conclusion by Alland, tying together the information on these current themes and tracing their development through the 40 years of thought which the sources represent, would have increased the book's educational value and interest. Overall, the book is timely in the light it sheds on the foundations of modern views concerning the inheritance of behaviour, the biological basis of sexual differences, and the animal origins of human consciousness and emotion. Students of human nature, Darwin and 19th-century thought will all find it useful.

Ancient Men of the Arctic
J. Louis Giddings
Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1985. xxi + 391 pp. $12.95 (paper)

Reviewer: E. Bielawski
University of Alberta

This book is a classic of arctic archaeology and the literature of anthropology. It is the story of prehistoric cultures in the north, but also, and in the end most enduringly, the story of a gifted scholar and the people with whom he worked in the field.

Giddings died accidentally in 1964 and *Ancient Men* was first published in 1967. The University of Washington Press has reprinted the volume in paperback for the first time, making this valuable work widely available to students and avocational archaeologists as well as professionals.

What makes *Ancient Men* special and well worth reading? It is a work of scholarship, discussing all of the cultural traditions of Arctic Alaska, with supporting arguments drawn from adjacent areas. It also demonstrates discovery in archaeology, as the author and his colleagues first found and interpreted Ipiutak, Norton, Choris and Denbigh remains. Giddings' manner of expressing the joy he found in his work makes the book unique. He writes very well of life in the Arctic, and is humanly present throughout *Ancient Men*. In addition to his interest in the material and commitment to archaeology, he imparts enthrallment and a sense not that he directed what he sought, but that his interest took over from inside himself and its force directed his search.

In this account of Arctic prehistory and Giddings' career, four achievements stand out over the others. Giddings contributed mightily to chronology and method in Arctic archaeology by developing tree-ring dating for northwest Alaska, collecting the necessary samples as he hiked from the Koyukuk to the Kobuk River. He also used the growth of successive beaches for relative dating of the occupations along Arctic coastlines. Having observed that the Inuit camp at the sea's edge, and that new beaches form there, Giddings sought locations where numerous old beaches might hold the remains of Inuit ancestors who, in their time, had also lived at the shoreline. One such location is Cape Denbigh, where Giddings found 114 beaches. Eventually, 4000 years of prehistory were represented in the remains that Giddings and his colleagues excavated there. A final achievement was the discovery and initial excavation of the Onion Portage site with deep, clearly stratified deposits and holding one of the best records of human occupation in northern North America. There, Giddings sought and found confirmation of the horizontal stratigraphy represented at Cape Denbigh and similar sites.

Giddings was equally skilled at explaining archaeology and ethnography and capturing the vagaries of life in Arctic field camps where dedication, skill and humour are required in equal measure. Inuit and southern colleagues alike shared his friendship and respect.

Only one addition to *Ancient Men* could have increased its current worth. The original introduction by Henry Collins stands as a fine summary and eulogy. However, a new introduction would identify current interpretations of some of Giddings' data for the reader. Notably, the Denbigh Flint complex is now considered no older than 4000 B.P. (Giddings estimated 5000-4500 B.P.). In addition, major investigations have been conducted at Onion Portage in the years since Giddings death, and a summary of these finds would serve the volume well. Still, this book is one of the best in the library of Arctic literature.

Interpretive Contexts for Traditional and Current Coast Tsimshian Feasts
Margaret Seguin
Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper Number 98, 1985. vi + 114 pp. Gratis (paper)

Reviewer: Marjorie Halpin
University of British Columbia

Since 1978, when she answered their call for a linguist, Margaret Seguin has spent more than two years in residence with the Gitga'ata people of Hartley Bay. This monograph presents her developing interpretation of Southern Tsimshian "personness, death and reincarnation, fathers, animals and supernaturals and the *yaokw* (potlatch)" (p. 60). Using accounts in the literatures, and her own observations of contemporary feasts (a 1980 feast is reported in full detail), she develops a symbolic exegesis of Tsimshian feasting that challenges the oral/anal interpretations of Walens, Dundas, Snyder, Fleisher et al.

Seguin's analysis is grounded in the minutiae of observable behaviour. For example, she describes a pattern of Tsimshian discourse organization that structures conversations and, she argues, traditional feast behaviour as well. In Sm'algyax conversations, silence as a response is a form of disagreement, while in English it is a form of agreement. Her micro/macro formulation is that "just as a response of silence is a challenge to a speaker, non-attendance at a feast is a challenge to a feast giver" (p. 22).

Her interpretation of the potlatch centres on the "emptying" of *pteex* (local clan segment) after the death of a high-ranking name holder, and the "filling" of the name by a successor. Rather than psychoanalytic processes, she looks to a Tsimshian cycle of reincarnation which, although generally neglected in the literature, is quite evident in myths and can be elicited in a fragmented form from contemporary people.

Also of theoretical interest is her discussion of the local processes by which the Gitga'ata define "otherness and us-ness" to maintain their distinction as a people. The Hartley Bays freely borrow from others, subjecting borrowed elements to a local process of reinterpretation. "If the other group understood it differently, that was the natural consequence of their foreignness" (p. 1). Such a formulation is an especially promising approach to the boundary transformations postulated by Lévi-Strauss for art and myth.

This volume optimally exemplifies the possibilities of the Mercury Series – rapidly presenting field documentation within the context of an evolving theoretical interpretation. And we can look forward to more work from this active scholar and fieldworker in the near future. Seguin has a monograph on Tsimshian basketry in press with the Mercury Series, and spent a 1984-85 sabbatical year in Hartley Bay, reviewing more archival material and attending more feasts. She is also achieving fluency in the language.

The Red Earth Crees, 1860-1960
David Meyer
Ottawa: National Museum of Man Mercury Series, Canadian Ethnology Service, Paper Number 100, 1985. xv + 231 pp. Gratis (paper)

Reviewer: James B. Waldram
University of Saskatchewan

David Meyer's book on the Red Earth Crees adds to a small and slowly developing body of literature on the Algonkians of the Western Subarctic region. Ethnohistorical in nature, the book concentrates on the development of a marriage isolate, or "*deme*," among the Plains Cree of Red Earth and the Swampy Cree of Shoal Lake, both in east-central Saskatchewan. However, Meyer also provides valuable information on developments in the Saskatchewan River delta area in general for the period 1860 to 1960, particularly for the Indians and Métis in and around Cumberland House, The Pas and Fort a la Corne.

Through the use of archival materials, and perhaps more significantly, the extensive use of oral histories provided by Red Earth residents, Meyer traces the development of the *deme* among the two groups of Indians who, prior to the middle 18th century, had very little contact with each other. Indeed, with the Red Earth Crees following a plains-oriented lifestyle and the Shoal Lake Crees following a bush-oriented lifestyle, the development of such a *deme* provides an intriguing story, and one which Meyer fully documents.

According to Meyer, the formation of the *deme* followed a number of other changes that were occurring in the Saskatchewan River Delta at the time. Contact with European traders and missionaries had resulted in a process of sedentation and acculturation for many Indians of the region. The Red Earth people, however, were reluctant to embrace Christianity, and forced a variety of company and free traders to offer favourable terms of trade. As a result, the Cree of Shoal Lake, noticing the fierce independence of the Red Earth people, initiated a more regular contact. Beginning first with attendance at traditional religious ceremonies, followed by a few inter-marriages in the 1870s, contact became so regular that by the 1910-30 period, 85 percent of the marriages occurred within the two communities. Such a rate of endogamous marriage, Meyer notes, compares favourably with marriage isolates found in many other hunting and gathering societies. Further, Meyer argues that such marriage groups were characteristic of precontact Subarctic Indian societies, and that *deme* formation in the post-contact period represents "the maintenance of an ancient social form in a new situation" (p. 135).

This report was initially a doctoral dissertation, and as such proves once again that such documents make for poor reading. The extensive detail and documentation required for a dissertation renders Meyer's work ponderous in the extreme. This, of course, is not Meyer's fault, since authors in this publication series are rarely afforded the opportunity for extensive revision or editing. Interestingly, what the academic might find tedious—the detailed discussion of four generations of *deme* development—probably ensures the valuable nature of the work for the Cree people of Red Earth. Meyer's document is an excellent local history, the kind very much in demand by Native communities across Canada.

Donegal's Changing Traditions: An Ethnographic Study
Eugenia Shanklin
Library of Anthropology, Vol. 8
New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1985. xviii + 236 pp. $29.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Elliott H. Leyton
Memorial University of Newfoundland

This is a mature, scholarly and balanced book which addresses itself to one of the central social concerns in both Irish society and Irish anthropological studies—the reputed "death" of traditional Irish culture. Shanklin records with no little amusement that this death has been announced with great solemnity by the Irish themselves in each and every century since the 14th, but it was not until the 1960s that anthropologists joined in the mortuary enterprise. At that time, Shanklin notes, "Messenger wrote of the anomic Irish countryman, whose way of life was disappearing because of emigration, and Nancy Scheper-Hughes (whose otherwise brilliant study of Irish schizophrenia) announced, 'I bear the sad tidings that on a certain grey, windy day in March in the year of Our Lord 1975, Ireland passed away.' " However, it was left to Cresswell's *Une Communauté Rurale de l'Irlande* (incidentally, what are we to make of an American who studies Ireland and then publishes the results of his research in French?) and especially Brody's widely distributed, elegantly written and researched *Inishkillane* to deliver the *coup de grâce* and the funeral eulogy, convincing a generation of social scientists—and many Irish intellectuals—that Irish culture was finished.

Since then, although Bax and Snyder have separately insisted that the corpse was in fact marvellously alive, Shanklin's *Donegal* is the first published major work to confront the embalmers head on. Shanklin immerses herself in the details of Donegal political history and ecology, most especially in the social and economic institutions that regulate livestock production and sale, in order to give substance to her propositions that traditions and customs "are changing, not languishing in a moribund state and not dead, as other scholars have suggested, but changing to fit present circumstances." En route to her goal, she quite correctly criticizes anthropologists for their often naïve acceptance of their informants' romanticized homogenous and harmonious "pasts."

The integration between Shanklin's historical and ecological material on the one hand, and her theoretical concerns on the other, is not always as perfect as one might wish; especially since it is by no means always clear precisely how the ethnographic data are germane to her central proposition. Still, the book "works." Shanklin's point is ably made and demonstrated that "in the Irish case there is no corpse (and) a visitor to Donegal sees not glass-coffined relics of a past that never was but living, breathing, often Gaelic-speaking human beings who are concerned with adapting themselves to the 'modern' world." Moreover, in reaching her conclusion, she examines with considerable insight the symbolic and behavioural realities that underlie a changing, living culture.

The book is undoubtedly an opening salvo in what will be a continuing debate on the vitality and durability of Irish tradition. One hopes that future scholars will

examine the adaptation of Irish tradition with reference to some of the sociological phenomena such as international and internal migration, the rejection of the inheritance of the family farm, and the gradual conversion—by purchase—of some rural villages into summer cottage conurbations for "quaint"-seeking, middle-class urbanites.

Publishers Gordon and Breach have performed an important service to both Ireland and Irish anthropological studies, and they are to be congratulated for releasing this volume and the interesting series (the Library of Anthropology) of which it is a part. They might also be slapped on the wrist for certain aspects of the book's production—notably the ghastly and greasy linoleum-like material which constitutes the book's cover (perhaps it is meant to be read in the bath?), and the unnecessary publication of Shanklin's fieldwork interview schedule as an appendix.

The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500

Derek Nurse and Thomas Spear

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985. vii + 133 pp. $11.95 (paper), $20.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Carol M. Eastman
University of Washington

Cutting through what the authors see as a web of commonly held misperceptions about the history of Swahili language and society, this valuable little book questions the tendency to accept Swahili oral traditions which point to Arabic origins without analyzing the function and meaning which such traditions have for Swahili people. Nurse and Spear argue that the Swahili are an African people "born of that continent and raised on it," whose historical development involved a dynamic synthesis of African and Arabian ideas in the context of African culture-history. Their revision of Swahili history sets 800 A.D. as the time of origin of the Swahili. They then trace the subsequent rise of Swahili language and culture, and assert that the Swahili are "less a people than a historical phenomenon" (p. 96).

Eminently readable in five short chapters (98 pages), this book examines the African background of Swahili society, the emergence of Swahili-speaking peoples, early Swahili society (800-1100 A.D.), and the rise of Swahili town states. Four appendices geared to comparative linguists seek to establish dialect/language subgroupings. Swahili/Elwana is distinguished from Comorian/Mijikenda/Pokomo; Northern and Southern Swahili dialects are distinguished from each other; the Northern and Southern dialects are internally distinguished; and a final appendix examines features which (Northern) Swahili dialects and Comorian share in the process of forming the sub-group *Sabaki*. The authors locate the homeland of *Sabaki* (an offshoot of Proto-Bantu) on the Tana River, whence Proto-Swahili and Comorian speakers are seen to diverge, later shifting to the northern and southern coastal areas of East Africa when they adopted a maritime lifestyle.

The Swahili may be seen as a "textbook" example of the utility of the comparative method and linguistic reconstruction for language and culture history. Swahili and its dialects are seen to have arisen amidst a continuous development of local

pottery style and building techniques, coinciding with the earliest settlements at Shanga in the north and Kilwa in the south. A vast array of scholarship is woven into this gripping tale. The long-standing "problem" of identifying the Shirazi, who figure prominently in Swahili oral traditions, is solved. The 18th and 19th centuries are fixed as *the* period when most Arabic (Omani) influence entered Swahili. Islam's influence is downplayed, and may *not* have been as great at first as has generally been thought. Details of the Shirazi and Mahdali dynasties in Kilwa demonstrate how *waungwana* family rule gave way to an eventual monarchical form of government, which made claims to foreign origin in the interest of establishing its legitimacy. Islam only gained a foothold in response to a need for more universal beliefs once village world views had become "too parochial" (p. 95).

The easy style and general level of readership at which this book is aimed may lead a casual reader to feel that its points are well-established in the scholarly literature. However, one needs to be reminded that some claims which are made in this "revision" of Swahili history may be controversial. It must also be made clear that, in separate scholarly writings leading to this collaboration, the authors have presented plausible bases for the assertions which are made here. To have dotted each "i" and crossed every "t" in this general account of their version of Swahili history would have been counterproductive.

Along with the authors, we are guided through years of ethnography, history, documentation and oral traditions to "discover" that the earliest period of Swahili history spanned the 9th to 12th centuries, when Swahili speakers who were skilled in fishing, farming and ironworking moved down the coast of eastern and southern Africa to found small villages. These villages formed the basis of Swahili society and culture which lasted from the 12th century to the Portuguese period and included Arab trade influences. The strength of this small book lies in its assertion of a non-Arab origin of Swahili language and society based on linguistic, historic, archaeological and ethnographic evidence. It will clearly have an impact on interdisciplinary approaches to East Africa's culture history. Furthermore, the conceptual framework which this book exemplifies should prove useful to scholars of sociocultural and linguistic history, as well as to historical sociolinguists.

Social Adaptation to Food Stress: A Prehistoric Southwestern Example
Paul E. Minnis
Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1985. x + 239 pp. $20.00 (cloth), $8.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Gloria Levitas
Queens College of the City University of New York

Although many theorists have implicated food shortages in culture change, testing theories about the effects of food stress on the behaviour of people in non-stratified prehistoric societies has proven difficult for a number of reasons. Direct skeletal evidence of nutritional status is rare; many human responses to food shortages are brief or leave few material traces; contemporary data from non-stratified groups is contaminated by colonialism and modernization. Finally, there have been few attempts to develop archaeologically testable models.

Paul Minnis' study of the Rio Mimbres region addresses these problems within the format of a doctoral thesis. Combining ethnographic information with biological models of stress, Minnis decided to test the hypothesis that non-stratified societies react to food stress by employing a series of responses in order of inclusiveness. In other words, responses involving a greater number of social groups occur after those involving fewer groups are attempted. His objective was to illuminate the processes or conditions under which food stress becomes important in sociocultural evolution.

Choosing the Rio Mimbres provided opportunities and problems. Good tree-ring sequences provided accurate dating and dependable information on climate and rainfall, and helped to demonstrate the value of an ecological approach to archaeology. By choosing an area in which cultures eventually became extinct, Minnis risked finding only negative support for his hypothesis. Put another way, the choice of site promised to tell more about how people did not cope than how they did.

This caveat aside, Minnis' study is a model for demonstrating both the potential and some limits of the New Archaeology. Fleshing out data about stress from scarce skeletal material, he estimated caloric productivity during different stages of development by matching land availability against climatic data. Ethnographic analogy allowed him to calculate population and rate of growth by using numbers of rooms and persistence of use. Matching productivity to population, he convincingly identified periods of food stress, then sought evidence of increased sociopolitical integration and expanded economic exchange. Unfortunately, the Rio Mimbres region yielded only scanty information about social organization. While some changes in organization of ritual accompanied earlier food shortages, intensification of exchange outside the area – the inclusive response – did not occur.

Minnis' cautious assessment of the problems involved in determining food stress is impressive and useful in sensitizing readers to the many variables involved in responses to food stress. Of particular interest is his attempt to predict the direction of change for specific kinds or degrees of such stress. Failure to uncover increased integration in Rio Mimbres does not invalidate the hypothesis, since Rio Mimbres culture became extinct, but Minnis' inability to recover measurable sociocultural data was disappointing. Both model and methodology are worthy of further testing in sites where evidence of sociocultural phenomena may be more adequately documented.

Tribes on the Hill: The U.S. Congress – Rituals and Realities
J. McIver Weatherford
South Hadley, Massachusetts: Bergin and Garvey, 1985 (originally published in 1981 by Rawson Associates, New York). xvi + 300 pp. $29.95 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: John H. Peterson
Mississippi State University

Dr. Weatherford was one of the first anthropologists to work in Congress under programs established by the American Anthropological Association and the Amer-

ican Association for the Advancement for Science. Of these, Weatherford is the first to publish a major monograph stemming from his experience. His book presents an anthropological perspective on Congress, but it also demonstrates the problems involved in studying élite political institutions in a modern society. An anthropologist in Congress is first of all a working member of a staff with regular duties. The more successful the anthropologist is in carrying out these duties, the greater the degree of exposure to a range of representative activities. These duties conflict with the time needed to simply observe and record observations. Furthermore, participation in a Congressional office is limited to those who are professionally competent and willing to be loyal to the member they serve. As Weatherford puts it, "A staffer without a patron is without a job."

Weatherford has resolved this potential ethical problem by reporting on Congress in general rather than on the functioning of the office in which he worked. This allows him to present an excellent, readable book without violating the confidentiality of a specific office. But by describing Congress in such general terms, it is uncertain to what extent anthropological methodology contributed to the final product. This is not to question the rich detail in his descriptions, or the importance of participant observation, but simply to note that most of his data seemingly comes from secondary sources rather than direct observation. Is there any specific methodology or approach that an anthropologist might use as opposed to that of a journalist, or a political scientist or an articulate observer from any discipline? The book does not demonstrate any. After all, political scientists have been doing participant observation in Congress for years.

What is primarily anthropological about the book is what might be called an anthropological perspective. As Weatherford states, "I saw more parallels, contrasts and analogies with the ancient Aztecs, the Byzantines or the Pygmies than with modern parliaments." By applying such a perspective, Weatherford has produced a fascinating book full of specific comparisons between the U.S. Congress and political processes from the anthropological literature. He raises thoughtful questions about the degree to which Congress is a victim of individual power building and ritual elaboration. The reprinting of this book four years after its initial publication was proof that Weatherford has produced a popular and meaningful overview of Congress. It is gratifying to us as anthropologists that some of this interest results from the use of anthropological data and perspectives. But the book is in some respects an extended analogy appealing more to a popular audience than to scholarly audiences. The general terms in which the book was written possibly demonstrates more about the limitations anthropology has in studying modern, complex institutions than it reveals about Congress. Weatherford deserves special credit for achieving what other anthropologists who worked in Congress have been unable to do: provide the first anthropological view of a major U.S. political institution.

CONTRIBUTORS/COLLABORATEURS

Richard A. Brymer

Richard A. Brymer is Associate Professor of Sociology at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. Since doctoral study at Michigan State University (Ph.D. 1967), he has carried out field research among Mexican-Americans in the U.S. Southwest and with various deviant sub-cultures, including poachers.

David R. Counts

David Counts is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. With Dorothy Counts he has carried out extensive field research among the Lusi-Kaliai of West New Britain Province in Papua New Guinea. Recently, he has begun research among retired North Americans who live full-time in recreational vehicles.

Dorothy Ayers Counts

Dorothy Ayers Counts is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario. She and David Counts have been engaged in the long-term study of the Lusi-Kaliai of West New Britain, Papua New Guinea, since 1966. She is currently engaged in research among North American RV nomads.

Susan McLellan

Susan McLellan holds a Ph.D. in Anthropology from McMaster University. She is currently Director of the Saskatchewan Executive Council in Ottawa, Ontario. Her first exposure to Malaysia was as a member of the diplomatic corps of the U.K. Subsequently, she undertook extensive scholarly research there as a doctoral student. She is fluent in Malay.

Naomi M. McPherson

Naomi McPherson is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at Okanagan College, Kelowna, B.C. She obtained her doctorate from McMaster University and held a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Victoria before taking her current position. She has carried out three periods of field research among the Kabana of Papua New Guinea.

Sam Migliore

Sam Migliore is Assistant Professor of Anthropology at the University College of Cape Breton in Sydney, Nova Scotia. His doctorate, from McMaster University, was based on research among Sicilians in Ontario and on the island of Sicily. His primary research has been in the area of medical anthropology and he was the 1982 W.H. Rivers Prize winner in medical anthropology awarded by the American Anthropological Association.

Richard J. Preston

Richard Preston is Professor of Anthropology at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario. He holds a doctorate from the University of North Carolina and has been engaged in research among the Cree of James Bay for nearly 30 years. He is currently engaged in a multi-disciplinary study of the impact of technology in the Canadian North.

Douglas Raybeck

Douglas Raybeck is Professor of Anthropology at Hamilton College, Clinton, New York. Trained at Dartmouth College and Cornell University (Ph.D. 1974), his primary research has been in West Malaysia with a particular focus on psychological anthropology. He is one of the leaders in anthropology's new interest in the study of deviant behaviour.

Margaret C. Rodman

Margaret C. Rodman is Associate Professor in the Department of Anthropology at York University, Toronto, Ontario. She holds a Ph.D. from McMaster University. With Bill Rodman she has resided and carried out lengthy field research in Vanuatu since the early 1970s. Margaret Rodman has recently been involved in research on the organization of co-operative housing in urban areas.

William L. Rodman

William L. Rodman is Associate Professor of Anthropology at McMaster University. He holds a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He and Margaret Rodman have had numerous periods of field research in the Republic of Vanuatu. William Rodman's particular research interests have focussed on the study of law and social control.

Joel S. Savishinsky

Joel S. Savishinsky is Professor of Anthropology at Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York. His Ph.D. is from Cornell University and he has done fieldwork in the Bahamas, Turkey and New York City, as well as among the Hare of the Canadian Arctic. He has published widely on psychological anthropology and methods for coping with stress and crisis.

Anne C. Zeller

Ann C. Zeller is Associate Professor of Anthropology at the University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario. A specialist in primate behaviour, she took her doctoral training at the University of Toronto and taught at a number of other institutions before joining Waterloo. She has done field research in Gibralter, Borneo and Florida and published papers on a wide variety of topics including grieving by non-human primates.

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GST # R108208786
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