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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

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SCALPING, TORTURE, CANNIBALISM AND RAPE: AN ETHNOHISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF CONFLICTING CULTURAL VALUES IN WAR[1]

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Abstract: All warfare involves rules which limit the violence inflicted upon the enemy. When combatants differ in culture, initially each side will observe its own set of rules. Conflict between Indians and Europeans in eastern North America is examined here. The Indian practice of scalping was soon adopted by Europeans. Both cultures had traditions of public torture, but Europeans never adopted the associated practice of cannibalism. Rape of females was found in European war; Indians did not rape. The failure of some practices of war to cross cultural boundaries allows each side to classify enemy behaviour as barbaric.

Résumé: La violence est limitée dans toutes les guerres par des règles. Lorsque les combattants sont de culture différente, chaque camp respecte ses propres règles. Cet article porte sur les conflits entre européens et amérindiens dans la partie est de l'Amérique du nord. La pratique amérindienne du scalpe fut rapidement adoptée par les européens. Les deux cultures partageaient déjà la pratique de la torture en public, mais jamais les européens n'adoptèrent le cannibalisme. Par contre, le viol des femmes pratiqué par les européens ne fut pas adopté par les amérindiens. Le fait que certaines pratiques sont demeurees l'apanage d'un seul camp, a permis aux européens et amérindiens de se qualifier mutuellement de barbares.

Introduction

It is universally true that societies which send their men to war have rules to limit the activities of those men who are engaged in killing and maiming in furtherance of societal goals. I suspect that it is also universal that all such men who go to war will break some of those rules, particularly if campaigns

are long, arduous, or particularly stressful. Often wars are conducted between two antagonists who share an identical or nearly identical set of explicit values of proper martial conduct. However war can, and often has, taken place between two peoples of vastly different culture, who do not share a common set of values as to its proper conduct.

In the former case, cries of atrocity and accusations of "barbaric"activity are not unknown and indeed are common, despite the fact that the two warring political systems share essentially the same values as to proper military conduct. I think this is inevitable because of two factors. First, rules are often broken in war. Deviant behaviour can be found in military units as well as in the general population; in addition the very stress of the combat situation leads to the commission of "war crimes." I think a cool and unbiased reading of military history would fail to uncover a single society which made war but also did not see those fighting in its name exhibit behaviour which was repugnant to its basic values of the proper conduct of war. Secondly, one hears cries of atrocity and "barbaric" activity because societies justify their wars by citing the deviant behaviour of the enemy. One is justified in killing and maiming someone who is less human than oneself, so typically enemy violations of a common code will receive wide publicity while the violations made by one's own forces will be denied or excused and justified as "retaliation."

Norms governing the conduct of war deal with such matters as when and where it is appropriate to fight, what weapons and tactics are permissible, whom among the enemy it is appropriate to kill, what treatment is accorded enemy dead, what treatment is accorded non-combatants among the enemy, what treatment is accorded captives or prisoners, and what conventions are observed allowing for communication between the warring parties. Despite claims of "total war" at various points in human history, I suspect that there are very few, if any, conflicts where cultural conventions in the above areas have not limited the degree of destructiveness inflicted by the stronger power on the weaker.

As with most aspects of human behaviour, there is often difference between the rules explicitly expressed and those actually observed. Admittedly this is not the easiest area of human behaviour to approach with a hope of learning the truth. Stories of enemy atrocities are often inflated for propaganda purposes, while tales of atrocities committed by one's own side are often hearsay and, quite possibly, they have become embroidered in the telling and retelling (see stories repeated in Karsten 1978 and Bryant 1979).

One notable area where the de facto rules are at variance with the de jure rules of war in modern usage is the bombing of civilian targets from the air. One "senior [U.S.] air force officer" is reported to have argued against the issuing of a manual on the rules of war to the U.S. Air Force. "I'll put it to

you frankly. If they come out with a book on the laws of air warfare, and then go by it, we're all going to be out of jobs'' (quoted in Karsten 1978:150). It appears that Winston Churchill must take some of the blame for originating the practice of bombing civilians during World War II (Karsten 1978:86); earlier in his life he had been quite cavalier about international conventions in war. When captured as a war correspondent during the Boer War he had to surreptitiously dispose of the illegal dum-dum bullets he had been using in his pistol (Manchester 1983:301).

If one looks at the treatment of prisoners by armies in this century it is not difficult to find examples of prisoners being executed, although this is usually phrased as ''not taking prisoners.'' Clearly, if one wants to give up the fight and surrender, one has to find someone on the other side to accept one's surrender. The Coldstream Guards had a reputation for not taking prisoners in World War I, which caused a young Lieutenant, left behind at Dunkirk, to worry how the Germans would react to his regimental cap badge (Lord 1982:264). In the Second World War the First Special Service Force, composed of American and Canadian personnel, also had a reputation for not taking prisoners, even though they *sometimes* did (Bryant 1979:281-282). In the same conflict the Japanese carried a reputation for not surrendering, but even so I find it difficult to believe that the nearly 5000 troops defending Tarawa in November 1943, were so committed to the Emperor as to make the ultimate sacrifice with almost no exceptions. Even the wounded did not surrender. Only 17 were taken prisoner (Toland 1970:470).

The murder of prisoners in modern war seems to have three aspects. First, in so-called ''elite'' units (''If you kill for pleasure, you're a sadist[;] if you kill for money, you're a mercenary[;] if you kill for both, you're a RANGER!!'' [Karsten 1978:73]) such a policy is viewed, by some commanders at least, as producing a more effective killing machine.[2] Second, among more run-of-the-mill troops, killing of prisoners may be done as a matter of expediency, e.g., a too rapid advance (or retreat) would prevent their being taken under guard to the rear. Third, it is not uncommon for prisoners (or persons attempting to surrender) to be murdered in retaliation for what is perceived as an enemy transgression of the rules of war. An example of this was at the battle of Goose Green in the Falklands campaign. Lieutenant Jim Barry and two of his men were killed as they approached an Argentinian trench flying a white flag. No more Argentines surrendered (or, rather, were taken prisoner) in that segment of the battle (Eddy, Linklater, and Gillman 1982:219).

It is this last characteristic of warfare, that of retaliation, that is of importance to this paper. The situation being considered is one where societies with quite differing systems of values are fighting each other. Initially each fights under its own rules. The battlefield, though, can become an arena of

culture change, for each side reacts to the "inhuman" behaviour of the other. It may adopt a new practice in revenge or retaliation. It might, however, continue to reject such behaviour, hence emphasizing the social and cultural distance between itself and the "barbarous" enemy.

European Views of Indian War Practices

In this paper I will consider warfare involving Indians and Europeans in the northeastern portion of North America in the 17th and 18th centuries. For both sides one must reconstruct the norms or rules followed in military engagements, inasmuch as the Indians were a non-literate people with no recorded code of warfare while the Europeans were emerging into a modern military system, indeed undergoing a "military revolution" (see Roberts 1967; Parker 1988), establishing professional standing armies and only beginning to codify formally the rules of war. The evidence is almost entirely from the European side. Some of the documents, however, while still showing European ethnocentrism, emanate from Europeans who were allies rather than enemies of the Indians. In addition we have many, probably valid, translations of Indian speeches throughout the two centuries. Here the Indian viewpoint is often eloquently presented.

Clearly in European eyes, a deviant, incredible, or at least strange, Indian practice was the taking of scalps. Scalping involves cutting a circle about the head of the victim and then removing the hair and skin. The scalp would be stretched and dried (and possibly smoked) and would survive for a long period of time (as numerous specimens preserved in North American ethnographic museums will testify). Scalping was most often done to enemy dead, but many victims of scalping are known to survive (see Nadeau 1941:184-186; Abler 1989:85; Ewers 1958:139). Axtell and Sturtevant (1980) have hopefully forever laid to rest the unscholarly assertion that Indians learned to scalp from Whites. They provide ample proof that scalping was pre-Columbian in North America. While it is not the focus of their paper, they also provide documentation, easily supplemented and amplified in readily available sources, that scalping diffused in the other direction. Indians did not learn scalping from the Whites; Whites, however, very quickly and quite enthusiastically learned scalping from the Indians.

Mutilation of the dead and public display of portions of human bodies was part of European tradition in the 17th and 18th centuries. In particular, the public display of human heads, often on pole or pike, was common. A 16th-century English commander in Ireland brought "greate terrour to the people when thei sawe the heddes of their dedde fathers, brothers, children, kinsfolke, and freinds" (quoted in Jennings 1975:168). Indeed, the practice continued into the 20th century. Axtell and Sturtevant point out that the

British were publicly displaying Burmese heads as recently as 1931 (Axtell and Sturtevant 1980:463 n.). While mutilation of bodies in other ways existed (and continues) in cultures with a European tradition, head taking and exhibition is clearly the practice closest to scalping which appears to predate European knowledge of North American scalping practices.[3]

European taking and exhibiting of heads appears to have involved persons killed or executed for criminal activity and to be calculated as a deterrent or to inspire terror. Scalps to North American Indians clearly had sacred or ritual importance in their "mourning war" complex (see Smith 1951; Richter 1983). Indians over much of North America, including those in the northeast, went to war to restore a balance disturbed by a death in their community. That balance could be restored by returning either with a captive or with a scalp. Upon the return of the war party, the scalps received considerable ritual attention. Women played a prominent role in these rituals, found from the Atlantic to the Rockies, dancing with the scalp or scalps brought home by their brothers and husbands. Champlain described a Montagnais party returning with Iroquois scalps in 1609.

> I went with them in their ceremonies. Approaching the shore each took a stick, on the end of which they hung the scalps of their slain enemies with some beads, singing meanwhile all together. And when all were ready, the women stripped themselves quite naked, and jumped into the water, swimming to the canoes to receive the scalps of their enemies which were at the end of long sticks in the bow of their canoes, in order later to hang them round their necks, as if they had been precious chains. And then they sang and danced. (Biggar 1925:106)

Europeans clearly viewed the taking of scalps as exotic (or deviant) behaviour worthy of note. Indeed, they seem to have a ghoulish fascination with the practice. When Theodore De Bry published some of Jacques Le Moyne's renderings of the Indians of Florida in 1591, one of the 42 engravings was devoted to a graphic depiction of the process of taking and preserving (through smoking) a scalp (see Hulton 1977:208, Plate 107).

The bulk of the earliest written accounts of scalping describe Indians scalping other Indians. Whites and Indians soon came into conflict, and Indians scalped their White enemies just as they did their Indian foes. It was in 1540 that Simon Rodrigues, a member of De Soto's expedition, gained his place in history as (probably) the first European to be scalped by Indians in the "classic" style (Friederici 1907:424). It appears to not have been long before Europeans were scalping Indians. Whites, however, incorporated scalping into the values of their own culture, so that when they got into the scalping business they made it just that, a "business." Whites do

appear to have scalped Indians for fun, but they also on many occasions scalped for profit.

It is not clear which colonial government merits the honour of being first to pay for scalps. Since scalping was not a European custom, European languages had no word for the practice. It is not until the last quarter of the 17th century that "scalp," as a verb, becomes common in English usage (Friederici 1907:423; Axtell and Sturtevant 1980:462). Earlier, "head" appears to be used as a short form for head-skin or similar construction. Hence it is not clear whether Connecticut was paying for Pequot scalps or heads in 1637, or whether New Netherland was paying for Raritan scalps or heads in 1641. In 1688 the government of Canada was paying for scalps, and the list of acts of other colonial governments in North America to pay for scalps is a lengthy one (see Friederici 1907:433-436; Axtell 1981:143;223-234). An early and famous case of White scalping was that of Hannah Dustin. Being held captive by an Indian family, she killed and scalped its four adult members and six children for good measure and upon returning home applied for bounty payment for her 10 scalps (see Mather 1697).

Scalps which merited bounties were sometimes burned or buried, although Axtell (1981:218) feels this was not done out of respect for the dead but rather to prevent being "duped into paying two large bounties for one small scalp." The public display of scalps was also known to happen. Boston cheered Capt. John Lovewell and his men as they marched through its streets bearing 10 scalps on poles in 1725 (Axtell 1981:231-232). The town fathers of Salem, Massachusetts, displayed in the local courthouse the collection of scalps purchased over the years through various scalp bounties (Axtell 1981:218).

In the 18th century scalping had become part of White frontier culture and scalp bounties became a bonus for a customary practice in the waging of war in the region. Indians also viewed scalp bounties as such a bonus, although selling a scalp conflicted with its social and ritual functions. It was sometimes possible to solve this dilemma by dividing a scalp in two, retaining half for home use while selling the other portion to White authorities (e.g., John Campbell to Bradstreet, 12-xi-1764 [in Bradstreet to Gage 7-xii-1764], Gage Papers [A.S.], vol. 28).[4]

Indians continued to scalp, whether paid for it or not.[5] So did their White neighbours on the frontier. A few examples might suffice. After the Battle of Bushy Run (August 1763) the Indian dead were not mutilated by regular British troops, but some were scalped by frontiersmen acting as rangers and teamsters with Col. Bouquet's force (Bouquet to Amherst, 6-viii-1763, published in Brymner 1890:64-65). A year later Col. Bouquet found his peace negotiations in danger of collapse when a Shawnee hostage was murdered and scalped by an officer in the Pennsylvania volunteers who displayed his

trophy "publickly and with great ostentation" to the folks back home (H. Bouquet to Governor Sharpe, 20-xii-1764, Bouquet Collection). The Seneca chief Governor Blacksnake reported finding an aged Seneca couple killed and scalped in the closing years of the American Revolution. That the intruding party wore shoes, as demonstrated by their tracks, was conclusive to Blacksnake that the killings were the work of Whites (Abler 1989:134-135).

A second aspect of Indian warfare viewed as deviant by European observers was the cannibalism-torture-human sacrifice complex found among Indians of the northeast. Elsewhere (Abler 1980) I have called attention to a few of the eye-witness accounts of cannibalism found in the historical record of this complex. Careful reading of these accounts has impressed modern scholars with the patterning and regularity of the ritual (see, for example, Knowles 1940; Rands and Riley 1958; Tooker 1964:31-39; Wallace 1970:103-105; Trigger 1976:70-75; Abler and Logan 1988).

One might say the ritual pattern begins on the site of the battle itself with the scalping of the dead and what I think might be called battlefield cannibalism. The latter consists of drinking the blood of slain enemies and, if time avails, making soup of them. Although there is no solid supporting evidence that I am aware of in the literature, I feel it reasonable to see this activity as at least analogous to the ritual eating of a portion of a recently slain animal common among many North American peoples. To cite an 18th-century source, we have the testimony of Alexander Henry's Ojibwa brother that dead were consumed immediately after the Michilimackinac battle for ritual rather than gastronomic purposes (Henry 1971:69).[6]

Captives being taken back to the enemy's home village were subjected to ritualistic abuse while *en route*. For the most part, this abuse centred upon the victim's hands, involving the tearing out of nails, severing of finger joints, and the burning (often in a pipe) of the ends of fingers. In addition to allowing the warriors to vent their hostility on the captive, this activity also made escape more difficult since captives found it at best most painful to attempt to use their hands.

Upon arrival at the home village, the captive was then forced to run the gauntlet. It would appear that the severity of this task was variable, and the condition of the captive when he reached the end ranged widely. Axtell has, I judge correctly, described the gauntlet as a *rite de passage*, with the captive being adopted into Indian society after completing the run. Indeed, I am tempted to go even farther, couching the gauntlet in Freudian terms. It seems to be a symbolic birth canal, through which the captive is reborn as a member of a new society. However, his or her fate was not secure, having been thus reborn. New kinsmen would make the decision of life or death and if the latter, the captive was then subjected to the long torture ritual.[7]

In its most common form the torture ritual appears to have been an all-night affair. The victim was "caressed" by his new kinsmen,[8] that is burned with torches and red hot irons. Only the lower portion of the body was burned initially. Portions of flesh might be cut off and fed to the captive. At least periodically he was expected to sing his personal death song. A girdle of bark was sometimes made and set on fire. Finally he was scalped, often with coals or hot sand and ashes being poured upon the wound, and his heart was torn out. Ideally this took place at dawn. His head would be cut off, the corpse might then be butchered and portions of it eaten, with his bones eventually ending in the village midden. The village would resound with the noise of staves being beaten on the sides of the houses as his spirit was driven from the community.

The form, if not the complete content, of the ritual is well documented historically among the Iroquoians and their neighbours. There do exist some descriptions of such tortures taking place near the site of the battle rather than at the home village (as when Brébeuf and Lalemant were executed), but the vast majority of descriptions in the literature regularly follow the above pattern.

In the popular view of Canadian and Indian history, such torture of captives is presented as primarily or exclusively a trait of the Iroquois (see Jennings 1975:160-161). Such is not the case. In fact the historic record contains far more descriptions of Iroquois being tortured, burnt and eaten by others than there are of Iroquois engaged in such activity. The first clear picture we have of the torture-sacrifice complex is not of Iroquois as torturers but rather Iroquois as victims. Champlain described Montagnais, Algonquin and Huron treatment of an Iroquois prisoner in 1609 (Biggar 1925:101-104).

> Our Indians kindled a fire, and when it was well lighted, each took a brand and burned this poor wretch a little at a time in order to make him suffer the greater torment. Sometimes they would leave off, throwing water on his back. Then they tore out his nails and applied fire to the ends of his fingers and to his *membrum virile.* Afterwards they scalped him and caused a certain kind of gum to drip very hot upon the crown of his head. Then they pierced his arms near the wrists and with sticks pulled and tore out his sinews by main force, and when they saw they could not get them out, they cut them off. . . . When they saw I was not pleased, they called me back and told me to give him a shot with the arquebus. I did so. . . . When he was dead . . . they opened his body and threw his bowels into the lake. Afterwards they cut off his head, arms and legs, which they scattered about; but they kept the scalp. . . . They did another awful thing, which was to cut his heart into several pieces and give it to a brother of the dead man to eat and to others of his companions who were prisoners. These took it and put it into their mouths,

but would not swallow it. Some of the Algonquin Indians who were guarding the prisoners made them spit it out and threw it into the water.

Champlain apparently did not observe cannibalism at this time, but it was not an invariable inclusion in the torture ritual (see Boucher 1883:68). A year later Champlain saw an Iroquois corpse "cut into quarters, to be eaten" (Biggar 1925:134). At this same time he noted that some Iroquois prisoners "were reserved to be put to death at the hands of the wives and daughters of these [Algonquins and Montagnais], who in this matter show themselves no less inhuman than the men; in fact they greatly surpass the men in cruelty; for by their cunning they invent more cruel torments, and take delight in them" (Biggar 1925 2:137).

Torture was certainly not unknown to Europeans. Extracting confession by torture was an officially recognized and sanctioned part of European judicial process to almost the end of the 18th century (Langbein 1977; Peters 1985). Public execution involving torture of the convicted entertained French and English crowds through the 17th and 18th centuries (for detailed accounts of a 1757 execution in Paris see Foucault 1977:3-6). A 1762 treatise made the following observations:

> Some prisoners may be condemned to be hanged, others to having their hands cut off or their tongues cut out or pierced and then to be hanged; others, for more serious crimes, to be broken alive and to die on the wheel, after having their limbs broken; others to be broken until they die a natural death, others to be strangled and then broken, others to be burnt alive, others to be burnt after first being strangled; others to be drawn by four horses, others to having their heads cut off, and others to have their heads broken. (Quoted in Foucault 1977:32)

In 1584 the assassin of William of Orange was publicly tortured for 18 days with boiling water, red-hot pincers, clubs, the wheel and other instruments (Foucault 1977:54). As a climax to the torture spectacle, European crowds could watch all four limbs ripped from the living body — "quartering, which carries pain almost to infinity" (Foucault 1977:33). Burning people at the stake was a European tradition. Smith (1951:354), in fact, raises the possibility of diffusion from Europeans to Native North Americans, "because burning was so obvious a trait in the European punitive pattern and contact with these tribes was established so early." However, although both Europeans and Indians put people to death at the stake, the technique each used was quite different. Among Europeans the stake and fire were the instrument of death; the victim perished in the flames. Among Indians the victim was tied to a stake and tortured by fire, but death ideally came not as a result of flames but instead by a knife or axe. Moreover, Europeans tied prisoners with their backs to the stake whereas Indians tied their captives facing the

stake (Boucher 1883:67-68; Trigger 1976:584,765). One aspect of the torture ritual which may have been learned from Europeans, though, was the use of red-hot iron (gun barrels or axe heads) to burn the victim.

It has been suggested that what shocked Europeans about Indian torture and execution of prisoners of war was the degree to which the entire community participated. Such activities in Europe were a spectator sport (Jennings 1975:162). Torturers and executioners in the European tradition are a profession, almost a caste. Europeans were appalled that all ages and sexes took turns at tormenting the prisoner.

The French tortured and executed a number of Iroquois prisoners at Montreal and elsewhere in Canadian settlements in the latter part of the 17th century (Beauchamp 1904:115-116;122-124). Frontenac appears to have been particularly enthusiastic about this. Although it is almost certain Indian techniques were used to torture these prisoners, the setting of the execution was in the European tradition. The torture was a public spectacle to be enjoyed by all, but the actual torture was carried out by the colonial equivalent of the professional executioner, that is by Indian allies of New France.

One of the Iroquois being thus tortured gave the French a lesson as to proper behaviour at the stake.

> He exhorted those who tortured him to remember his death, in order that they may display similar courage when those of his nation should avenge his murder on them. And when a Savage, weary of his harangues, gave him some cuts of a knife: "I thank thee," he said, "but thou oughtest rather complete my death by fire. Learn French dogs! And ye Savages, their Allies, who are dogs of dogs, remember what you have to do when you will occupy a position similar to mine." (Quoted in Beauchamp 1904:124)

Europeans, although torture was very much part of their own traditions, viewed the public participation in the torture-sacrifice-cannibalism ritual with a certain amount of distaste or horror. Clearly they initially regarded it, as they regarded scalping, as deviant behaviour relating to the barbarous or savage nature of the Indian population of northern North America (in the ethnocentric 17th-century European eyes). However, as was the case with scalping, at least some of the colonists began to view the use of Indian torture methods as appropriate in waging war. Its adoption, though, was purely secular, lacking the religious overtones which were part of the Indian performance of the ritual. There is also no evidence that any European felt compelled to carry the adoption of the torture complex to the point of eating the victim. Clearly Christianity and other sources of European values permitted involvement as spectators in the systematic torture of enemy human beings, but they seem not to have encouraged or allowed full community

participation in the torture or the ritualistic ingestion of the corpse of the torture victim.[9]

Unfortunately we do not have as many comments concerning Indians' views of the European method of waging war as we have of European opinions on Indian behaviour. It seems incontestable that many European conventions and practices would seem as barbaric to Indians as Indian practices did to Europeans. For example, the Narragansett complained of the tactics of their Puritan allies — "it is too furious and slaies too many men" (quoted in Washburn 1978:90). The particular practice I choose to discuss is not well documented, but the slim documentation that does exist is reasonably consistent. Indians in eastern North America did not rape female captives; Europeans did.

With respect to European values, the right to rape females among the enemy is a grey area. An early treatise on the conduct of war, Hugo Grotius's *Law of War and Peace* published in 1625, argued that rape should not be permitted. He noted, however,"you may read in many places that the raping of women in time of war is permissible"(Friedman 1972:41). Brownmiller (1975:35) has argued that such "outlawing of rape in warfare, at least on the books, was an important advance for women, but despite the penalties, and whether or not they were rigorously applied, rape in warfare continued to flourish." She presents (Brownmiller 1975:31-113) a discussion of rape in war which is in part a political statement (on aspects of relations between males and females which she believes to be universal), in part a discussion of the psychology of war and of rape, and in part a discussion of rape in various conflicts throughout history. It is not appropriate to discuss here the considerable strengths and also the notable weaknesses of the first two aspects of her discussion; it is her historical discussion that is important for an assessment of the normality of rape in warfare as waged by Europeans. Although she unfortunately tarnishes a strong case by a sometimes uncritical acceptance of wartime propaganda, her presentation is convincing to even the most sceptical reader that rape has been and remains part of the European tradition of waging war.

Rape does not appear to have been practised by Indian warriors in eastern North America. A large number of persons, both female and male, who had been captured by Indians have testified to the fact that rape was not among the abuses Indians heaped on their captives. Thomas Ridout, captured in 1788 by the Shawnee, commented, "I never once witnessed an indecent or improper action among any of the Indians, whether young or old" (Ridout 1928:303). James Axtell surveyed over 100 captivity accounts and felt there was not the "least exception" to the generalization that Indians in the east did not sexually assault their female captives (Axtell 1981:181). Axtell is an ethnohistorian who could be accused of too much sympathy for the Indians,

but another commentator on captivity narratives, Frederick Drimmer, bears different credentials. He is a popular historian of the "gleefully [Indians] . . . popped the infants' heads against nearby trees" school. Drimmer (1961:12) notes, "Anyone reading early accounts of captivity among the Indians is struck by the fact that female prisoners do not appear to have been abused by the Indians in the eastern section of the country."

Brownmiller disagrees, stating "the rape of white women by Indians was a casual by-product of the move westward" (Brownmiller 1975:140). She appears to assume that the universal assertion of female captives taken in the 17th and 18th centuries that they had not been raped is proof that they must have been. While it may be correct that these women would have reason to deny such violations of their "purity," as Brownmiller suggests, she does not explain why male captives also asserted that they did not observe females being sexually assaulted. Moreover, Brownmiller appears to equate the marriage of adopted female captives to Indian males with rape. In some cases this might be arguable, but it certainly was not rape but rather marriage in Indian eyes. The case Brownmiller cites, Mary Jemison, is a most curious choice for the point she is trying to make. Jemison was captured in the mid-18th century as a child and lived the rest of her life, by her own choice, as an Indian. She had two Indian husbands, bore nine Indian children, and was watching 39 grandchildren mature when she "took the long path," to use the Iroquois phrase for death. While Brownmiller makes much of female captives becoming wives to Indians, she ignores the fact the male captives, adopted into the tribe, became husbands to Indian women (as in the case of Peter Crouse — see Francello 1980; Abler 1983).

Jaenen (1982:50-51) while not discussing rape *per se*, has discussed French amazement at the "alleged indifference of these peoples [Indians] to sexual activity." One writer attributed it to "an organic imperfection, a sort of infancy of the people of America." Their "impotence . . . reveals clearly how new the continent is." Another attributed "their indifference to sex" to "the non-usage of salt" while a third felt it was "a sign of the feebleness of their constitution."

It is not just the captivity literature which provides convincing evidence that eastern Indians did not rape. William Smith, who wrote a contemporary account of Bouquet's expedition into the Ohio country in 1763, noted "no woman . . . need fear violation of her honour" if captured by Indians (Smith 1765:78). General James Clinton cautioned his army in 1779 not to rape Indian women because "they never violate the chastity of any women their prisoners" (Stone 1838 1:404).

Clinton's orders apparently were not obeyed. An Onondaga chief complained of American actions.

> When they came to the Onandago Town (of which I was one of the principal Chiefs) They put to death all the Women and Children, excepting some of the young Women that they carried away for the use of their Soldiers, and were put to death in a more shameful and Scandalous manner. Yet these Rebels call themselves Christians. (Haldimand Papers, B.M. Add. Ms. 21 779, pp. 109-110)

I know of no clear evidence why Indians in the east did not rape female captives, even in retaliation for White practices. Smith (1951) has pointed out that refraining from sex was part of the ritual observances of the Indian warrior in much of North America, and, while we can not be certain this was true for all Indians in the east, it does seem a possible explanation. Axtell (1975) points to the practice of adopting captives, hence for many members of a war party rape of a captive might be equivalent to incest.

Possibly, in asking why Indians did not rape, one is as guilty of ethnocentrism as was Brownmiller. I am not certain that we should assume it is "natural" to rape without extremely compelling taboos or other cultural mechanisms to prevent such behaviour.[10]

In this paper we have dealt with only a few aspects of warfare in northeastern North America. The record is a bloody one, and it would be possible to go on and on with example after example of behaviour by one side which the other viewed as violation of the conventions of warfare. It is clear that conflicting practices of war can lead to retaliation in kind. Scalping is an example of such retaliation. European traditions of mutilation of enemy dead certainly contributed to their adoption of scalping. It is also clear that the value systems held by the combatants place limits on the degree or manner in which they retaliate. European ideas about cannibalism and Indian ideas about rape prevented retaliation. The failure of such practices to cross cultural boundaries allows each side to view the actions of the other with horror and to classify enemy behaviour as barbaric.

Notes

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2. I recall graffiti observed on a National Army Museum poster in an underground station in London in 1974. "Join the Army; See the world; Meet all sorts of interesting

people; And kill them." Modern recruiting methods, at least in North America, do not make explicit that the function of the military is to extinguish human life.

3. An American practice reported as "relatively common in Viet Nam" may have some time depth. Collection of enemy ears as trophies is reported for that conflict, against the Japanese in World War II (Bryant 1979:302), against the Germans in World War I (Karsten 1978:42) and against the British and Tories during the American Revolution (Bryant 1979:303).

4. The taking of multiple scalps from a single body could also be a technique to defraud bounty payers. Indian allies of the French are said to have taken 32 scalps from 11 dead English soldiers in 1757 (Axtell 1981:222).

5. As, for example, in the American Revolution. Indians scalped in that conflict, but I have seen no evidence in British sources which suggests to me that scalp bounties were paid during that conflict, despite American propaganda that the British were doing this. One can contrast this with open references to scalp bounties in British military papers only 15 years prior to the American Revolution (Bouquet Collection; Gage Papers).

6. Marvin Harris (1985), however, sees battlefield cannibalism as a solution to problems of supply faced by far-ranging war parties.

7. It is important to note that many people captured by Indians were not tortured but rather were incorporated into the Indian community as full and free members (see Hallowell 1963; Axtell 1975). However, at least some of these captives may have led a life close to that of slave (see Starna and Watkins 1991). The English, of course enslaved many Indian captives (Jacobs 1969:97) while the French sent Iroquois prisoners to serve in the Mediterranean galleys of their "Sun King" (Eccles 1960, 1969; Leclerc 1961).

8. While torture of females was not unknown, sources suggest the torture-sacrifice victim was almost always a male.

9. Jennings (1975:146-170) discusses some of the issues raised here. However, while he may be correct that "about midway through the seventeenth century . . . European attitudes toward mutilation of the human body began to turn negative" (Jennings 1975:163), it is clear from sources cited here that public torture and display of mutilated human remains was a feature of European culture for most or all of the 18th century. Torture, while no longer public, remains a feature of some representatives of Euro-American civilizations today (see Peters 1985).

10. Students studying the question of rape cross-culturally have reached differing conclusions as to whether or not rape is universal (see Minturn, Grosse and Haider 1969; Sanday 1981; Palmer 1989). These studies fail to distinguish between the rape of a female in the rapist's own community and the rape of outsiders.

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THE DYNAMICS OF A DENE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

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Abstract: This paper is about the social drama occurring when the Dene of a northern Canadian community sought to attain local self-determination, and Eurocanadians within the town and government officials beyond the settlement responded to their efforts. Each group found itself not merely in conflict with other groups, but enmeshed in internal symbolic paradoxes, which challenged basic images they held concerning their cultural identities. This article adds to the literature on interethnic relations in Canada, and reveals some of the subtle, even liminal, barriers to the creation of post-colonial society, encountered in the praxis of decolonialization.

Résumé: Cet article du drame social qui est survenue lorsque le Dene d'une communauté du nord canadien a essayé d'acquéru l'autodétermination au niveau local, et comment les Eurocanadiens de la ville ainsi que les responsables gouvernementaux au delà de le communauté ont réagi à leurs efforts.

Chaque groupe s'est trouvé être, non en conflit direct avec les autres groupes mais plutôt, empêtre dans des paradoxes symboliques internes, qui remettaient en question la vision élémentaire de leurs identités culturelles réciproques.

Cet article contribue pleinement à ce qui a déja été écrit sur les relations interethniques, au Canada. De plus, l'auteur met à jour certaines des barrières tenues voire liminales affectant la création d'une société post-coloniale, et mises en évidence dans la praxis de décolonisation.

> This, then, is the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed: to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well.
> — Paulo Freire

Introduction

In 1971-72 a group of young Dene (using the expression *sensu lato* to in-
clude Métis) in a settlement in the Great Slave Lake region of northern Can-
ada initiated an effort to attain self-determination.[1] This was the first at-
tempt by the Native people of the community to control their own local
government since they began to abandon year-round "bush" living for
town residence in the 1950s. Their initiative drew a response from
Eurocanadians, who were townspeople employed by the federal or territo-
rial government, and their superiors within the Government of the North-
west Territories beyond the settlement.

This paper is the story of a social drama (Turner 1957, 1974, 1985:291-
301; Sharp 1986, 1988) in which each of the above groups found itself not
merely in conflict with other groups, but also caught in a number of sym-
bolic paradoxes associated with their most central images of who they were
and what their roles in the community ought to be. Thus, the Dene, both the
young people initiating the movement and most other Native people in the
settlement, desired restoration of the kind of autonomy and power Native
people had enjoyed before the advent of the "government-commercial era"
in the north after World War II (Helm and Leacock 1971:357-359; J.G.E.
Smith 1978:39). They also viewed this restoration as essential if they were
adequately to cope with pressing community problems, and if they were to
survive as a culturally unique people in the face of the rapid economic and
political developments underway throughout the Canadian north (see Cardi-
nal 1969; Watkins 1977; Driben and Trudeau 1983; Asch 1984; Salisbury
1986). Yet, achieving self-determination seemed to require adopting posi-
tions and taking actions that Native people had always seen to be incompat-
ible with Dene culture, and potentially dangerous to their well-being (see
Helm 1980).

Local White residents, on the other hand, most of whom believed they
were in the community, in part at least, to assist Native people in becoming
self-determining, found themselves hostile to what was quite a benign
movement. On the surface their hostility appeared irrational and inconsis-
tent with their beliefs. Analysis, however, suggests the movement seriously
challenged many White peoples' most cherished images of themselves as
humanitarian benefactors.

Finally, officials of the Local Government branch of the Government of
the Northwest Territories were supportive of the self-determination effort,
but found themselves uneasy about the direction the movement might take
and displeased by Dene political processes. These bureaucrats wanted the
movement to occur in ways that were consistent with their ethnocentric def-

initions of self-determination and with their plans for political and economic development in the Northwest Territories as a whole (see Bean 1977).

The dynamics of ethnic conflict discussed in this paper complement discussions of interethnic relations found elsewhere in the literature of the Canadian subarctic (see especially Savashinsky 1972, 1974). This account also is of interest in other ways: It documents the sort of local problems which, together with the impacts of broader issues like the development of natural gas and oil reserves and the implementation of a new federal Indian policy, led to the creation of the Dene Nation in 1976 (Watkins 1977) and to the agreement-in-principle between the Indian people of the Northwest Territories and the Government of Canada to establish Denendeh.[2] Secondly, it illustrates the ingenuity of the Dene as they shape a culturally incompatible Eurocanadian political form (such as the Settlement Council form of government) so that it can be used to accomplish their own ends. Thirdly, as the social drama presented below unfolds, some of the more subtle, even liminal, symbolic barriers to decolonialization are brought to light (Cardinal 1969; Lurie 1972; Puxley 1977; Bean 1977). Finally, for just post-colonial societies to be established, colonizers must learn as much or more from the praxis of local efforts to attain self-determination as do the colonized (Memmi 1963; Bennett 1985:23; Marcus 1986:166; Chilton 1988). Some Eurocanadians did learn a few such lessons as a result of this social drama. These lessons Paulo Freire (1984) aptly terms the "pedagogy of the oppressed."

Below, I recount the local conditions that Native people cited as leading to this self-determination initiative. I then present, as best I am able, a narrative of the major events in this social drama as I witnessed and, to a degree, participated in them.[3] In utilizing a narrative approach, I follow the recent example of Henry Sharp (1988) seeking to provide as rich (or "thick"; Geertz 1973:3-30) an account as possible so as to better reveal the elusive symbolic obstacles to decolonialization as these arose. The conclusion provides an interpretation of these obstacles.

The Situation

In 1971, the population of this settlement consisted of about 210 Treaty Indians, 330 Métis without Treaty status, and approximately 60 Eurocanadians. Until 1969, government in the settlement had been under the control of an appointed Area Administrator of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. After 1969, as a result of governmental reorganization, a Eurocanadian Settlement Manager, appointed by the Department of Local Government, Government of the Northwest Territories, dominated lo-

cal political affairs. While there was also an elected Settlement Council, it had always been predominately Eurocanadian.

Most Eurocanadians were in the community due to employment with one or another government agency. There were school teachers, nurses, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, employees of the Ministry of Transport or the Department of Public Works, a game warden, the settlement manager and a welfare officer — when the latter role was not played by the Settlement Manager.

As a group, the Eurocanadians were highly transient. Most were school teachers, the most politically active segment of the White community. Yet, in the decade preceding 1971, some 70 percent of the school teachers remained in the community only one year or less; fewer than five percent had lived in the town as long as five years (Menez, personal communication). During the summer, when local government activities were at their height, teachers on the Settlement Council were often in the south on vacation, or furthering their professional educations.

In 1971, Eurocanadians held virtually all political, economic and educational authority. This was due both to their occupations and because Native people, for various reasons outlined below, did not seek to control their own political affairs. Moreover, in Settlement Council elections, Native people tended to vote for Eurocanadians — if they bothered to vote at all.

Native people stated that they did not seek to govern their own community for several reasons. In the first place, from early in the 20th century until after World War II, the Indians, and many of the Métis, had lived in small all-Native villages (Helm and Damas 1963) in the "bush" from which they dispersed for hunting, fishing and trapping. The last group to abandon their village for residence in the settlement had done so only in the middle 1960s. In the "bush," everyday political matters were handled informally through kinship channels, and through consensus seeking processes. In the settlement, an over-all sense of political community had not yet evolved. In a way, the Native component of the settlement comprised several communities, each having its own, rather discrete, area of residence in the town. While these different groups had, through the years, worked out successful modes of political accommodation and cooperation, to reside together and function as a single polity was new for them. "Things Indian," moreover, tended to be thought of as things associated with the "bush."

Secondly, many of the Indian and Métis people with whom I talked regarded Settlement Council procedures as foreign and inconsistent with Dene ways. Again, traditional Native political processes were those of consensus-seeking wherein all present who had something to say could contribute to deliberations. Furthermore, adversarial procedures, which deliberately provoke disharmony, were regarded in the traditional view as being

most improper. Because the Settlement Council in the past had allowed very little participation by visitors and adversarial procedures were employed when issues were discussed, Native people did not regard this institution as their own (see Bean 1977:130-141).

Thirdly, a few Native people mentioned that many of the most influential adults, both Métis and Indian, could neither speak, read nor write English. This made it very difficult for them to deal with governmental agencies beyond the community, particularly if utilizing the Settlement Council where the expectation had always been that business would be conducted in English. Hence, if Métis and Indians did vote in Settlement Council elections they voted for highly acculturated people or, even more commonly, for White people that they believed could be trusted. A teacher would have a very good chance of winning if she or he ran for office, since teachers were considered to be quite knowledgeable, and because the role, "teacher," is a respected one.

Fourthly, after many years of ever-increasing dependency, first upon the trader and missionary and then upon the government, with its various forms of social assistance, people had grown apathetic. Generally low or wildly fluctuating fur prices and chronic unemployment and underemployment at one time or another made welfare assistance a necessity for most Native people. There was a prevailing sense of despair often expressed to me by use of the English phrase: "What's the use?"

Finally, while there was apathy and despair, there was also genuine fear of publicly disagreeing with those Eurocanadians whose occupations gave them the power to hire and fire, or to administer social assistance. Native people regarded as "troublemakers" were not sought as employees and were sometimes also denied emergency welfare relief. Furthermore, if one was considered a troublemaker by one White authority, other White authorities often adopted the same opinion. As one Métis man said: " A guy would have to be crazy to run [for political office] against the welfare [officer]."

While Eurocanadian administrators and elected Councillors had accomplished some beneficial results for the community, many problems existed in 1971 which had, through the years, grown quite serious and which, to all appearances, were simply going to grow worse. There were only five full-time jobs available to Native people in the settlement. Most employment was seasonal or occasional. The single most significant potential for full-time employment was the local sawmill, which had been operated as a government-managed cooperative. However, due to equipment breakdowns and government mismanagement — something to which government officials have admitted (Fields and Sigurdson 1972) — the mill had been forced to close, many thousands of dollars "in the red." The mill was subsequently sold to a White entrepreneur, but it operated thereafter irregularly due to

breakdowns in its aged equipment and the lack of a competent millwright to administer preventive maintenance. There also seemed to be a chronic problem of finding markets for the lumber produced by the mill, even though the lumber was of an excellent quality. When a new elementary school was constructed in the community in 1970-71, all the lumber used was purchased from southern Canadian sources. Consequently, work and income that could have gone to local people were denied to them. Adding insult to injury, the lumber for school construction was stored in the local sawmill's yard.

Another problem not being addressed by the Council concerned the community's water supply. The water came from a bay of the large lake on which the settlement is located. By the early 1960s, the lake was seriously polluted because of the many people and their sled dogs who had come to reside permanently in town. Especially during spring thaw, human and animal feces washed directly into the bay. In 1963, the only year for which I have accurate figures, there were 223 cases of severe gastrointestinal illness in the community, directly attributed by the local nursing staff to the town's water supply. In 1971, as in 1963, water treatment consisted of dumping a certain quantity of liquid bleach into the tank truck that delivered water to the 45-gallon barrels at Native homes. The government had begun construction of a small water treatment facility but it had never been completed. The Settlement Council seemed unable to discover why the facility was not being completed. Since all government personnel received their water from a Ministry of Transport water truck rather than the water truck of the local private contractor who supplied Native homes, and since the former traveled to an (ostensibly) unpolluted area to obtain water, I surmise that Eurocanadian Settlement Managers, and Eurocanadian dominated Settlement Councils, did not regard the community's contaminated water supply as a pressing issue.

The educational situation in the community was also of considerable concern to Native people. All Native parents with whom I talked strongly valued basic formal, Eurocanadian style education for their children, but, at the same time, decried the process of cultural alienation that occurred when their children went to school. All teachers were Eurocanadians. Parents noted that the teachers never really mixed with Native people. The teachers with whom I talked had little knowledge of Native culture and virtually no understanding of community history — a must for understanding local social problems. Instruction in the Native language, or in any other aspect of Native culture, was absent in 1971. There was no local school board nor any other local body which had authority in hiring teachers or in establishing school policy and curriculum. In spite of educators' rhetoric to the contrary,

formal education in the community was largely a process fostering assimilation into White Canadian society.

Indeed, perhaps as much as any single event or circumstance, the dedication of the new elementary school in September of 1971 precipitated the self-determination movement. On the evening of the day of the dedication there was a celebration at the school attended by the principal, the teachers, the Settlement Manager and by "outside dignitaries" such as the Superintendent of Schools. No Indian nor Métis parent, nor any other member of the Native community (such as the Chief or a band Councillor), was invited. Although nothing was publicly said, privately Native people expressed their outrage at this display of disrespect.

Undergirding all else, the presence of ever-growing violence and other forms of cultural distortion in the community made Native people ready for fundamental change. For many, the virtual impossibility of continuing to live a contact-traditional style of life (Helm and Damas 1963) in the "bush," a lack of employment in the town and a consequent dependence on welfare, the prevailing sense that the Indian way of life was being destroyed by the press of the dominant Eurocanadian culture — these and other factors had resulted in a profound sense of despair. This contributed to heavy drinking, fighting, and, beginning in the late 1960s, suicides by teenaged children (compare Driben and Trudeau 1983). Every time I returned to the community for periods of fieldwork people would comment, in answer to my vague question, "How have things been?": "It's getting worse and worse, the drinking and fighting; nobody knows what to do." By the early 1970s, one section of town was nicknamed "Vietnam" because of the level of violence found there. The people wanted their lives to be peaceful and whole once again.

Narrative of the Self-Determination Movement

The Settlement Council Election

I arrived in the settlement in early September 1971 aboard the small Beechcraft which made a scheduled flight to the village twice a week. I had been in the community doing fieldwork twice before — in 1968 and 1969. The focus of my work had been contact history. I had also been successful in recording important aspects of traditional Dene culture since there were a number of very knowledgeable elders in the town. The National Museum of Canada, who funded my work, was especially interested in the latter information. Moreover, I was interested in contemporary cultural and ecological matters and I had arranged to spend early October, early December and early April (1972) in the "bush" with friends of mine. In this way I would experience life in the town and life in the "bush," at all seasons of the year.

On board the plane I sat next to a young Indian woman, Victoria, whom I recognized as being the granddaughter of a good friend and former landlord of mine.[4] She told me she had been away from the community for quite a long time, most recently attending school, but had decided to return home, having accepted the marriage proposal of a young man named Francois — whom I also knew. Then she said, with a soft laugh, that she was asked to leave the school she had been attending, for her teachers found her political views "frightening." It seems that Victoria had become sensitive to the oppressed status of American Indians in relation to White society, and had learned of the growing political activism of Indian people elsewhere in the north, in southern Canada and in the United States. She spoke eloquently of the need for the people in her own settlement to overcome their fear, dependence and despair. Her people, she felt, had to become politically active if they expected justice and cultural survival in the face of the rapid economic development underway in the north, and in light of the new ethnocidal policies of the government.

As it happened, I was fresh from teaching a year-long seminar concerning these matters; we had, for instance, read and discussed works by Indian authors, such as Deloria's *Custer Died for Your Sins* (1969) and Canadian Indian leader Harold Cardinal's book, *The Unjust Society* (1969). Victoria had also read these books and discussed the issues they raised with insight; we had a mutually interesting "in-flight" conversation. As the plane landed, Victoria suggested that we continue our conversation at some later date, and invited me to her wedding and, much more to my liking, wedding feast.

Near the end of September, not long after the marriage and an excellent wedding feast, the dedication of the new school occurred, with the subsequent "Whites Only" celebration at the school. On the evening of this party, I was at the home of Moise, an elderly friend. His home was a gathering place for young adults due to the popularity of his grandson. When I arrived, a couple of young Native women were discussing the party at the school. Within minutes of my arrival, Victoria and Francois came. Victoria was furious about the celebration going on, and her eyes flashed as she spoke of how insulting and inexcusable the exclusion of Native people from this event was. For his part, Francois told me in somewhat exasperated terms as we stepped outdoors for a moment, that he could not understand why she was so upset. Such expressions of disrespect from White people were hardly unusual, and were simply something Indians had to ignore. Besides, there were much more important "really Indian" matters to discuss — such as concluding arrangements for fall fishing so the people would have enough dog food for winter. In fact, discussing this matter was the ostensible reason they had come to visit. Francois wanted to discuss going to

an important fishery with Moise, who was Francois' paternal uncle. Although he was quite young (21 years old), Francois had been brought up in the "bush" and, so far as he was concerned, matters associated with the "bush" were the truly relevant issues of Native life. Certainly other matters were to be regarded as secondary.

Victoria, however, did not think so, and was in no frame of mind to discuss fishing trips. She spoke convincingly of the need for the people to run their own community affairs, including their own community school. Native people simply could no longer tolerate Eurocanadian domination — because, if they did, all that they held dear, that was associated with Native life, would soon be destroyed. At midnight, when I returned to my shack to sleep, a group of eight or ten young Indian and Métis adults were still at Moise's place discussing politics. Even Francois seemed to have become, albeit begrudgingly, interested and concerned. They were discussing the many problems in town and the need for Native people to become assertive if these problems were ever to be solved. In the space of three hours or so, Victoria had done quite a job of "consciousness raising," and I had the feeling that these young people were ready to do more than simply talk about the need for self-determination.

As it happened, mid-October was the time for the yearly Settlement Council election. Victoria, Francois, and a few other young people decided that this election provided them with an opportunity to, at least, begin the quest for self-determination. Consequently, they went from door to door attempting to convince respected Native people to stand for nomination to the Settlement Council, and seeking to get Native people to vote for Native candidates. As noted earlier, the Settlement Council was hardly regarded by Native people as an ideal form, or forum, for Native governance. Thus, it was not an easy task convincing Native people to take the Settlement Council election seriously. Also, since the people attempting to get out the vote were in their twenties, mostly without many "really Indian" skills or experience in the "bush," it was no mean task to get older Native people to take them seriously.

Probably all Native people would have preferred taking action through their band chief and councillor form of government, for while this institution was introduced by Eurocanadian government officials at the beginning of the century, after some 70 years the people had moulded it to conform with Dene values. These young people felt, however, that there were compelling reasons to try to utilize the Settlement Council in some way. Most importantly, at this time the band form of government really pertained, so far as both the federal and territorial governments were concerned, to Treaty Indians only. Consequently, the Métis, who comprised more than half the Native component of the settlement, were left unrepresented. Furthermore,

for reasons that are too complex to explore in this essay, in spite of Native sentiments, the chief and councillor form of government was all but dead in the community and government agencies tended to simply ignore it.[5] Also, the territorial government had recently received much greater power from the federal government, and it was the former that had to be "leveraged" in order to get many of the most basic community problems solved. The Settlement Council concept was considered central by the Department of Local Government to their efforts at northern development (discussed in somewhat more detail below). Finally, the Settlement Council election was regarded by the young Native activists as merely an initial step in the self-determination process; a culturally more harmonious institution such as the band chief and councillor system could be instituted in the future.

In addition to their efforts to get Native people to take the Settlement Council election seriously, Victoria, Francois and their friends sought the advice of the local Catholic priest. He was admired in the community because of his sophisticated knowledge of Dene language and customs, his respect for Native religious beliefs and because he was a long-standing advocate of Native rights. On several occasions, meetings with the priest at the mission were held well into the early morning hours. The priest volunteered to contact those Eurocanadians who would most likely stand for nomination to the Settlement Council, to see if they would agree not to do so, in order to "give the people a chance" at running their own government. These individuals seemed for the most part to acquiesce magnanimously.

However, I was able to talk to two of these Eurocanadians and came away with the impression that they certainly expected no changes in community government. The White Settlement Manager ran the community, had run the community in the past and would continue to run the community. The Settlement Council had played very little role in community governance. One school teacher jokingly told me that he would rather "drink beer and watch TV" (television was a consumer luxury only first available in 1970) than go to evening Council meetings anyway. They thought that being Councillors might be "good experience for the Indians" in that they might learn a lesson or two in "being responsible" but there certainly was to be no democratic leap forward. Native people, in their estimation, were not yet ready to be self-governing.

The efforts of Victoria, Francois and the rest proved to be successful — if only barely so. While only 20 percent of the eligible Native people voted, the newly elected Settlement Council consisted of five non-treaty Métis, two Indians and one Eurocanadian. For the first time in community history, the governing body of the town was a reasonable reflection of the settlement's ethnic composition.

Only two days after the election, I learned from the Settlement Manager that he was being transferred to another office within the territorial government bureaucracy. While he seemed pleased, particularly since his transfer involved a pay raise and because he would be located in Yellowknife, the administrative capital of the Northwest Territories, I thought it too coincidental that his transfer occurred as close to the Settlement Council elections as it had. To satisfy my curiosity, I later asked a visiting official of the Department of Local Government about the matter. He told me quite bluntly that, while this individual was regarded as very good with "paperwork," he was not the kind of person the Local Government branch wanted in the community if the election really reflected a significant change in community political temperament. In answer to a further question, he said it was well known to them that this individual single-handedly ran local government affairs. In fact, he went on to say, the Settlement Manager presided over the Settlement Council, and even prepared their agendas. Councils considered only his agendas and tended simply to "rubber stamp" decisions he had already made (or had been arrived at by his superiors in the Local Government branch).

At this time the territorial government was striving to win even greater power and autonomy from the federal government, with the ultimate goal of attaining Provincial status. To this end, it had to have local communities with governments which at least appeared viable and democratic. Consequently, the Local Government branch was prepared to support the nascent self-determination effort, and wanted to see the newly elected Settlement Council succeed — at least succeed within certain circumscribed limits. They did not want a Settlement Manager in the community whose procedures were undemocratic.

Another official of the Local Government branch said that the government had been very perplexed by the election results. He remarked that this settlement was considered "the most apathetic community in the region." This was the key reason why they permitted the appointed Settlement Manager to be so dominating. He also admitted that, since there were no complaints reaching Local Government branch officials from Native people via the community's Settlement Council, and since there were no Whites with major commercial interests in the community, the town was largely ignored. Thus, it lagged behind most other communities with respect to various government development programs (such as the development of an adequate water treatment facility).

Not knowing quite how to respond to the election results, the Local Government branch replaced the Settlement Manager with a young Development Officer, Jack, a recent political science graduate from a university in British Columbia. Jack had no northern experience, knew nothing about Na-

tive culture and little about the northern history. He told me that his instruc-
tions were simply: "Go there for a few months and get some administrative
experience. Don't worry about making any positive contributions, for this is
a hopelessly apathetic community." He was also told to observe events in
the community carefully so that his superiors might better understand the
political movement which seemed to be underway. He added that he also
had the impression that his superiors had "over-hired" and were "stuck for
a place to put him."

While naïve, Jack quickly established good relations in the Native com-
munity, largely because he interacted with Native people rather than re-
maining aloof from them. His youth, certainly, helped him relate to the
young Native activists. But his acceptance among the Native people seeking
self-determination was mainly because, at his first meeting with the new
Settlement Council, he told the group that they, under their Council Presi-
dent, were to be responsible for governing the community. They were to tell
him what his role ought to be, and that soon he ought not to be needed in the
settlement at all. Jack later confessed to me that while he felt his position
was the correct one he also did not know enough to do anything else. He
certainly could not have single-handedly run the community, as had his pre-
decessor. Also, almost immediately after coming north, he began to "han-
ker for the bright lights of Vancouver" and he was not greatly concerned if
his superiors found his action in giving over power to the Council displeas-
ing. That is, he did not care if he lost his job.

But in establishing good relations with Native people, particularly with
the young activists, Jack immediately incurred the enmity of certain key, lo-
cally powerful, Eurocanadian residents. He was shunned by them, never be-
ing invited to the various all-White parties which occurred most every
weekend.

While a bit shocked by Jack's statements since former government ad-
ministrators had always played the dominant political role in the commu-
nity, the members of the Settlement Council worked very well together. The
fact that three of the Councillors were elders who could not speak, read nor
write in English made no difference in the Council's performance. Soon
various agencies of the territorial and federal governments were deluged
with letters from the Council concerning the issues of the sawmill, water
treatment, education, housing, the condition of the road into the settlement
and many other matters which were also being neglected. Officials from the
territorial government began appearing in the community with quizzical
looks upon their faces. If puzzled, they also seemed to be supportive and
measures were taken to begin to rectify long-standing problems. An impor-
tant Yellowknife newspaper, *News of the North* — circulated throughout the
Northwest Territories — somehow became aware of the rapid changes occur-

ring in the settlement, and sent a reporter to interview people. He subsequently wrote a complimentary article on the young Indian Council President under the headline: "A young man who knows what he wants."

The young man who knew what he wanted was none other than Francois who, a few weeks earlier, would have considered his being a Councillor and Council President, much less his knowing what he wanted in such a role, the subject of a first-rate joke. He was the only truly young adult on the Council; he was made President by the others largely because of his ability to speak, read and write English. Victoria, it might be noted, served as the volunteer secretary for the Council. Neither joined Moise and the others at the fishery that fall.

If Department of Local Government personnel were supportive, they were also concerned by the way in which the Settlement Council conducted its business. Francois, with the help of other Councillors and Jack, prepared an agenda for the meeting, but the agenda was not necessarily the subject of discussion. Discussions switched back and forth between the Dene language and English. Sometimes votes were taken, and sometimes they were not; when some action was required, everyone seemed to know what would be done and who would do it. Jack told me that his superiors felt he should seek to make Council meetings more orderly, operating in ways more compatible with established procedures of representative democracy so that community government would properly mesh with other units of Canadian government. It was inefficient, anarchical even, to have people from the audience as involved in discussions as they were at Council meetings. Furthermore, the Local Government people in Yellowknife sometimes could not understand from the meeting minutes sent to them what business had actually been transacted. Sometimes matters which local government officials wanted the Council to address were ignored. Jack's superiors also indicated that it was not "the Council's business" to consider issues of hunting, fishing and trapping land use, which were subjects of key importance to Native people, and hence, matters often brought up at Council meetings.

All in all, however, it seemed that a significant step in the effort to attain self-determination had been taken, and that government officials outside the community were becoming responsive to basic community problems.

The Local Eurocanadian Response

Interethnic relations in the community appeared unchanged during the first two months of the new Settlement Councils' term. Those few Eurocanadians who had always seemed favourably disposed towards the Indians and Métis continued to be so disposed. The few Whites who always seemed ill-disposed towards Native people — there were at least two individuals with

overtly expressed white supremacist views — remained ill-disposed. Most Eurocanadians, whose interactions with Natives tended to consist of little more than what their occupations entailed, seemed to maintain their usual aloofness. That interethnic relations were changed by the Settlement Council election did not become clear until mid-December.

Then, at the end of a Council meeting, while the Councillors and a few people who had attended the meeting were relaxing together, drinking tea, one of the Councillors casually observed that the skating rink used by the children of the community had not been flooded. This was a task ordinarily carried out a month or so earlier in the season. In the ensuing discussion, it was noted that the Community Club, a predominantly Eurocanadian group that organized local social events (dances, bingo games, winter and summer carnivals in the community) usually took responsibility for completing this task. Francois asked if the Council wanted him to write a "pleasantly worded" letter of inquiry on their behalf to the Club. The Council agreed; the response to their letter was wholly unexpected.

The Community Club took the letter as a criticism of their activities. The Club replied, in a letter to the Settlement Council, that if the Native people were really concerned about the children, they would have made certain that the rink was flooded well before now. They also noted that they were led to believe that the Native people, under their Settlement Council, wanted to run their own affairs. Consequently, if the rink was to be flooded at all the Settlement Council would have to do it. The letter continued, stating that, if Native people really wanted to run their own affairs, then their Settlement Council had better demonstrate its ability to provide for community needs. Certainly, the Council could not expect to "come running" to them, the Community Club, every time it needed something done. Finally, the letter hinted that the Club might no longer sponsor such community events as the winter carnival, held in the month of March.

The hostility expressed in the Community Club response was very upsetting to the Native Councillors who had gone out of their way to avoid raising Eurocanadian pique. Months later, a Eurocanadian member of the Community Club, who had come to be helpful and supportive of Native rights, said that he really did not fully understand why the Club had responded in that way. He surmised that the members of the Club most responsible for the letter felt threatened by the Native exercise of power, and were also jealous of the attention that the Council was receiving from the Community Development Officer, the territorial and federal Governments and the press.

In any case, the Council decided to send a representative to the local water contractor, a key member of the Community Club, asking him to flood the rink for the usual fee. He refused. He also refused to state the reasons for his refusal. They then asked a key member of the local Ministry of

Transport unit, whose responsibilities primarily concerned maintenance of the small local airport, if the community might use their water truck to flood the rink. The Council was told that such unauthorized uses of equipment was against regulations. Councillors could have pointed out that Ministry of Transport personnel commonly ''bent the rules'' when it came to helping out their White friends by using government equipment. Councillors told me they felt they could not make this argument for they had to try to avoid any possible basis for Eurocanadian rancor.

Determined to make sure that the childrens' skating rink was flooded, the Council made what all later agreed was a terrible decision. They decided to use the community's small sewage truck which pumped the holding tanks of the few government buildings in town. A young man was instructed to flush out the truck's tank carefully several times, and then make the many trips with water needed to flood the rink. Unfortunately, he was not well acquainted with the operation of the truck, and when he tried to pump in water to flush the tank, he pumped out some of the residual sludge in the tank onto the snow-covered ice.

Horrified, and not knowing quite what to do, he immediately ran to inform Francois and Jack. Francois gathered a group of men, one of whom owned a pickup truck. The truck was loaded with hay which was then used to help absorb the sludge. Within a short period of time the hay, the sludge-soaked snow and the small bit of lake ice to which the sludge penetrated, were hauled away. While the procedure required several trips with the pickup truck, the spill proved to be very minor and, I believe, as one of the men who helped with the cleanup, that the spill caused no additional contamination of lake water (which was, of course, already contaminated).

Even so, within a short period of time, a Eurocanadian resident learned about the accident, and, in what I am convinced was a deliberate effort to embarrass the Council, phoned an account of what had happened to *News of the North* and to the Yellowknife radio station (CBC Mackenzie) whose programs are broadcast throughout the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories. The accident was made to sound extremely serious; yet, by the time the first newscast aired, the spill had already been cleaned up.

Many within the Eurocanadian community took this incident as clear, irrefutable proof that Native people were not ready to run their own affairs. For instance, a nurse, who was quite angry about the spill for what she assured me were medical reasons, also told me that, while Native people ''have to be encouraged,'' they were not yet competent to be self-governing. For the Settlement Council, the incident was highly embarrassing; after all, news of the spill was spread to every community in the Northwest Territories. Some Native Councillors no doubt did question their competence to govern. In those years, Native people sometimes did indulge in self-deni-

gration, attributing to themselves the same shortcomings that Whites attributed to them (even sometimes including, I am afraid, racial inferiority). For a time, morale was low and one or two Native members seemed ready to resign.

From Christmas time, 1971, until March, 1972, the weather was bitterly cold and very little of note seemed to happen in the community. There were snubs by some Eurocanadians directed towards Native people, towards Jack, the priest, and towards me since I associated almost entirely with Native people. I was told that some Whites had come to suspect me of being an "outside agitator." After all, the "trouble" did not begin until I came to the community, and began associating with Native people.

Although little appeared to be happening, the cold and dark weeks of winter provided a setting in which the negative feelings of Eurocanadians could become even stronger, simply because people were confined indoors with few leisure-time diversions. I was told by one of the White people, who later became a supporter of the Council, that increasingly exaggerated gossip concerning the alleged ineptness of the Settlement Council was a dominant theme at Eurocanadian weekend parties. The consensus-seeking process which occurred at Council meetings was considered a chaotic waste of time, inevitably resulting in disasters such as the sewage truck episode. Had more been happening in the community, and hence more to talk about, White antipathy towards the Council might not have increased. In actuality, apart from the sewage truck fiasco, the Council's work had been very impressive.

On one occasion, at a community Valentine's Day dance which the Settlement Council had appointed several young people to organize, a male school teacher, who was very drunk, told Francois that "you bush niggers better stop what you are doing or you are going to be sorry." Francois, however, did not regard the threat as serious for the teacher was drunk. It was customary to ignore what anyone said, Native or White, when drunk. At the same event, a slightly tipsy nurse told Jack that he was the worst administrator in the north — an opinion which Jack said might well be correct.

In mid-March, the Settlement Council, having apparently taken the Community Club at its word, sponsored the winter carnival. Prize money for the dog sled race, snowshoe race, tea boiling contest and other events was raised at dances (such as the Valentine's Day dance) and at bingo games that the Council had sponsored in previous weeks. Native Council members demonstrated considerable initiative in ensuring that these things were done, an initiative never before apparent in the community.

The winter carnival, however, came off according to "Indian time." That is, while a schedule of events was carefully prepared beforehand by young Native people, no event really occurred at its appointed time and sometimes

not even at its appointed place. Native people more or less "magically" appeared and the event, sooner or later, occurred. Yet, all seemed to enjoy themselves. All, that is, but the few Eurocanadians attending, who appeared to have little fun. There were many loud complaints made by them concerning how ruinously disorganized the carnival was. Some of the comments that I overheard Eurocanadians make about the carnival's organizers seemed bizarrely vituperative.

Not long after the carnival, two Métis Settlement Councillors resigned. The initial experiment in self-determination was clearly threatened, for other Native people on the Council were stunned by their resignations. The men who resigned were two of the five Native people in town to have full-time jobs and I was told that they were afraid of losing them if they continued serving on the Council. One of these in particular was said to be receiving "an earful all the time" from his employer. The latter had even made a thinly veiled threat to fire him if he continued serving on the Council.

The remaining original Councillors were also discouraged by remarks they were receiving from certain respected Native people in the community. The latter were saying that Settlement Council efforts were "bad for the Indians." Some of these people were expressing their fear of what the powerful Eurocanadians might do if the Indians and Métis continued to assert their political rights. One Métis friend simply told me, "It's no telling what these [White] people might do if you get them mad enough." It seemed that most Native people who had much to do with the White community in daily life were subject to hearing derogatory comments about the Settlement Council. Yet, more subtly, for the more traditional Dene in town, the simple fact that the Council was incurring the anger of some White people was upsetting. For deliberately to create disharmony is, in the traditional Dene world view, to invite disaster (see D. Smith 1985). Since many shared Francois' original view of community politics — that it had little to do with "really Indian" matters — incurring the wrath of White people seemed all the more foolish. What struck me as being paradoxical was that these same people also found the conditions within the community unacceptable.

All the same, Council morale rose when two respected older men, one Métis and one Indian, replaced the two Councillors that had resigned. The Council now consisted of three Indians, four Métis and one Eurocanadian.

In late April, the tensions in the settlement quickly came to a head. The occasion was a teacher's meeting held in the community to discuss an innovative mode of classroom instruction being introduced in various northern elementary schools. Teachers from different communities and the Superintendent of Schools gathered in this community since the settlement's new

school had been designed with this new method of instruction in mind. However, once again, no one bothered to invite any Native people.

Two Settlement Councillors, one of them Francois, after discussing the matter with other Councillors and probably a Native elder, decided to attend the meeting uninvited which, from the Native standpoint (and from my standpoint) required considerable courage. It was also deliberately provocative, something they had tried to avoid. Yet, they felt that such expressions of disrespect could no longer remain unchallenged.

Francois had made up his mind to confront the Superintendent and to risk whatever the consequences of this confrontation might be for himself and for the Native community. While it was not appropriate for me to attend the meeting, I have a good idea of what Francois said, for he used me to play the role of the shocked Superintendent as he practised his statement.

He informed the Superintendent that, when a meeting was called in the settlement concerning the education of Native children, the people wanted, at the very least, to have representatives on hand as observers. He went on to say that he considered it insulting that the White educators had not seen fit to invite any Indian or Métis people to their meeting. The dumbfounded Superintendent said he understood, that he was sorry and, some little while later, after regaining his composure, conveyed his strong annoyance with this oversight to the school principal who had been responsible for making the local arrangements for the meeting.

While no doubt embarrassed, the principal seemed to take the matter in stride, even though his concept of professionalism did not make acceptable the presence of "laymen" of whatever ethnic stripe at such a meeting. However, the principal's wife, herself a school teacher and a vocal member of the Eurocanadian community, was extremely upset with this event and became abusive in her comments to the Superintendent and to the Native Councillors. She had been generally disturbed by what she felt was happening in the settlement as a result of the Settlement Council's activism and told the Councillors that she had "had it with their [the Council's] f——ing cheekiness."

Meanwhile, ever aware of the vigour of Settlement Council activity, but, as a result of Jack's regular reports, equally conscious of the antagonistic response of a considerable number of the Eurocanadian residents, the Local Government branch sent three important officials to the community. They were to hold a special two-day conference for all government personnel; again, nearly all Eurocanadians in the settlement were government employees. The purpose of the conference was to clarify the government's "developmental approach." While I found their presentations vague, I was told that the "plain English" message was supposed to be: "By all means become involved in community life. But remember that you are transients

while Native people must live here all of their lives. Besides, the time has come for the local residents of northern communities to run their own affairs. Above all, don't pick at them as they try.''

While officials' presentations were none too clear, they were not incoherent and they did not seem antagonistic. Yet, their presentations engendered responses that seemed irrational or at least non-rational. The response of the few Eurocanadian government personnel who had always seemed positive in their attitude and behaviour towards Native people and the Settlement Council was to feel genuinely hurt; they felt that they had been criticized when they did not deserve to be. The response of the majority of the Eurocanadians, who by now seemed antagonistic to the Settlement Council, was one of undisguised anger. They were particularly livid at being called transients even though virtually all government personnel *were* highly transient.

The principal's wife called the CBC radio station in Yellowknife and her recorded statement was aired verbatim. The substance of her statement was: The government people in the Settlement had been told to stay out of local community affairs. She said they were termed transients when some of them had been there three years. Warming to her task, she went on to report that the community had received, largely through local White efforts, a new school, a new nursing station and low-cost rental housing units. Since 90 percent of the local Native people were on welfare, paid for by Eurocanadian taxes, she concluded in very strident terms, ''What *more* could they possibly want from us?''

As a result of this report, which virtually everyone in town heard on the radio, a great deal of additional tension developed. One could see it in both Eurocanadian and Dene faces. Apparently my senses did not deceive me for, two days after the school teacher's radio comments, the Community Club President invited Francois and Jack to the Club's evening meeting for what he termed, trying hard to display a sense of humour, a ''showdown.'' As a result of his invitation, a number of Eurocanadian members of the Club, including the principal and his wife, resigned in disgust.

I was told that at the ''showdown'' influential Eurocanadian Club members and the Settlement Council began a truly amiable dialogue. Francois, having discussed matters with Victoria and members of the Settlement Council, carefully outlined what he felt were the motives and goals of the Council, and of Native people more generally. He indicated that it had never been their intention to ''freeze out'' the local Eurocanadian population and that they were always grateful for their help when appropriately given.

It needs to be stressed that the single Eurocanadian on the Settlement Council, who described himself as a conservative, was in agreement with most actions of the Council. His contributions made him well respected by other Councillors and, in spite of very conservative political views, he was

neither isolated nor embittered if he disagreed with the majority. Indeed, he demonstrated considerable strength of character, for a number of Eurocanadians, whom he had thought to be his friends, were highly critical of his service on the Council.

Actually, as suggested earlier, the Council had abandoned the formal procedures that were supposed to be followed at Council meetings, and deliberately chose to adopt the subtle processes of consensus seeking for which American Indians are so justly famous. More will be said about Council political processes in the conclusion of this essay.

At the "showdown," Jack indicated that, since they lived there (for however short a time), it was just and fair that Eurocanadians have a say in local politics. But he then outlined the history of Indian and Métis experience with Eurocanadian personnel and institutions. This subject was the focus of my study of contact history and I had shared what I had learned with Jack. He concentrated on the ever-growing economic and political dependency which had occurred during the 20th century, and its negative consequences for Native culture and society. Community Club members had no knowledge of this historic process, I was told they listened with patience and interest, asking frequent questions.

Their dialogue lasted into the early morning hours. Discussion centred on the plans and hopes of Council members, and other Native leaders, for the future of the settlement. The remaining Eurocanadian Community Club members explored ways in which they thought they might be able to assist in realizing the goals of self-determination, as Native residents defined these goals.

An appropriate conclusion to the events I have described occurred three days after the "showdown." The "ace reporter" of the Yellowknife CBC radio station visited the community unannounced. He spent the entire day there and talked with many people — Indian, Métis and White. The result was, to my mind, a balanced and fair investigative report of the political situation which prevailed in the community. Many Native people asked me if I had heard it. One elderly Métis woman said: 'You know, that's the first time I ever heard anything good about us [Native people] on the radio.''

Interpretation and Conclusion

Information is lacking for a satisfactory discussion of the denouement of this social drama. In subsequent years, as the Dene self-determination movement gathered momentum throughout the north, the Dene Nation was able to re-establish the pre-eminence of the Chief and Band Council as an effective form of government in this settlement. At the same time the Métis people of the Northwest Territories organized (the Métis Association of the

Northwest Territories) and, for a while, a Métis local represented the interests of the Native people who were not on the Treaty band roll.

By the 1980s, the community was governed by a community council representing the interests of all people in the community with a Native community manager as an executive officer and a Chief who, by virtue of his personal abilities, was successfully mediating between the council and community manager. Local government reportedly works fairly well in serving the interests of Native people, although many people are concerned about what will happen if (and when) the present very able Chief resigns (Driedger, personal communication). But it was the events described above which brought Native people their first experience with local community governance, and it is these events which I now give interpretation.

What I find so intriguing about this drama are the symbolic paradoxes which ensnare all three groups. Native people certainly felt the need for change because of the many, sometimes tragic, problems of daily existence, and because of ominous changes underway or portended by such events as the implementation of a new federal Indian policy, and the proposed construction of gas and oil pipelines. Most seemed to understand that Dene cultural survival was seriously threatened. Yet, many people initially felt they had little choice but to remain passive. They had never acted before as a polity; Eurocanadians had always dominated political matters associated with the settlement. White people controlled the jobs and the dispensation of welfare. Indeed, "town," since it had always been dominated by Eurocanadian personnel and institutions, symbolized things White, just as life in the "bush" symbolized things "really Indian." And for the Dene to take action seemed to require adopting political forms and processes contrary to those which were Indian.

Thus, for the Dene, politics was inseparable from the context of a band-level existence in the forest and tundra, and inseparable from Dene sacred beliefs (Ridington 1968, 1988, 1990; Sharp 1988). Traditional Native political processes stress personal autonomy and centre on consensus seeking, which were essential to survival in the difficult northern environment (see, for example, Savashinsky 1974). In the traditional context "power is a relation between a person and his environment including, but not limited to, other people" (Black 1977:147). As regards relationships with human persons (as opposed to other-than-human persons, see Hallowell 1942, 1960) "power needs to be thought of as the ability to accomplish one's own choices, but without any implication that to do so necessitates control over the actions of others" (Sharp 1988:xv). The attempt to control others can, indeed, create disastrous results in a world where what we regard as secular politics is inextricably a part of a broader, sacred context. The quest for harmony is essential because of this sacred context (D. Smith 1985).

For most Eurocanadians, power is usually thought of in connection with the exercise of control over others, with authority being the legitimate exercise of such control, usually given to a representative few. For the Dene, these notions of control have been repugnant and consensus seeking becomes the necessary, generative, empowering process (cf. Swartz, Turner and Tuden 1966:14-22; Swartz 1968:31-32) in which all who may be affected by any decision have an opportunity to participate in its formulation, if they choose to do so. The goal of consensus seeking is, of course, unanimity; but if that fails, it is at least necessary that all those who are affected by a decision be treated with respect and given their say (that is, be given control, or be empowered).

Eurocanadian political procedures, which allow only limited participation and which foster confrontation, have the potential to generate bad feelings between people and therefore "bad luck" — illness, poor hunting, poor fishing or any number of other problems. For instance, these procedures could give rise to medicine fights, which are attempts by sorcerers to make opponents powerless in a physical and spiritual sense (Ridington 1968; Sharp 1986; D. Smith 1990). The need to try to take control and to be confrontational, in order to have decolonialization, was thus not merely contrary to Indian ways; it was fraught with great potential danger. That the White people, resident in town, were upset was a serious matter as was the deliberate confrontation with the superintendent of schools — however necessary, paradoxically, confrontation and striving for control may have been. Because of the nature of power in traditional Indian belief, some respected Native people felt the self-determination effort was "bad for the Indians."

In the end, the paradox of having to exercise power in ways which are inconsistent with traditional Dene ways, may remain a difficult contradiction for a long time to come. For the Dene as a whole have had little choice but to organize as a polity to cope with the machinations of big government and big business and this struggle shows no sign of ending any time soon. As Helm remarks (1980:236) the need for large-scale organizing raises the issue of whether or not Dene "ancient social values and principles based in the small scale intimate society can be sustained, or at least satisfactorily transmuted, rather than obliterated."

Both the local White residents and the Local Government bureaucrats located beyond the community regarded the process of consensus seeking utilized at Council meetings as inefficient and chaotic. They considered it to be evidence of Native peoples' ineptness or inexperience at self-governance. They also felt that Indian political processes inevitably led to problems such as the sewage truck fiasco. Native people needed "encouragement," but sooner or later the Indians had to assimilate Eurocanadian political

processes. It is doubtful if, at that time, any Eurocanadian even considered the possibility of Eurocanadians adopting Dene ways.

Another paradox suggested in the narrative had to do with the fact that the self-determination movement was initiated by young Native people, at least half of whom were young women, and not older males. In traditional Dene society it was the elders, especially male elders, who by virtue of their greater experience and hence knowledge of life in the "bush," were the most influential people. Victoria, as a "new Indian" (Steiner 1968), felt the time had come for her people to take the many risks entailed in Native political activism. Indeed, she felt they had little choice. Victoria, more than any other Native person in town at that time, was influenced by the self-determination efforts underway elsewhere in Canada and the United States. She also seemed to realize that the time was ripe for pressuring the Department of Local Government. Victoria was certainly a charismatic figure for the young Dene, nearly all of whom could speak, read and write English, as they were strongly influenced by other aspects of Eurocanadian culture (for instance, Eurocanadian youth counterculture). Victoria was also admired by older people because she was well spoken and had a Whiteman's education, but because she was a young woman, obviously quite influenced by White culture, and had essentially no knowledge of traditional Dene life in the "bush," she really had little prestige. In the end, perhaps, it was the priest's influence, more than any other factor, which made it possible for the young people's efforts to "get out the vote" to be as successful — albeit limitedly so — as it was.

As far as local Eurocanadian residents were concerned, despite the presence of a few who believed Native people to be innately inferior and thereby unfit for self-determination, most certainly believed in the Eurocanadian values of freedom and democracy and that these values entailed local Dene rights to be self-determining. Some, I know, were even embarrassed by the fact that they lived in homes clearly superior to the best of government-owned Native rental units. Yet, they did not really expect the Settlement Council election to change the balance of power in the community. When it appeared to be doing so, and when government personnel who were their superiors demonstrated support for the Settlement Council, most found themselves quite disturbed for reasons they could not fully understand nor rationally articulate.

The process of decolonialization that was underway, of course, threatened White objective statuses of privilege; their very occupations were based upon Eurocanadian control. Yet, while this was true and could in part account for their antipathy to the new Council, I felt there had to be something more deeply involved, accounting for their apparently irrational antagonism towards the Council. Moreover, if it was simply a matter of their dominant

occupational statuses being threatened, why did Eurocanadians choose to be
so transient?

After reflection I have come to realize that at least part of what was in-
volved at this deeper level relates to what Freire (1984:532-533) calls
"false generosity," "generosity," that is, that promotes injustice. It was
false generosity which allowed Eurocanadians to accept their positions of
control and still have good "self-images." Due to the "generosity" of Eu-
rocanadians, the Dene were being prepared by White people to one day take
their place as equals in Canadian society. Local Eurocanadians, as evinced
in the school teacher's radio comments, felt they were the ones chiefly re-
sponsible for ensuring that new housing came, a school was built, and wel-
fare dispensed. But of course for Eurocanadians to express their "generos-
ity," injustice had to be perpetuated, not ended; the Dene needed to be "en-
couraged," but they were not ready for running their own affairs, and
presumably would not be ready for some time to come. Only when they had
properly assimilated White culture — for instance, when they could run a
winter carnival in accordance with precise schedules of times and places for
events or run a Council meeting according to parliamentary rules of proce-
dure — would they truly be ready to take their place as equals in the "Cana-
dian Mosaic."

It was false generosity which led the school teacher to ask, in plaintive
terms: "What *more* could they possibly want from us?" Had not the local
Eurocanadians always been humanitarians, having the best interests of Na-
tive peoples in mind and at heart? And yet, not only were the Native people
dissatisfied and ungracious after all they had done, the superiors of the Eu-
rocanadians in the government bureaucracy supported the Native people
and called the local White people transients. For them to do so seemed to
denigrate all that the local Eurocanadians had accomplished on behalf of
Native people. In symbolic terms, the Department of Local Government had
struck at perhaps the only factor which, at a deep level, local Eurocanadians
could use to justify to themselves their positions of economic privilege and
political domination, that is, their role as humanitarian benefactors.

The point that the school teacher and other local Whites missed is that
humanitarianism which furthers colonial domination is dehumanizing; it is
thus false generosity. Moreover, local Eurocanadians seemed able to over-
look all kinds of problems extant in the community, in part perhaps because
they were mesmerized by the belief that they were being humane and gener-
ous. Furthermore, their ignorance of northern history, combined with the
brief periods of time most were in the community, caused their failure to
understand that they were, to use a now quaint expression, more a part of
the problem than a part of the solution.

What I am talking about under the rubric of "false generosity" is, of course, an aspect of what was known to colonialists during the heyday of colonialism as "The Whiteman's Burden." False generosity also made it possible for American slaveholders to justify slavery to themselves and to each other even where it was contradictory to some of their most cherished values. And just as the culture in which slavery flourished was an historical creation of both the slaver and the slave — as Genovese (1971; 1976) so brilliantly demonstrates — so also, as we have seen, the barriers to decolonialization in northern Canada are, paradoxically, the historic products of both Eurocanadian and Dene cultures.

Officials of the Local Government branch in Yellowknife supported the nascent self-determination movement partly because they believed in self-determination — in ethnocentric terms, of course — and because of their ambitions to attain provincial status for the Northwest Territories. None ever considered, so far as I am aware, that self-determination might have to occur in terms quite different from the Eurocanadian; they simply assumed that Native political processes must harmonize with Eurocanadian political forms. While they were impressed with Native activism, they were distressed by Council procedures and found them acceptable only for an interim period as the Dene familiarized themselves with "proper" procedures. Hence, their support of the decolonialization movement in this northern town was motivated by a false generosity which imagined that Native people could be free and equal under an imposed, foreign form of government. It was also one which could be rigidly controlled by themselves, a matter Wilf Bean, a former member of the Local Government branch, explores in his article "Colonialism in the Communities" (1977). Bean also has written (1977:137):

> Despite the individual beliefs of various local government officers, the territorial administration as a whole has had no serious intent of allowing either communities or Native peoples any significant degree of autonomy or any real chance to run their own affairs.

In my view many Local Government people were sincere in their desire to see self-determination occur in this settlement; but Bean throws open to question whether or not the territorial government as a whole then truly sought such ends.

In writing this essay I have become ever more convinced that fieldwork is, as Marcus (1986:166) remarks, central to bottom-up building and reconstructing of classic theories regarding political and economic change. For I think the present study of the praxis of a local level self-determination movement has revealed subtle symbolic barriers to political and economic change which might otherwise remain unrevealed, since they involve mat-

ters which are liminal (for instance, the sacred dimensions of Dene political processes; the underlying reason for Eurocanadian antipathy toward the movement).

Achieving a post-colonial society requires changing ways of giving meaning to experience which are strongly embedded in the cultures of the colonized and the colonizer, and which are also products of their historical interaction. It therefore becomes evident, as Freire (1984:532) suggests, that "the great humanistic and historical task of the oppressed [is] to liberate themselves and their oppressors as well."

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. While stylistically awkward, I eschew mentioning this settlement by name to avoid any unpleasant repercussions for the key actors in this drama. Since those familiar with my work will know the identity of the town, and since others can discover this identity with little difficulty, I must trust readers to be discreet.
2. Denendeh is to be a province-like jurisdiction within the geographic area of traditional Indian occupancy, incorporating features meant to ensure meaningful Dene cultural survival (for details on the nature of Denendeh, see Asch 1984).
3. At a couple of points I am unable to provide as rich an account as I would like since I was in the "bush" with hunters and trappers and had to learn about events second-hand on my return. Also, I feel obliged not to elaborate on certain matters for ethical reasons.
4. All personal names used in this account are of course pseudonyms.
5. The ethnic diversity of this community, combined in complex ways with major historical acculturative pressures and demoralization in consequence of the deaths of many respected elders due to disease, made the chief and councillor system ineffective by the 1940s.

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THE TASO RESEARCH PROGRAM: RETROSPECT AND PROSPECT

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Abstract: Collaborative interdisciplinary research teams are still relatively unusual within the social sciences. Teams that combine both social and physical scientists are even more rare. Yet there are major research opportunities and challenges offered when distinct, yet complementary, foci of expertise are brought to bear on a common empirical problem.

In this paper, we begin by introducing McMaster University's Research Program for Technology Assessment in Subarctic Ontario (TASO). We summarize briefly the first phase of these research activities in Northern Ontario, and its accomplishments, and outline the projected second phase of our research which is focussed on community economic and social development among the Cree communities of the Mushkegowuk Tribal Council.

Résumé: Il est encore rare dans les sciences sociales de trouver des équipes de recherches interdisciplinaires qui collaborent. Même plus exceptionelles sont les équipes rassemblant des chercheurs provenant des sciences sociales et physiques. Cependant, il y a d'amples opportunités de travaux de recherches, et de défis qui se présentent lorsque des disciplines distinctes mais complémentaires sont mises à l'oeuvre afin de résoudre un problème empirique commun.

Cet article décrit le Programme... (TASO) de l'Université McMaster. Les auteurs présentent brièvement la première phase des activités de recherches dans le nord de l'Ontario et les résultats obtenus. Ils esquissent la seconde phase prévue qui mettra l'accent sur le dveloppement social et économique communautaire parmi les communautés Cree du Conseil Tribal Mushkegowuk.

The TASO Research Program

In the early 1980s, several McMaster faculty members with long-term interests in northern research made the commitment to work together on a major new project in the James Bay region. The background to this collaboration was an emergent friendship and growing awareness of common interests arising through work on the President's Committee on Northern Studies. This body was founded in the 1970s to obtain funding from the federal Department of Indian and Northern Affairs for graduate student training in northern research. The program was markedly successful in recruiting graduate students into northern research careers. The sheer enjoyment of its intellectual activities (e.g., seminars) soon overshadowed the Committee's funding activities and made for unusual collegiality among McMaster's northernists. When the opportunity was presented early in the 1980s, several faculty members were stimulated to move beyond their individual research careers into collaborative research on a multidisciplinary scale.

We proposed to do collaborative research on the probable environmental, social and economic impacts of hydro-electric projects then being planned for Northern Ontario by Ontario Hydro. For some years, we had been concerned about the lack of advance study and the inadequate scientific knowledge of the environmental and social effects of the Baie James hydro-electric project in northern Quebec. When Ontario Hydro's plans were announced, our attention immediately turned to Northern Ontario. Established as TASO, we received generous seed funding from the Donner (Canadian) Foundation, and subsequently received major funding support from SSHRCC and NSERC.[2]

TASO Results: Phase One

The research program was focussed initially on the Moose River Basin, where Ontario Hydro's expansion plans were most imminent. The program was broken down into two main parts — environmental research, conducted by physical scientists (biologists, climatologists and hydrologists), and social and economic research, conducted by social scientists (anthropologists and economists). These components involved the six principal investigators and their teams of graduate and undergraduate students, and, in the case of the anthropology component, several Native researchers from the communities of Moose Factory and Moosonee.

Environmental Research

The environmental component of TASO's research program studied the micro-climate, hydrology and plant ecology of the west coast zone of James Bay. Our major concerns included: the examination of the interrelations be-

tween freshwater drainage and the local climate, coastal plant growth, Bay water and ice conditions; the determination of the extent to which changes in freshwater flows, resulting from hydro-electric dam impoundments, would affect the coastal environment.

With the approval and logistical assistance of the Moose Factory Band Council, environmental research began on a site near the mouth of the Kesagami River in 1984. After two field seasons, a more northerly research field station was established north of the Ekwan River. The environmental studies had three main components: climatology, hydrology and biology.
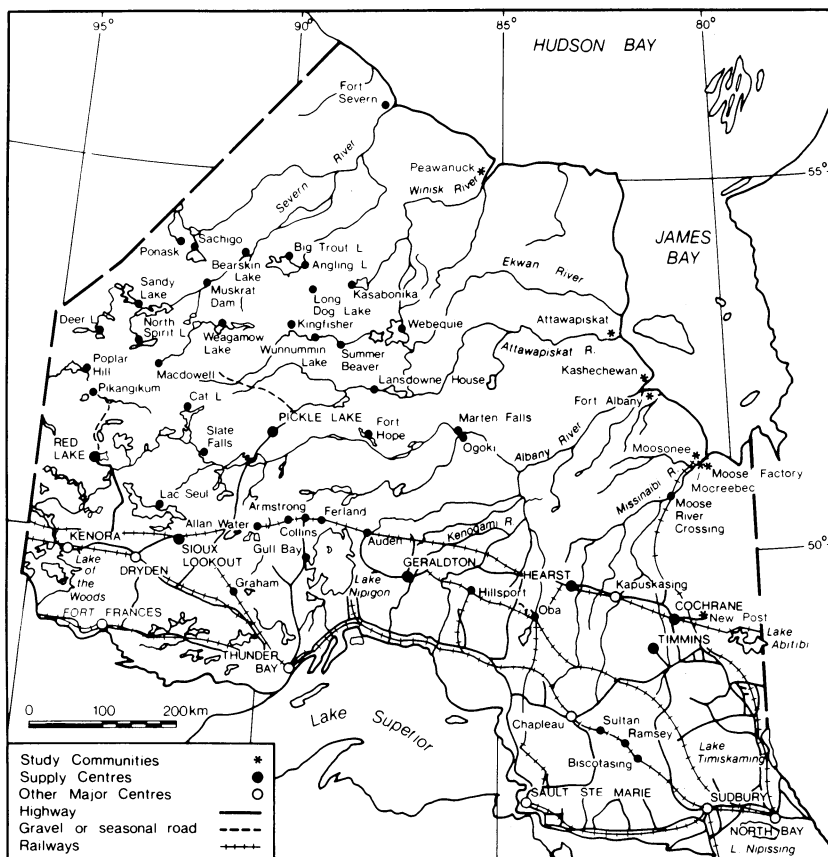
(i) Climatology
Working in conjunction with the hydrology and biology groups at the Kesagami River and Ekwan sites, the climatology group concentrated on measuring the balance of solar energy, water absorption and evaporation in

the main coastal vegetation zones. This research covered full growing seasons for all major vegetation types, including upland sedge grass meadow, lowland sedge swamp meadow, willow-alder swampland, and spruce and larch forests. These measurements have been employed in the development and testing of statistical evaporation models used to predict some of the environmental effects of changes in freshwater regimes resulting from water impoundments and diversions, and of expected circumpolar climate warming (the "Greenhouse" effect).

(ii) Hydrology

The hydrologists have made detailed studies of the flooding of wetlands by groundwater seepage and overland flow of snowmelt, ice-blocked and beaver-dammed streams, and rainfall. Group members have analyzed variations in the annual cycle of streamflow in the coastal region, and the effects of water diversion projects on the Albany-English and Ogoki Rivers, and the Kenogami-Long Lake system, which have greatly altered the natural rhythms of run-off. Much of their work has focussed on water and salt mixtures and movements in coastal marshes near the Kesagami and Ekwan sites. They discovered that, whereas much of the marsh salt at Ekwan is the residue of evaporated tidewater, the salt found in Kesagami's coastal marshes is leached up from early post-glacial sediments rather than deposited by incursions of tidewater from James Bay. These findings are important because salt levels influence the survival and growth of marsh grasses, and hence the life cycles of waterfowl and animal populations that use them.

(iii) Biology

The biology group has studied the main types of plant communities at the Kesagami and Ekwan coastal areas, particularly the different distributions of plants found in the raised beach and wetland zones. The raised beaches show the development of vegetation types that come with increasing age, height and drainage, culminating in spruce and larch woodland. The wetlands too show successive stages of plant development, over the range from most to least saline water conditions. Input from these studies is contributing to the development of statistical models to predict the effects of changing water conditions associated with water diversion projects on plant life and other ecological circumstances.

Additional details on the environmental research program can be found in TASO Report No. 31 (George and Preston 1989).

Social-scientific Research

Like the environmental researchers, the anthropologists and economists in TASO have also been concerned with identifying and assessing the impacts of resource-based development. However, as might be expected, the social and economic research programs have been more directly related to the indigenous Cree Indian populations of the James Bay coast and the factors influencing their historical and current social and economic conditions. We turn now to a discussion of some of the highlights of TASO's social scientific research.

(i) Economics

The economists have focussed on two main areas of study: the costs and benefits of northern energy resource development alternatives, and the evolution of the local economies of James Bay coastal communities.

The precipitating factor in the establishment of TASO was the indication that Ontario was conducting economic investigations and site analyses for the expansion of hydro-electric capacity and construction of new capacity in Northern Ontario. TASO undertook a number of studies in an attempt to assess the likelihood that Ontario Hydro would have an economic incentive, based on expected economic gains, to expand its northern operations in the James Bay drainage basin. The proposed northern projects in the TASO study included the Little Jackfish River, the Lower Mattagami River redevelopment and the Moose River Basin new sites. The basic questions were: would the northern hydro-electric projects yield economic rents? When would be the best time to undertake them? What would be the cost of delaying them? The cost-benefit analysis was posed as a linear programming problem, with Ontario Hydro's objective being the minimization of system costs, given constraints on demand growth, existing capacity, costs of alternative generation, etc. Unfortunately, a second set of questions concerning the impacts of hydro-electric expansion on Native peoples and the environment was addressed only in a cursory way.

The preliminary study (TASO Report No. 1; Muller and George 1983) reported the results of the cost-benefit analysis of ten proposed hydro-electric projects in Northern Ontario then under active consideration by Ontario, and on exploratory estimates of the environmental costs likely to be associated with the projects. The partial net benefits from hydro-electric expansion of the Lower Mattagami River complex and construction of the new sites in the Moose River Basin were estimated to be of the order of $125 million if coal-fired generating capacity remained in use, and about $1000 million if excess coal capacity was unavailable (as might be the case if acid-rain legislation made coal-fired plants unacceptable). Together with a preliminary estimate of maximum environmental costs in the Moose River sys-

tem of approximately $22.5 million, the cost-benefit analysis suggested that the projects would generate sufficient partial net benefits to more than compensate for the environmental costs incurred. The tentative conclusions were, then, that the net benefits to Canadian society from hydro-electric development in Northern Ontario would be large, and that the projects would be a "socially profitable" investment. However, these findings would need to be refined as more complete data on local social impacts and environmental consequences becomes available.

The second study (TASO Report No. 13; Muller and George 1985) refined the cost-benefit analysis to investigate the optimal expansion of Ontario Hydro, taking into account tha basic alternative generating modes of hydro-electricity, coal-fired and nuclear power. The conclusion was that new hydraulic development proposed for the Moose River Basin did yield economic rents to Ontario Hydro at start-up of $275 million (valued at $132 million in 1985), that development would be most profitable in the period 2000-2004, and that the opportunity cost of postponing the projects rose fairly rapidly over time. It was clear too that nuclear power (a good steady output source) and hydraulic generation (with good peak-period response) should be regarded as complements rather than as substitutes in Ontario's expansion plans. (Coal-fired generation is likely to be phased out as hydraulic and nuclear generation expands.) Finally, this study did not address any of the social costs which such developments imposed on other social groups, particularly Native peoples (except insofar as they were reflected in the financial costs borne by Ontario Hydro), and this was a distinct limitation of the analysis.

A third study on hydro-electric power (TASO Report No. 27; George and Van Schaik 1988) examined the factors influencing the choice of small-scale, hydro-electric generation in the electrification of remote Indian communities in Northern Ontario. The study concluded that small-scale hydro was a realistic, cost-effective solution to electricity-supply problems in many such communities compared with the most usual alternative, diesel generation, and was more likely to be compatible with the economic and social goals of Native peoples than large-scale projects, because of its minimal environmental damage.

The other major policy analysis undertaken as part of the TASO program was Andrew Muller's "back of the envelope" cost-benefit analysis of the GRAND Canal project (TASO Report No. 26; Muller 1988). This scheme calls for conversion of all or parts of James Bay into a freshwater lake which would accumulate run-off from northern rivers in Ontario and Quebec. The water would then be pumped south to the Great Lakes for consumption, export to the United States and stabilization of lake levels.

The specific problems posed by Muller, again cast in a benefit-cost framework, was whether this project would yield economic rents. Although estimated costs and benefits were crude, they provided rough order-of-magnitude estimates which led to the conclusion that the GRAND Canal scheme would not be economically viable. Estimated benefits were but a small fraction of estimated costs, even before identification and quantification of social costs, environmental costs and the opportunity cost of water itself. Indeed, the cost of delivering water to the Great Lakes was estimated to be in the order of $145-$300/Ml ($1Ml = 1000m^3$), far in excess of current costs of water delivery to markets surrounding the Great Lakes. The major problem confronting proponents of the GRAND Canal project, then, is that there is no identifiable market for water at the range of prices necessary to meet delivery costs. To reverse this assessment would require identification of a large potential market for exported water and a well-specified engineering plan to deliver water at costs far below those now contemplated.

New hydro-electric developments and redevelopment of existing sites are prominent in Ontario Hydro's latest expansion program (Ontario Hydro 1989). Indeed, further development of the Moose River Basin is once again part of Ontario Hydro's expansion agenda, and is soon to be the subject of environmental assessment hearings. Moreover, the GRAND Canal scheme continues to receive occasional attention at "think-tanks" and in the media, latterly as an adjunct of Phase Two of Quebec's James Bay project, notwithstanding the common fears of disastrous environmental consequences and the possibly huge economic losses associated with the project.

TASO's studies of regional economic history suggest that the economy of the James Bay Cree communities has adapted into a combination of traditional pursuits (hunting, trapping, fishing and fowling), government transfer payments and wage work, and that community and regional economic development is most likely to succeed through an understanding and extension of this locally evolving process.

The West Main Cree have adapted to European technology and institutions without cultural disintegration (TASO Report No. 25; George and Preston 1987). The Cree have readily made use of European "tools" (e.g., steel traps, guns, skidoos) which increased the efficiency of the trapline and the hunt. European institutions, such as the fur trade, government services, education and Christian religions, etc., have introduced even more profound changes into Cree society. Village residence has become the norm, and Cree life has become more complex, extending beyond the traditional emphasis on family, kin and hunting group to participation in a "political" structure which is perhaps the most pervasive European technological import of all.

"Going in Between" (George and Preston 1987) was a study of the place of work and wage employment within this changing Cree environment. The

social and cultural context of work is very significant to the Cree, and European insensitivities on this point have often led to their misunderstanding, historically, the Cree's cultural aversion to wage work. In the 20th century, this aversion has gradually been submerged by the North American industrial work ethic, and most Cree now are willing and indeed anxious to accept wage work. Indeed, as was shown in many submissions to the Ontario Royal Commission on the Northern Environment, the Cree want to see the local wage economy expanded and, at the same time, desire increased access to traditional resource-based activities to ensure cultural continuity. Wage employment, whether full-time or part-time, is necessary to enjoy higher levels of consumption and a better quality of life, and to accumulate funds to underwrite the expenses of hunting and trapping, even if only for short-term or recreational purposes. One of the most important challenges facing the Cree, and other aboriginal communities, is to identify economic and institutional mechanisms which will enhance the local delivery of these joint goals of increased wage employment and access to traditional pursuits.

TASO's work on community development has been exploratory to date, and its tentative conclusions (TASO Report No. 28; George 1989) pointed to the need for further detailed study, a need which has since become the focus of the second phase of the TASO project and is now underway. (See below.)

The basic challenge in community development is to identify and establish sound economic bases for Native communities. The sources of Native income and employment can be identified as the traditional-subsistence sector, the wage and proprietorial sectors, and welfare and transfer payments. The most important goal is to increase earned incomes as a share of total income. Cree wish to participate in the wage economy, even though they are aware of the costs of doing so (e.g., the conflict of traditional values with personal characteristics inculcated by the wage economy, the danger of separation from the community as a consequence of job mobility, the spiritual alienation from the land implied by some types of non-renewable resource extraction. The apparent trade-offs between lost traditional values and pursuits, and increased earned incomes and employment through wage labour are of great concern. The Cree will need to make informed choices about economic alternatives, both through greater skills acquisition, made possible by improved educational and training opportunities, and by the provision locally of a wider range of economic opportunities.

For many Cree communities, improving their economic viability is essential. There are formidable obstacles to the development of wage-employment opportunities, especially in profit-seeking enterprises (such obstacles include low skill levels, low levels of occupational and capital mobility, high input costs, low input availability, low market access). There is grow-

ing interest in promoting private individual-operated business as the focal point of local economic growth. But there are also strong arguments in favour of band development corporations as catalysts of local development; they fall mid-way between private enterprise and public-sector business in terms of performance objectives (e.g., profitability criterion) and, consequently, may be better situated to underwrite some of the costs of promoting complementarity between wage-income and traditional economic activities.

Whatever institutional form business opportunities take, the remote Native communities are concerned to promote increased economic opportunities and stability locally, and the paramaters of community development planning seem to be readily agreed upon: reduced external dependence and greater local control; greater access to and use of locally available resources; a preference for economic diversity and flexibility rather than a one-industry economic base; protection of Indian culture and traditional pursuits.

The practical issues involve questions of "import" substitution and reliance on "exports" — both defined for practical purposes as trading with southern Ontario — and of reliance on "outside" work — again defined as acting on employment opportunities requiring mid- and long-term absences from the community. Nevertheless, there is widespread acknowledgment that meaningful local employment will reduce out-migration, and that small-scale enterprises based on resource-intensive activities and complementary service-sector activities are likely to be the cornerstones of successful community development planning. Strong community leadership will be central to success (see TASO Report No. 20) and changes in the government regulatory framework, both provincially and federally, will likely be necessary to enhance Cree access to the resource base and to investment capital.

(ii) Socio-Cultural Research
This section emphasizes TASO's primary research on the contemporary population and quality of life in four communities in the Mushkegowuk region, ranging in population size from 100 to 2000 and our initial work on the main elements of continuity and change for the region as whole.

TASO Report No. 12 examined the history and contemporary (1983) situation of the hamlet at Moose River Crossing, a community of about 100 Native people who manage without leadership by a band council. This brief study illustrates the first steps in making a baseline profile. It is of particular value because it demonstrates the cultural basis of social organization of all the communities of the region, by emphasizing the importance of extended family kinship in giving a community its informal organization.

About one-third (37) of the people at Moose River Crossing belong to the Moose Factory Band, and another third is almost evenly split between the Albany (21) and Attawapiskat (19) Bands. But most households include descendants of one of the two founding families, and it is the ties of kinship that organize the clusters of the houses, the membership in trapping groups, and the strength of commitment within the community. One older couple comprises the only non-Native household. These factors are fundamental, and are found to underly the more complex social organization of each of the larger communities in the region.

The history and contemporary (1987) situation of the settlement of Peawanuck, newly created after the flood of Winisk, is outlined in TASO Report No. 30. Peawanuck is a community of about 200 Native people with leadership by a chief and council, and membership in a regional administrative council.

These families gathered gradually into a very loosely organized community as a response to the presence of a trading post (from 1901) and an Oblate mission (brief visits from 1900 and permanent residence since 1935) at the mouth of the Winisk River. In 1930 they signed into Treaty No. 9, complying at that time with the government requirement for an elected chief and two councillors (for a population of 85). This form of leadership is tenuous; in the 58 years of the elected chiefship era, there have been 14 elected chiefs.

The people continue to be organized by kinship and family ties and by coaster or inlander orientations; that is to say, families whose traditional ecological orientation has been riverine and coastal (and Cree in their cultural background), and families whose traditional ecological orientation has been inland (mostly descended from Ojibwa who migrated north in the 19th century). Both of these modes of organization are primary factors in the clustering of house sites at the new location at Peawanuck, and in the membership in hunting groups.

By comparison, the history and contemporary (1984) situation of the towns of Moosonee and Moose Factory, the two large, adjacent, complex settlements with quite different histories and contemporary organization, are considered in TASO Report No. 21. The population size is just under 2000 for each, and in each the population consists of fairly large proportions of status and non-status Native people, and of non-Native people, divided into long- and short-term residents.

The focus of this research was on the changing roles of women in domestic and wage work, and data were obtained from 330 women, both Native and non-Native, in five age categories (14-19, 20-29, 30-44, 45-59 and 60 and over). For each group, the report contains a section on childhood experience, formal education, marriage and household, geographical mobility,

work, and leisure and community activities, plus sections on residence, ethnicity and "stake in community." Over half the adult women were employed in 1983. The quantitative data and the statements of individual women show clearly that there have been many, and major, changes in both domestic and wage work during the past 50 years.

However, much of the information in the report refers to the whole population, and the main community institutions and organizations (more than 40) are described. This study gives a good start on understanding the social, ethnic, political, educational, economic, religious, recreational and residential complexity of the two communities. Many of these complexities are trends that may develop in the other Cree communities in the coming years.

Main trends or types of change in the 20th century on the west coast of James Bay (Preston 1986) include: gradually moving the locus of "home" from the bush into town, near the mission and store; getting accustomed to the constraints and opportunities of town life; taking more of a role in a Christian church; learning and using English; learning and using new social categories, such as status and non-status Indians; and learning and using new political strategies, such as negotiation with government agents. We have only very preliminary studies of some of these trends, but for a few we have done more detailed research.

For example, as mentioned above, we have studied the process of economic change in an assessment of the economic strategy of "going in between" a capitalist economy and a hunting-gathering economy (TASO Report No. 25; George and Preston 1987). We found cultural continuity in the strategies with which the Cree adapted to environmental changes for traditional hunting and trapping. Such adaptations have included the technology and bargaining of the fur trade, 20th-century technology and institutions, including wage work alternatives to the annual cycle of getting a living in the bush, and both federally-administered social services and transfer payments and Native-administered services and payments. For many Cree, making a living is something they do in the community, and the bush is now a place where they go in order to touch base with their heritage. For others the bush is still their contemporary hunting and trapping grounds. For all, the economics of life is worked out by "going in between" the old ways and white peoples' ways.

A second type of change of which we have some knowledge is the role of leadership in making responses to developments in the James Bay region. We find that leadership has evolved through several stages. Initially, leadership was provided by the colonial white "bosses" (traders, missionaries) at the trading posts, whereas in the bush a more informal, traditional leadership role was exercised by experienced and competent Cree males. Then, in the early years of this century, the federal model of elected chiefs and coun-

cils was added, shifting in the 1960s and 1970s to young bilingual chiefs whose residential school experience provided them with more than reading, writing and arithmetic. (They grew up in a school system that, without intending to, allowed the young people to develop skills in figuring out how to "negotiate the system." They could then develop these skills as cultural brokers [TASO Report No. 4], which helped them to displace the colonial-style white leaders.) In the 1980s, these young men have grown older and more adapted to their tasks, becoming more experienced and sophisticated bureaucrats, more confident of their independence from local whites, and better able to play the strategies and secure the resources available from within the system of provincial and federal government agencies (TASO Report No. 20).

A third change is the religious movements in the history of the west coast of James Bay, including the prophetic movement led by Wasitay and Abishabis in the 1840s, reaching from Severn to Moose, with hymns and prayers written on small boards or birch bark in syllabics (Preston 1988). This prepared the way for the setting up of missions; for example, we have made a study of Catholicism at Attawapiskat, where a permanent mission was set up in 1905 and where most people became part of a congregation, replaced the old hunting songs with Catholic hymns and learned Cree syllabics to the extent of fair literacy (Preston 1987).

Some Reflections

The first phase of the TASO research program has been a conspicuous success when measured by the customary standards of academic research — research grants awarded, conference presentations, refereed and non-refereed publications.[3] By some other measures, however, the program failed to accomplish all of its objectives. Foremost among these unmet goals was the challenge of integrating the research activities and results of the separate environmental science, socio-cultural and economic research groups. In particular, the environmental scientists found many more common links among the biological, climatological and hydrological research programs than with the work of the social scientists, and vice versa. Among the social scientists, most progress was made in developing a close working relationship, and ultimate consensus on a common research focus on Cree community development and future viability. Even this growing consensus among the social scientists was accompanied by the realization that the first phase of the program had left undone a great deal of important social scientific research, especially in terms of the detailed study of the social and economic determinants of Cree community development.

TASO's Future Agenda

Future environmental science research by members of TASO will likely be much broader in its geographic focus. The growing concern for global climate warming and the "Greenhouse" effect is directing climatological and hydrological research interest away from a narrow focus on James Bay and the James Bay Lowlands, to Hudson Bay and beyond to the Canadian Arctic, and, indeed, to the circumpolar Arctic. Their research on climate modification will continue to be important for plant and animal ecological research and will be relevant to a wide range of northern activities, including hunting and fishing, ocean, river, and overland travel, water supplies, fuel supplies, building materials and so forth.

The geographic concentration on the James Bay Lowlands and its Cree communities remains fundamental to the social scientific aspects of the TASO research program, however. We are now entering a new phase in which the socio-cultural and economic determinants of sustainable community development in the Cree villages of the Mushkegowuk Tribal Council area will be the focus of research.[4] Our research group will study and analyze the baseline characteristics of Cree communities, the obstacles to their development, including governmental regulatory restrictions that curb economic initiatives among Native peoples, and investigate some possible solutions to improve the future viability of such communities. Using a series of community workshops, videos and research reports, the group will help the Cree to identify economic and institutional mechanisms that will enhance the local delivery of the joint goals of greater wage employment opportunities and increased, more secure access to the natural resource base and traditional pursuits.

Regional Economic Development Prospects

Economic prospects are decidedly unfavourable now for remote communities in Northern Ontario. The primary resource-based industries will likely be slow-growing sectors of the Ontario economy for the next several years. Indeed, the more rapid economic growth of the Southern Ontario economy may well attract more migration from Indian communities in the north.

Nevertheless, Native economic development in Northern Ontario is an important public policy issue. In our view, community mobilization is the crucial first step in local development, whether attention is directed to traditional non-wage pursuits at one extreme or to affiliation with the Euro-Canadian wage economy at the other. Economic viability based on local resources and production for local markets will not come easily. High transport and distribution costs, high fuel costs, seasonality and other limitations pose serious obstacles to the stability and scope of local economic opportunity.

There is a distinct need to develop and expand the economic base of Native communities with due regard for their social and cultural priorities in order to better support Indian populations. Small-scale enterprises, compatible with renewable resource use and with traditional Indian culture, are one component in this development strategy. Tourism and outfitting was singled out by the Ontario Royal Commission on the Northern Environment as a priority. Moreover, some non-renewable resource industries under enlightened management (or under joint corporate-Band management) have been supportive of Indian social and cultural priorities. Examples from the Northwest Territories and the Prairie Provinces suggest that, with long-distance commuting and suitable rotational work schedules, the compatibility of non-renewable resource extraction and the continued identification of Native wage-workers with remote reserve communities and traditional ways may be greater than was once believed. Such innovative work arrangements have been slower to develop in Ontario, however. Whatever the alternative, it is important that Band Councils in remote communities stress flexibility and diversity of income and employment in developing local resources, and acknowledge the contribution of traditional economic activity to the stability of community income and employment.

James Bay in the 1990s

The solutions to the immense challenges facing these communities are difficult to conceive. Where does TASO fit? The focus of TASO's current research program is to identify both the general processes and the specific practical steps contributing to community-directed economic development in the Cree villages of the Mushkegowuk Council, and to provide the informational basis for economic choices that may be made at the local level.[5] If such choices are to be realistic, the information will have to be appropriate in form and content for a Cree clientele, workable in terms of economic costs and benefits, and responsive to the resources and constraints of the subarctic environment. We propose, then, to provide background information on changes in traditional economic pursuits, to draw on this information to suggest alternative choices and practical strategies for development, and to make projections regarding the costs and benefits of these strategies.

In June 1989, the authors made a presentation of our proposal to a meeting of the Mushkegowuk Council and received their endorsement of our project. Three principal components of the project correspond to the three main categories of economic activities — traditional pursuits, new resource-based activities and locally administered services.

(i) Traditional Pursuits

Basic studies will be undertaken of land occupancy and use over the past 100 years, showing patterns of continuity and change, and relating these changes to the increasing influence of government programs such as medical services, family allowance and welfare payments, schooling, housing, and employment projects. Local-level management of resources will be a primary focus of our inquiry, involving several related themes: the study of traditional and neo-traditional leadership systems in the utilization of game populations, in particular the role of trapping territory leaders and the institution of hunter-trapper associations; an examination of whether these institutions may have a role in economic development planning; the study of the feasibility of co-management of local resources — that is, the sharing of management responsibilities between local Cree institutions and the Ontario Ministry of Natural Resources; an examination of the local Native land ethic, stewardship principles and hunting rules, in order better to understand how compatible they are with an integrated management or co-management of the region's resources.

The land-use studies will provide the historical basis to interpret present patterns of resource use and social organization, just as our studies of land stewardship will help determine the capacity of Native leadership institutions for community development planning and the conditions under which community-based resource management can be expected to work.

(ii) New Resource-Based Economic Activities

This research will require: an examination of the contemporary employment patterns and trends and economic institutions among Cree First Nations; the identification and analysis of resource-based industrial and service-sector opportunities, including mining, hydro-electricity and tourism; the study of the impact of the existing regulatory environment on Cree economic behaviour, and the identification of changes in the regulatory framework necessary to improve entrepreneurial and investment potential among the Cree.

The fundamental challenge is to identify ways in which the Cree can lower the risks of investment and increase the gains from productive economic activity, especially through increased and more secure access to the resource base. Appropriate adjustments in the regulatory framework may facilitate the redirection of traditional Cree rent-seeking behaviour to the exploitation of new resource-intensive and complementary service-sector activities.

(iii) Locally Administered Services

Impending decentralization and the announcement of the federal government's Aboriginal Economic Development Strategy make local services a critical part of the project. Our investigations will include: studying the op-

portunities and risks associated with the devolution of functions performed by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Health and Welfare Canada, and other relevant ministries, and with increased provincial government support for more locally administered services and revenues; and identifying ways in which this decentralization will give communities increased ability to identify and relate local needs and development opportunities to external sources of capital, skills and markets. Locally administered services are likely to offer significant employment creation in remote Indian communities, and to give these communities greater control over development initiatives. At present, without adequate preparation, bands run the risk of being charged with taking on the administration of economically weak programs currently being managed or advanced by the federal government. Their assumption of these responsibilities should be predicated on definitive analysis of existing community economic bases and identification of sound economic developmental opportunities. Our study will build, in part, on earlier research on changing styles of Cree leadership and the role of leadership in responding to developments in the James Bay region.

In effect, by aiming to conserve and utilize renewable resources while investigating resource-based industries and local services, the TASO project seeks to operationalize a kind of "mixed" economy or "sustainable" development discussed in Canada at least since the Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry. The project is ultimately focussed on the ways in which Cree culture and social values can inform formal economic analysis, help identify and mobilize support for "profitable," culturally compatible, economic activities, and thereby increase the economic viability of remote Cree communities. In our view, not only will improving the economic viability of these communities contribute to greater Cree employment and wage income, but it will also help to promote Cree goals of increased cultural autonomy and self-determination.

Summary and Conclusions

The Indians of Northern Ontario are wrestling with complex issues of community development strategy and resource mobilization. Development tied to non-renewable resources runs the risk of increased dependency on the south. Growth based on the renewable resource base alone risks a low-income equilibrium. In either case, the future vitality of remote reserve community life depends on careful articulation and monitoring of the relationship between wage employment and traditional economic pursuits, and the development of a culturally appropriate institutional framework for community economic planning.

The TASO project directly addresses these important public policy is-
sues. We hope that our findings will prove useful for the Mushkegowuk
Council and its constituent First Nations (Peawanuk, Attawapiskat,
Kashechewan, Fort Albany, Moose Factory, Mocreebec, Moosonee and
New Post) in their attempts to improve community economic viability and
to increase community and regional independence. We hope too that our
methods and results will contribute to solving some of the persistent eco-
nomic challenges facing other aboriginal communities in Canada and else-
where in the world. Admittedly, these are ambitious, perhaps even immod-
est goals for TASO.

Ultimately, in northern research, the research findings of social scientists
and the results of environmental science are linked together through the in-
teraction effects of environmental, social and economic changes on northern
populations and communities. Our interdisciplinary cooperation in TASO to
date has been a productive, useful, learning experience for us all and has in-
creased our respective sensitivities to the challenges of research in fields
significantly different from each other's.

There is much to be gained from close collaboration in interdisciplinary
research, and the longstanding working relationships developed in Phase
One of the TASO research program give us confidence that future joint re-
search efforts are practicable and desirable. Clearly, the growing sense of
public concern, indeed urgency, about global climate change and its envi-
ronmental, social and economic repercussions can only heighten the ap-
preciation of interdisciplinary research programs of the kind TASO repre-
sents. On a more cautious note, we are very much aware that cases of suc-
cessful interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research collaboration be-
tween social and physical scientists are rare. Our essential optimism, tem-
pered as it must be by our mixed experiences in Phase One and our knowl-
edge of other interdisciplinary research failures, is conditioned by appropri-
ate doses of healthy scepticism and pragmatic realism. It is a large task, and
a vitally important task, that TASO has assumed, and we can only hope we
are equal to it. The future life-choices of people in many remote Cree com-
munities in Northern Ontario may well depend on our results.

Notes

1. The authors are, respectively, Professor of Economics and Professor of Anthropology,
   and principal investigators in the Research Program for Technology Assessment in
   Subarctic Ontario (TASO), at McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada,
   L8S 4M4. An earlier version of this paper was presented to the Department of Anthro-
   pology's faculty-student seminar at Wilfrid Laurier University, March 1990.
2. The six principal investigators in the first phase of the TASO program were: K.A.
   Kershaw (Biology), M.K. Woo and W.R. Rouse (Geography), P.J. George and R.A.
   Muller (Economics), and R.J. Preston (Anthropology); Preston was also Director of

TASO. Both the significant achievements and some of the unfullfilled expectations of TASO's first phase are summarized in George and Preston 1989.

3. By the end of Phase One, TASO research had resulted in 31 TASO research reports, more than 40 research publications and five graduate and undergraduate theses, all completed with the aid of more than $800 000 in research grants. See George and Preston 1989 for details.

4. Phase Two of TASO's social-scientific research is entitled "Culturally Appropriate Economic Strategies for Locally and Regionally Directed Community Development: The Mushkegowuk Region, James Bay, Ontario," and is being funded by SSHRCC in the amount of $223 625 during 1990-93.

5. Multi-Band groupings such as Tribal Councils may be able to overcome some of the deficiencies of small scale associated with economic decision-making by single Bands. The larger groupings, for example, can better afford to have a permanent staff of economic planning and policy advisors to facilitate the acquisition of specialized knowledge by staff persons, and to hire requisite consulting expertise as needed (Cassidy and Bish 1989).

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			pp. 271-286. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.
	1988	James Bay Syncretism, Persistence and Replacement. *In* Papers from
			the Nineteenth Algonquian Conference, edited by W. Cowan, pp.
			147-156. Ottawa: Carleton University Press.

Appendix: TASO Research Reports

1. *Evaluating the Environmental Impact of Hydroelectric Development in Northern Ontario: A Preliminary Report.* By R.A. Muller and P.J. George. September 1982, 50 pp.
2. *Prediction of Annual Floods in Northern Ontario Basins.* By Ming-ko Woo and Peter Waylen. January 1983, 15 pp., figures.
3. (Out of print. Superceded by TASO Reports Nos. 16 and 17.)
4. *Algonquian People and Energy Development in the Subarctic.* By Richard J. Preston. June 1983, 25 pp.
5. *The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment: Preliminary Hearings, Submissions, and the Interim Report, 1977-78.* By Jennifer M. Blythe. August 1983, 48 pp.
6. *Optimal Expansion of Hydroelectric Capacity in Northern Ontario.* By R.A. Muller and P.J. George. August 1983, 37 pp.
7. *A Survey of Social Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* Vol. 1: *Public Policy and the SIA Process.* By Peggy Martin Brizinski. October 1983, 56 pp.
8. *A Survey of Social Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* Vol. 2: *Baseline Profiling.* By Peggy Martin Brizinski. October 1983, 58 pp.
9. *A Survey of Social Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* Vol. 3: *Projection, Assessment and Evaluation.* By Peggy Martin Brizinski. October 1983, 65 pp.
10. *A Survey of Social Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* Vol. 4: *Social Impact Assessment in the Canadian Northlands: An Introductory Appraisal.* By Peggy Martin Brizinski. September 1983, 99 pp.
11. *A Survey of Social Impact Assessment: Theory and Practice.* Vol. 5: *Bibliography.* By Peggy Martin Brizinski. September 1983, 27 pp.
12. *Moose River, an Unorganized Community in Northeastern Ontario: A Preliminary Report.* By Jennifer M. Blythe. November 1983, 27 pp.
13. *Northern Hydroelectric Development in an Optimal Expansion Program for Ontario Hydro.* By R.A. Muller and P.J. George. April 1984, 33 pp.

14. *Modification of Streamflow Regime by Regulation in Northern Ontario Basins.* By Peter Waylen, Ming-ko Woo and Anne Paterson. August 1984, 41 pp., figures, tables.

15. *The Royal Commission on the Northern Environment: Main Hearings.* By Jennifer M. Blythe. November 1984, 57 pp.

16. *Large-Scale Indicators of the Impact of Hudson and James Bays on Climate in the Hudson Bay Lowlands.* By Richard L. Bello and Wayne R. Rouse. April 1985, 24 pp.

17. *The Potential for Climatic Modification in the Hudson Bay Lowlands through the Influence of the Ocean on the Energy Balance.* By Wayne R. Rouse and Richard L. Bello. May 1985, 27 pp., figures.

18. *Vegetational Analysis of Southern James Bay.* By Kern Ewing and Kenneth A. Kershaw. May 1985, 44 pp., tables, figures, appendices.

19. *Simulation of Snow Depth in the Forest.* By Ming-ko Woo and Peter Steer. May 1985, 13 pp.

20. *Recent Developments in Eastern Cree Leadership.* By Richard J. Preston. May 1985, 18 pp.

21. *I was Never Idle: Women and Work: Moosonee and Moose Factory, Ontario.* By Jennifer M. Blythe, Peggy M. Brizinski and Sarah C. Preston. June 1985, 226 pp.

22. *FORUM: The James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement, Ten Years After.* Montreal, November 14-15, 1985. By Richard J. Preston. December 1985, 26 pp.

23. *Probability Distribution of Low Flows in the Arctic Watershed of Northern Ontario.* By Peter Waylen. March 1986, 32 pp.

24. *The Physical Environment of James Bay and a Preliminary Assessment of Environmental Impacts.* By Steven G. Hardill. July 1986, 50 pp.

25. *"Going in Between": The Impact of European Technology on the Work Patterns of the West Main Cree of Northern Ontario.* By Peter J. George and Richard J. Preston. September 1986, 25 pp.

26. *Some Economics of the Grand Canal.* By R. Andrew Muller. October 1986, 28 pp.

27. *Small-Scale Hydro Development: An Answer to the Energy Needs of Remote Communities in Northern Ontario.* By Peter J. George and David Van Schaik. November 1986, 20 pp.

28. *Native Peoples and Economic Development: Prospects for the Cree and Ojibway Indians of Northern Ontario.* By Peter J. George. September 1987, 31 pp.

29. *Snowmelt and Breakup of Small Rivers along the Southern James Bay Coast.* By Richard Heron, Ming-ko Woo and Peter Steer. January 1988, 34 pp.

30. *The Weenusk Cree: A Preliminary Background Report of Locals, Locations and Relocations.* By Janice E. Graham. March 1988, 58 pp.

31. *TASO Retrospective: An Assessment of the First Phase of the TASO Research Program, 1982-88.* Edited by Peter George and Dick Preston. April 1989, 72 pp.

Note: TASO Research Reports are available at a modest price upon request from Dr. Richard J. Preston, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University, CNH-535, Hamilton, Ontario   L8S 4M4.

CROSS-CULTURAL CORRELATES OF THE OWNERSHIP OF PRIVATE PROPERTY: A LOOK FROM ANOTHER DATA BASE

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Abstract: Swanson's (1966) data base of 39 variables coded on 50 cultures was re-examined for cross-cultural correlates of the private ownership of property. Reliability comparisons were made with Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas*. Eliminated were one of Swanson's cultures because of duplicate sampling of a culture cluster, and seven variables because of doubtful reliability. A conservative statistical analysis (p < .0003) showed the social institution of private ownership to be a positive correlate of (1) social classes, (2) agriculture in grain, (3) supernatural sanctions for morality, (4) primogeniture, (5) active ancestral spirits, (6) sovereign organization, (7) size of population, and a negative correlate of (8) collecting and gathering, (9) outgroup intimacy and (10) hunting. Theories that private property is a function of patriarchy were not supported, nor were arguments that property regimes are advanced by exogamy and other intimate interactions with alien people.

Résumé: La base de données créée par Swanson (1966) et composée de 39 variables codées sur 50 cultures a été réexaminée afin de dégager les corrélations transculturelles de la possession privée de la propriété. Des comparaisons de fiabilité ont été faites à l'aide de l'«Ethnographic Atlas» de Murdock (1967). Une des cultures étudiées par Swanson a été éliminées à cause d'un prélèvement d'échantillons répété sur le même groupe culturel, et sept variables ont été éliminées à cause d'une fiabilité douteuse. Une analyse statistique conservatrice (p < .0003) a démontré l'institution sociale de la possession privée comme une corrélation positive 1) des classes sociales, 2) de l'agriculture des céréales, 3) des sanctions surnaturelles sur la mortalité, 4) de la primogeniture, 5) des esprits ancestraux actifs, 6) de l'organisation d'un souverain, 7) de la grandeur de la population, et comme une corrélation négative 8) de la chasse et de la cueillette, 9) de l'in-

timité en dehors du groupe et 10) de la chasse. Ni les théories de la
propriété privée comme une fonction du patriarcat, ni les arguments
démontrant que les régimes basés sur la propriété sont maintenus par
l'exogamie et d'autres interactions intimes avec des peuples étrangers
n'ont été soutenus.

Introduction

Property is one of the most enduring and cross-disciplinary topics in the so-
cial sciences (Rudmin 1988a, 1988b; Rudmin, Belk and Furby 1987). How-
ever, as noted by Murdock (1949) and by Levinson and Malone (1980), there
have been few cross-cultural, quantitative studies of property. Those that
have been done have lacked appropriate sampling, appropriate measures of
coder reliability and appropriate inferential statistics. This was certainly the
case for Hobhouse, Wheeler and Ginsberg's 1915 study of *The Material Cul-
ture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* and for Simmons' 1937
empirical confirmation of Sumner and Keller's (1927) theories.

However, even as recently as the 1960s, Swanson's (1966) study, *The
Birth of the Gods*, suffers from similar shortcomings. In that study, the
method of sampling was to canvas expert opinion on the ethnographic com-
pleteness and the cultural independence of the 556 societies Murdock
(1957) had tentatively grouped into 50 world regions. Considering only rec-
ommended ethnographies, societies were randomly sampled to represent
each of the 50 regions. However, three regions had no suitable candidates,
and, rather than proceeding with a sample of 47, three regions were ran-
domly selected for duplicate representation. Coder reliability was deter-
mined by a post hoc analysis of only 20 of the 50 societies, and none of the
11 identified unreliable variables were deleted from the analysis or discus-
sion. Finally, the inferential statistic used in the Swanson (1966) study was
the chi-square, even though many of the variables were capable of ordinal
scale statistical analysis. Swanson (1966) reported that private property was
related to only three variables: "Social Classes" (p = .01), "Primary Source
of Food" (p = .02) and "Amount of Bride Price" (p = .10). This last vari-
able had missing data for 40 percent of the sample and had a non-significant
reliability correlation of r = .24 (n = 20, p > .10).

Since future comparative research on property rests on the accumulated
observations of prior research, it is necessary that the historical record be
corrected and made available for confident use. The purpose of the present
study was to reanalyze Swanson's data base in order to identify cross-
cultural correlates of the ownership of private property. This study is but
one step in establishing a replicated record of correlations upon which fu-
ture multivariate, interpretive and experimental studies might be based.

Method

In the present study, the independence of the sampled societies and the reliability of the codings of the variables were established by comparison to data in Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas*. This source was used in preference to Murdock's (1981) more recent *Atlas of World Cultures* for two reasons. First, the *Atlas of World Cultures* includes only 563 cultures and groups them into 150 "provinces" based on criteria of geographic sampling symmetry, i.e., six world regions with 25 cultural provinces per region. The *Ethnographic Atlas*, however, covers 862 cultures and groups them into 412 "culture clusters" based on criteria of cultural similarity due to common derivations and cultural contact. The present study was better served by the greater number of cultures and cultural groups, and by the focus on similarity criteria. Secondly, the *Atlas of World Cultures* eliminated codings for the inheritance of land, and presents only codings for the inheritance of chattel. This may have been in response to Murdock's (1967:59) own criticism of land codings. However, for the present study, Murdock's property inheritance codes were used, with demonstrable reliability, only to establish whether or not property could be privately owned. Coded information on the details of inheritance practices was not used.

Comparable data were available in Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas* for all of Swanson's societies except the Romans, the Karen and the Carib. Murdock's codings on the Romans, however, are available in *Ethnography* (1968 7:218-224) and in the *Atlas of World Cultures* (1981:112-113). These sources were used to correct *Ethnographic Atlas* (1967) codings of nine other cultures. Note that the *Atlas of World Cultures* does have errors and must be used with circumspection. For example, the Nyakyusa are given a value of "T" on variable 39 (Type of Animal Husbandry) but there is no coding for "T" on that variable. The worst error encountered was that variables seven through 28 for the Buka are copied from the same variables for the Trobrianders. These two are adjacent entries in the *Ethnographic Atlas* from which the *Atlas of World Cultures* was selectively copied.

Although Swanson overrepresented three of the 50 world culture groups that Murdock had defined in 1957, there was only one instance of overrepresentation of the 412 world culture clusters defined in the 1967 *Ethnographic Atlas*. Both the Carrier and the Kaska belong to the Carrier-Nahani cluster. To resolve this on a criterion of least missing data, the Carrier were eliminated from analysis in this study and the Kaska retained.

For 42 of the societies, Swanson and Murdock used corresponding names. For three more societies — the Hottentot, the Samoyed and the Timbira — Swanson's culture names correspond to Murdock's culture cluster names, but these clusters each contain only one culture. However, for an-

Table 1

Swanson's Sample		Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas* Sample			
		Culture Clusters		Local Societies	
Name	Missing Data	Code	Name	Name	Code
African Societies					
Hottentot	0	3	Hottentot	Nama	Aa 3
Zulu (post-Shaka)	0	4	Nguni	Zulu	Ab12
Lozi	0	8	Barotseland	Lozi	Ab 3
Bemba	4	14	Bemba-Lamba	Bemba	Ac 3
Nyakyusa	0	17	Ngonde	Nyakyusa	Ad 6
Ganda	0	28	E. Lacustrine Bantu	Ganda	Ad 7
Ga (Temma)	0	45	Akan	Ga	Af43
Tallensi	3	59	Grusi	Tallensi	Ag 4
Tiv	1	64	Tiv-Jukun	Tiv	Ah 3
Azande	0	72	Azande	Azande	Ai 3
Nuer	0	78	N. Nilotes	Nuer	Aj 3
Nandi	3*	83	Nandi	Nandi	Aj 7
Ancient Egyptians	9	113	Ancient Egypt	Egyptians	Cd 6
Eurasian Societies					
Romans (Augustin)	8*	116	Italians	Romans	Ce 3
Israelites (Judges)	6*	137	Jews	Hebrews	Cj 3
Samoyed	4	150	Samoyed	Yorak	Ec 4
Miao (Ch'uan)	5*	166	Miao-Yao	Miao	Ed 4
Lepcha	6	171	Sikkim	Lepcha	Ee 3
Toda	2	180	Nilgiri Hills	Toda	Eg 4
Karen (hill tribes)	4	195	Karen	—	Ei —
Oceanic Societies					
Tanala (Menabe)	0	184	Malagasy	Tanala	Eh 3
Ifugao	1	209	Highland Luzon	Ifugao	Ia 3
Iban	1	212	Borneo	Iban	Ib 1
Arunta	0	230	Central Australia	Aranda	Id 1
Orokaiva	4*	240	E. Papuans	Orokaiva	Ie 9
Arapesh	1	241	North Papuans	Arapesh	Ie 3
Ifaluk	1*	247	Central Caroline Is.	Ifaluk	If 4
Dobu	3	256	Massim	Dobuans	Ig 5
Marquesan	1*	276	E. Polynesians	Marquesans	Ij 3
North American Societies					
Copper Eskimo	0	279	Central & E. Eskimo	Copper Eskimo	Na 3
Kaska	0	284	Carrier-Nahani	Kaska	Na 4
Carrier	4#	284	Carrier-Nahani	Carrier	Na19

Table 1 (continued)

| | Swanson's Sample | | Murdock's *Ethnographic Atlas* Sample | | |
| | | | Culture Clusters | Local Societies | |
Name	Missing Data	Code	Name	Name	Code
Yurok	1	295	N.W. California	Yoruk	Nb 4
Pomo (northern)	2	298	Pomo-Yuki	N. Pomo	Nc17
Yokuts	0	299	Miwok-Yokuts	Yokuts	Nc 3
Shoshoni (Basin-plat.)	2	304	Central Great Basin	Agaiduka	Nd46
Nez Perce	4	309	Sahaptin	Nez Perces	Nd20
Blackfoot (post-horse)	1	313	N.W. Plains	Blackfoot	Ne12
Winnebago	3	319	Prairie Siouans	Winnebago	Nf 2
Iroquois (Seneca)	1	321	Iroquois	Iroquois	Ng10
Zuni	1	330	W. Pueblos	Zuni	Nh 4
Aztec	1*	341	Aztec	Aztec	Nj 2
South American Societies					
Cuna	2	351	Cuna	Cuna	Sa 1
Carib	0	–	–	–	S- –
Yagua	1	377	Peba	Yagua	Se 4
Aymara	3*	387	Aymara	Aymara	Sf 2
Yahgan	1	390	Yahgan	Yahgan	Sg 1
Lengua	4	393	Mascoi	Lengua	Sh 9
Trumai	0*	404	Trumai	Trumai	Si 2
Timbira	2	408	Timbira	Ramcocamecra	Sj 4

* Data corrections from *Ethnography* (1967:481-487; 1968:218-224) and *Atlas of World Cultures* (1981).

\# Society deleted for duplicate sampling of culture cluster.

other three societies, decisions about matching the two samples were based on Swanson's (1966) and Murdock's (1967) reference sources, the latter appearing in *Ethnography* (Vols. 1-10). Thus, Swanson's Arunta are, presumably, Murdock's Aranda (If 1), the Israelites are the Hebrews (Cj 3) and the Shoshoni seem to be the Agaiduka (Nd46). For the Karen cluster, Swanson's data refer to the hill tribes and Murdock's to the plains tribes. Since Swanson (1966:36) specifically noted that these two societies have great cultural differences, it appears that Murdock has no appropriate match for Swanson's Karen codings. Finally, Swanson (1966) neglected to cite references for the Carib and it is thus unrecorded whether he was referring to one of the two Antillean Carib societies in Murdock's cluster 353 or to one of the seven Guiana Carib societies in Murdock's cluster 366.

By the "three-degree rule," societies in a holocultural sample should be separated by at least three degrees latitude and three degrees of longitude (more in higher longitudes) to obviate contact contamination (Murdock

1967:4). This heuristic was violated by the Northern Pomo (39N, 123W) and the Yurok (41N, 124W). However, neither of these societies was eliminated from the analysis for this violation. First, the "three-degree rule" rests on the questionable assumption that equal units of distance represent equal units of resistance to cultural borrowing for different societies of the world. Secondly, Murdock's culture clusters already incorporate considerations of cultural borrowing due to "intimate and prolonged cultural contact" (Murdock 1981:44). Thirdly, the two cultures in violation do not fall within the same broadly defined geographical provinces defined in the *Atlas of World Cultures* (1981). Fourthly, the ethnographic experts that nominated societies for Swanson's (1966) stratified random sampling had been instructed to eliminate those societies which had experienced cultural conversions on the variables of interest. Finally, there are questions of the validity and reliability of locating societies by points of longitude and latitude. Comparing the *Ethnographic Atlas* (1967) and the *Atlas of World Cultures* (1981), corrections on these measures were necessary for 17 of the 45 societies with available measures. Corrections were of the magnitude of 20 degrees for the Yurak and 10 degrees for the Nyakyusa. With such a frequency and range of measurement error, decisions based on differences of three degrees are inappropriate.

The data for this study came from Swanson's (1966:194-217) Appendix I. The two general principles underlying the data transformations in preparation for this study were: (1) to disentangle nominal codings and (2) to maximize ordinal range. For example, Swanson's "Principle Source of Food" (variable 1) contained nine nominal categories. As shown in Table 2, these were transformed into seven ordinal variables. Four of them were allowed more than a binary ordinal range because Swanson (1966:197) had compound codings for "Hunting or Fishing and Root Crops" and "Hunting or Fishing and Grain Crops," which could be interpreted as moderate levels of these characteristics. As shown in Table 2, Swanson's "Matri-Family" (variable 22), "Unlegitimated Contacts" (variable 24), "High Gods" (variable 25), "Active Ancestral Spirits" (variable 29) and "Reincarnation" (variable 30) were also transformed to disentangle nominal codings.

Of Swanson's three measures of "Superior Gods" (variables 26, 27 and 28), the first two were combined by summation. The third measure coded those gods "which are not described with enough precision to be certain" and was therefore omitted. Although Swanson (1966:222-226) favoured summation of variables by OR functions, summation by AND functions was used in this re-analysis in order to maximize ordinal range. As recommended by Swanson (1966), "Exuvial Magic" (variable 31), "Cannibalism" (variable 32), "Taking of Scalps or Bones of Victims" (variable 33)

Table 2

Col.	Swanson's Variables	Ordinal Range	Missing Data (n = 49)	Swanson r (n = 20)	Murdock r	n	col.
				Reliability Estimates			
1	Principle Source of Food	nominal	0	.70[b]			
	– Collecting & Gathering#	(0 to 1)	0		.29[a]	47	7
	– Fishing#	(0 to 2)	0		.26[a]	47	9
	– Herding#	(0 to 1)	0		.49[b]	47	10
	– Agriculture in Root Crops#	(0 to 2)	0		.76[b]	34	29
	– Agriculture in Grain Crops#	(0 to 2)	0		.62[b]	34	29
	– Hunting#	(0 to 2)	0		.43[b]	47	8
	– Tree cultivation#	(0 to 1)	0		.85[b]	34	29
2	Amount of Food Produced#	(0 to 3)	7	.58[b]			
3	Degree of Threat from Armed Attacks by Alien Societies	(0 to 2)	2	.31 ns			
4	Size of Population#	(0 to 3)	1	.68[b]	.59[b]	34	31
5	Unit of Settlement#	(0 to 3)	0	.89[b]	.26[a]	47	30
6	Individually Owned Property#	(0 to 2)	1	.50[a]	.54[b]	40	74
7	Debts#	(0 to 2)	8	.45[a]			
8	Amount of Bride Price	(0 to 2)	19	.24 ns	.39[b]	29	12
9	Social Classes#	(0 to 1)	1	.66[b]	.50[b]	44	67
10	Specialties in Non-communal Activities#	(0 to 3)	0	.48[a]			
11	Specialties in Communal Activities#	(0 to 9)	1	.83[b]			
12	Sovereign Organization#	(0 to 9)	0	.54[a]	.58[b]	47	32+33
13	Nature of Third Sovereign Organization: Territorial	(0 to 6)	3	.17 ns			
14	Nature of Third Sovereign Organization: Kinship	(0 to 8)	5	–.15 ns			
15	Nature of Ultimate Sovereign Organization: Territorial	(0 to 6)	0	.07 ns			
16	Nature of Ultimate Sovereign Organization: Kinship	(0 to 8)	8	.30 ns			
17	Non-sovereign Organizations#	(0 to 9)	0	.84[b]			
18	Non-sovereign Communal Organizations#	(0 to 6)	0	.84[b]			
19	Sovereign Kinship Organizations#	(0 to 9)	2	.73[b]			
20	Ultimately Sovereign Group Organized on Kinship#	(0 to 1)	8	.52[a]			

Table 2 (continued)

Col.	Swanson's Variables	Ordinal Range	Missing Data (n = 49)	Swanson r (n = 20)	Murdock r	n	col.
					Reliability Estimates		
21	Unorganized Kinship Aggregations#	(0 to 8)	2	.51[a]			
22	Matri-Family	nominal	2	.58[b]			
	– Matriarchy#	(0 to 1)	2		.61[b]	45	17
	– Polyandry & Adelphogamy#	(0 to 1)	2		.81[b]	45	14
23	Primogeniture#	(0 to 1)	1	.79[b]	.45[b]	33	75+77
24	Unlegitimated Contacts	nominal	0	.62[b]			
	– Outgroup Intimacy#	(0 to 1)	0				
	– Ingroup Tensions#	(0 to 1)	0				
25	High Gods	nominal	11	.81[b]			
	– Active in Human Affairs#	(0 to 1)	11		.77[b]	33	34
26	Superior Gods I	(0 to 9)	1	.87[b]			
27	Superior Gods II	(0 to 9)	3	.93[b]			
—	Superior Gods# (26+27)	(0 to 18)	3				
28	Superior Gods III	(0 to 9)	3	.67[b]			
29	Active Ancestral Spirits	nominal	1	.66[b]			
	– Aid/Punish or Invoked#	(0 to 1)	1				
30	Reincarnation	nominal					
	– As Animal or Person#	(0 to 1)	0	.88[b]			
31	Exuvial Magic	(0 to 1)	0	.28 ns			
32	Cannibalism	(0 to 1)	0	.28 ns			
33	Taking Scalps or Bones of Victims	(0 to 1)	0	.38 ns			
34	Head-hunting	(0 to 1)	0	1.00[b]			
—	Immanence of Soul# (31+32+33+34)	(0 to 4)	0	.66[b]			
35	Human Sacrifice	(0 to 1)	0	.40 ns			
36	Prevalence of Witchcraft#	(0 to 2)	0	.52[a]			
37	Supernatural Sanctions on Morality: Health Effects	(0 to 1)	0	.66[b]			
38	Supernatural Sanctions on Morality: Afterlife Effects	(0 to 1)	3	.39 ns			
39	Supernatural Sanctions on Morality: Other Effects	(0 to 1)	2	.60[b]			
—	Supernatural Sanctions on Morality# (37+38+39)	(0 to 3)	5	.67[b]			

Included in correlational analysis; ns p > .05; a p < .05; b p < .01.

and "Head-hunting" (variable 34) were combined as "Immanence of the Soul." The three measures of "Supernatural Sanctions for Morality" (variables 37, 38 and 39) were similarly combined by the AND function.

Swanson's coding of uncertain and uncodable data was not consistent and requires explanation. Generally, "X" meant "uncodable" and "Y" meant "uncertain." In the transformations of the data for this study, "X" and "Y" were generally both defined as "missing" data. However, for variables 13, 14, 15, 16, 19 and 21, "X" meant absence of the phenomenon and was therefore transformed to a value of "0." To make room for this transformation, the given ordinal codes were all incremented by one. On four of these variables (14, 16, 19 and 21), an original value of "8" meant "uncertain" and was therefore defined here as "missing." On variable 25, "4" meant that information about high gods is "uncertain" and was therefore defined here as "missing." On variable 29, "1" meant "unspecified" and was therefore defined here as "0," meaning that ancestral spirits could not be classified as aiding or punishing people. For Swanson's (1966:212-213) codings of "Supernatural Sanctions for Morality" (variables 37, 38 and 39), a value of "0" meant "absent or no data." Since only the summation of these three variables was entered into the analysis, "0" was not defined as "missing."

The ordinal ranges of the transformed variables appear in Table 2, along with the amount of missing data for each. Table 2 also shows Swanson's (1966:222-226) reliability correlations for the 20 societies selected for his post hoc reliability testing. To the right of these are the reliability correlations that could be made with comparable variables in Murdock's (1967) data base. Because the data are ordinal, Kendall correlations were used. Because the expectation is for positive correlations, one-tailed estimates of probability were used. Murdock's variables were transformed to give a maximum ordinal range where possible. (See Rudmin 1992 for details.) Based on these two estimates of coder reliability, seven of Swanson's variables were deleted from the analysis: "Degree of Threat from Armed Attacks by Alien Societies" (variable 3), "Amount of Bride Price" (variable 8), "Nature of Third Sovereign Organization: Territorial" (variable 13), "Nature of Third Sovereign Organization: Kinship" (variable 14), "Nature of Ultimate Sovereign Organization: Territorial" (variable 15), "Nature of Ultimate Sovereign Organization: Kinship" (variable 16) and "Human Sacrifice" (variable 35).

Thus, the final holocultural data base for this study consisted of 49 societies representing distinct and independent culture clusters. A total of 32 ordinal variables were available for correlational comparison with "Individually Owned Property."

Table 3
Corrections of Property Variables

	Murdock 74: Land	Murdock 76: Objects
Swanson 6: Property	r = .44[a]	r = .54[b]
	n = 40	n = 40
Murdock 74: Land		r = .60[b]
		n = 38

a $p < .01$; b $p < .001$.

Results

The objective of the study was to identify those characteristics of societies which are reliable correlates of private ownership practices. Because the primary rationale of this re-analysis was to take advantage of the ordinal nature of the data, yet to be statistically conservative, the statistic of choice was the Kendall correlation. To minimize chance correlations and to compensate for any residual doubts about the reliability of the ethnographies or their coding, correlations were examined for all three available measures of private property: (1) Swanson's "Individually Owned Property" (variable 6), (2) Murdock's "Inheritance of Real Property" (variable 74) and (3) Murdock's "Inheritance of Movable Property" (variable 76). The two Murdock variables were each transformed to a binary presence or absence of private property. As shown in Table 3, the three property variables are strong correlates of one another. Because they have different operational definitions of property and focus on different objects of property, they sample different aspects of the social institution of private ownership. Together they thus comprise a more robust index of property ownership than any one measure alone.

The criteria for a significant correlation of one of the 32 variables under study with the practice of private ownership were: (a) correlations of the same sign on all three property variables — this has a null probability of $p = .25$; (b) significance at $p \leq .05$ on two of the correlations and at $p \leq .15$ on the other — this has a null probability of $p < .001125$. Since (a) and (b) are independent, conjunctive criteria, the likelihood of meeting the combined significance criteria was $.25 \times .001125$, or $p < .0003$, under a null hypothesis of randomly distributed data. With the examination of 32 correlations, the likelihood of a spurious claim of correlation in this study is $p < .009$. One-tailed estimates of probability were used because of the hypothesis that all three property correlations would be in the same direction. With a significance level of $p < .0003$, minimizing Type I error (incorrectly claiming sta-

tistical significance) has been given priority over minimizing Type II error (incorrectly claiming non-significance).

Table 4
Significant Kendall Correlations with Property Variables

	Property Variables					
	From Swanson		From Murdock			
	6. Property		74. Land		76. Objects	
Swanson's variables that correlate with property	r	n	r	n	r	n
1. Collecting & Gathering	−.35^b	48	−.37^b	41	−.68^c	41
1. Agriculture in Grain	.34^b	48	.59^c	41	.41^b	41
1. Hunting	−.18#	48	−.52^c	41	−.31^a	41
4. Size of Population	.14#	47	.50^c	40	.34^b	40
9. Social Classes	.49^c	47	.32^a	40	.25#	40
12. Sovereign Organization	.17#	48	.44^c	41	.35^b	41
23. Primogeniture	.22#	47	.32^a	40	.29^a	40
24. Outgroup Intimacy	−.21#	48	−.47^c	41^c	−.58^c	41
29. Active Ancestral Spirits	.19#	47	.48^c	40	.46^b	40
37-39. Supernatural Sanctions for Morality	.34^b	43	.41^b	38	.36^b	37

.05 < p < .15; a| p < .05; b p < .01; c p < .001.

With this conservative statistical analysis, 10 variables were found to correlate with the private ownership of property. Only for "Amount of Food Produced" (variable 2) did one of Swanson's variables correlate with his "Individually Owned Property" (variable 6) and not meet significance criteria with Murdock's other two property measures. (Correlational statistics for these appear in the discussion.) As shown in Table 4, three of the 10 significant correlations were negative correlates and seven were positive. Because the correlations were non-parametric, because they entailed from one to six missing cases, because the *n* of cases was small (ranging from 37 to 48), and because "Collecting and Gathering," "Hunting" and "Agriculture in Grain" were ipsative measures taken from a single nominal coding, multivariate techniques were not pursued.

Discussion

There are inherent uncertainties in these types of cross-cultural studies that must be borne in mind. (See Rudmin 1992 for a more elaborate discussion.) First, there is the lack of random sampling. Although conceptually the population of study is all human cultures, operationally the population of study is a relatively limited set of recommended ethnographies. The opportunities

and decisions to prepare ethnographies on some cultures and not others, subsequent evaluations and selection of those ethnographies, and the identification of the cultural groupings, are all products of informed opinion and unknown bias. Hopefully, the very numbers of people and decisions involved preclude any systematic bias in the results. Secondly, there is the difficulty of interpreting correlational studies. It is never evident from the correlations themselves whether they represent relationships of cause, effect, underlying factors or antithetical concomitance (i.e., counterbalances or compensations).

Finally, there is concern about the validity of the ethnographies themselves. This is particularly worrisome when the topic of research is the ownership of property. Almost all the ethnographies in any holocultural samples were produced in the 19th and 20th centuries when many peoples of the world were being dispossessed of their property by Western nations and when Western thought itself was ideologically split over the issue of communism. (See Rudmin 1988b and 1992 for history and data on this.) These background conditions do not encourage hope that ethnographic reports of property practices and inferences of private ownership are objective, unbiased and accurate. For example, consider Averkieva's (1961) ideological critique of Speck and Eiseley's (1939) claim that Canadian Algonkian peoples had property rights in land. Alternatively, consider the fact that Murdock's (1967) *Ethnographic Atlas*, based on ethnographies selected for quality and reliability, shows that all indexed Australian aboriginal societies lack ownership in land, even though more recent ethnographic work debunks that belief (see Williams and Hunn 1982). Thus, the findings of this and other holocultural studies of property are not conclusive. Confidence will only come from repeated replications, drawing on different ethnographic records and on other types of data.

The re-analyses of the older cross-cultural data bases well serve this search for replication and convergence. At the very least they identify variables and relationships for subsequent independent study. Swanson's (1966:218-219) own chi-square analysis of his data base reported that "Individual Ownership of Property" was related to only three of his variables: (1) "Social Classes" (p = .01), (2) "Primary Source of Food" (p = .02) and (3) "Amount of Bride Price" (p = .10). Ordinal analysis of the same data in the present study confirmed the first two of these reports. "Individual Ownership of Property" was most strongly correlated with "Social Classes" (r = .49, n = 47, p < .001) and with two variables drawn from Swanson's "Primary Source of Food" codings, i.e., collecting and gathering (r = -.35, n = 48, p < .01) and agriculture in grain (r = .34, n = 48, p < .01). It is not possible to make confident claims about the variable "Amount of Bride Price" because of doubtful coding reliability and excessive missing data.

This re-analysis of Swanson's 1966 study substantially replicated a similar re-analysis of Simmons' 1937 study of 109 variables coded on 71 societies (Rudmin 1992). Because the two samples have only nine societies in common, they are well suited for replication comparisons. Of the 10 variables found here to be significant correlates of private ownership, five had comparable variables in Simmons' (1937) study. This study's correlations of private ownership with ''Agriculture in Grain'' replicated the significant correlations in Simmons' data of private ownership of land and of objects with his measures of ''Agriculture'' and of ''Use of Grain for Food.'' This study's correlations of private ownership with ''Social Classes'' replicated the significant correlations in Simmons' data of private ownership of land and of objects with his measure ''Castes and Classes.''

This study's correlations of private ownership with ''Collecting and Gathering,'' with ''Hunting,'' and with ''Primogeniture'' were supported by Simmons' data, though not as robustly as the replications just discussed. Simmons' measure ''Collection'' had Kendall correlations with ''Private Property in Objects'' of $r = -.20$ ($n = 44$, $p < .10$) and with ''Private Property in Land'' of $r = -.43$ ($n = 40$, $p = .001$). Simmons' measure ''Hunting'' had correlations with ''Private Property in Objects'' of $r = -.18$ ($n = 60$, $p < .10$) and with ''Private Property in Land'' of $r = -.42$ ($n = 52$, $p < .001$). Simmons' measure ''Primogeniture'' had correlations with ''Private Property in Objects'' of $r = .20$ ($n = 42$, $p < .10$) and with ''Private Property in Land'' of $r = .03$ ($n = 37$, $p > .40$).

Replication comparisons should also consider those significant correlations in Simmons' data that were capable of replication here. The re-analysis of Simmons' data found 21 robust correlates with the institution of private property (Rudmin 1992). Of these, five had comparable variables in Swanson's data. The replications based on Simmons' measures of agriculture, grain production and social stratification have already been discussed. However, Simmons' data also showed ''Constancy of Food Supply'' and ''Debt-relations'' to be positively correlated with private property in objects and in land. In the present study, Swanson's ''Amount of Food Produced'' had positive correlations with ''Individual Ownership of Property'' ($r = .30$, $n = 41$, $p < .05$), with Murdock's measure of property rights in land ($r = .20$, $n = 36$, $p < .10$) and with Murdock's measure of property rights in objects ($r = .20$, $n = 36$, $p < .10$). Swanson's measure of ''Debts'' had positive correlations with ''Individual Ownership of Property'' ($r = .22$, $n = 41$, $p < .10$), with Murdock's measure of property rights in land ($n = 36$, $r = .36$, $p < .05$) and with Murdock's measure of property rights in objects ($r = .21$, $n = 37$, $p < .10$).

Thus, conservative re-analyses of two independent holocultural data bases have both found that social stratification and agriculture in grain are

positive correlates of the institution of private ownership. There is also reason for confidence that debts and abundant food are positive correlates of private ownership, and that hunting and gathering are negative correlates.

One of the general findings of Rudmin's (1992) re-analysis of Simmons' (1937) data was that there was little support for theories that private property is a patriarchal institution and that it entails the subjugation of women. Such theories have long been advocated by a diversity of scholars, from 19th century social philosophers (e.g., Morgan 1877; Engels 1920; Sumner and Keller 1927) to contemporary feminists (e.g., Hirschon 1984; Coontz and Henderson 1986). In Simmons' data, 32 of the 89 variables examined were gender defined, yet only two appeared as significant correlates of private ownership. "Patrilineal Residence" was positively correlated with private property and clustered with variables of social and material stratification. "Marriage by Capture" was negatively correlated with private property and clustered with variables of social security. One of Simmons' variables was explicitly defined as "Subjugation or Inferiority of Women;" it had a clear pattern of non-correlation with the four available measures of private ownership (Rudmin 1992).

The present re-analysis of Swanson's data also found little support for gender theories of property. "Matriarchy" was distinguished from "Polyandry and Adelphogamy" in Swanson's coding of "Matri-family." Both showed good reliability with Murdock's comparable variables. Yet, "Matriarchy" (value "1" on variable 22) had weak correlations with Swanson's "Individually Owned Property" (r = −.10, n = 47, p > .20), with Murdock's measure of property rights in land (r = .00, n = 39, p = .50) and with Murdock's measure of property rights in objects (r = −.08, n = 40, p > .30). Swanson's measure "Polyandry & Adelphogamy" (value "2" on variable 22) similarly had weak correlations with Swanson's "Individually Owned Property" (r = .13, n = 47, p > .10), with Murdock's measure of property rights in land (r = .00, n = 39, p = .50) and with Murdock's measure of property rights in objects (r = .11, n = 40, p > .20). It should be noted here that "Primogeniture" was not restricted to male heirs in Swanson's coding, and the positive correlation of "Primogeniture" with property should not therefore be interpreted as a misogynous private property practice. In combination, these findings do not support theories that the institution of private ownership correlates with the oppression of women.

Swanson's data may also challenge a theory of property proposed by George Herbert Mead (1982). He argued that exogamy, slavery and other social practices that brought alien people intimately into the community caused property to develop into abstract, rule-governed, defensive relationships between people in respect to property. Although Mead is not clear on this, it seems that he is arguing that such abstract relationships enhanced the

development of abstract property, i.e., money, which accentuates the defensiveness and hostility of ownership because money can belong to anyone:

> Abstractness is given to the social relation involved in property through associating it with hostility. Previously property was a concrete social relation. The abstract property relation came into marriage and slavery through bringing in the outsider, one who has no rights in the group, no personality that gave him or her a place in the group. . . . Abstractness always carries with it a degree of hostility. The attitude of the possession of money is an attitude of hostility toward all the rest of mankind. Money is for anyone who cares to seize and hold it. Its very abstractness puts the possessor in the attitude of defense. . . . The abstractness of the relation of property always carries with it hostility just in proportion to the abstractness. (Mead 1982:87-88)

Swanson's variable "Unlegitimated Contacts" (variable 24) includes a nominal coding for what is here called "Outgroup Intimacy" (value "2"). This characterizes those societies in which:

> a) People are required to obtain (or frequently do obtain) a spouse from an ultimately sovereign group other than their own. b) There is a requirement that different, ultimately sovereign groups join together for the conduct of important rituals and ceremonies (e.g., rituals for the initiation of the young). (Swanson 1966:209)

"Outgroup Intimacy" is fortuitously close to Mead's notion of contact with personalities from outside the group. As shown in Table 4, "Outgroup Intimacy" had a strong *negative* correlation with private ownership. It is not contact with those outside the organic relationships of the group, but the absence of such contact that correlates with individual ownership of property. This suggests that property is very much a phenomenon of ingroup social relations. Indeed, there were weak but consistently positive correlations between "Ingroup Tensions" (value "1" on variable 24) and Swanson's measure of ownership ($r = .07$, $n = 48$, $p < .30$), Murdock's measure of ownership of land ($r = .27$, $n = 42$, $p < .05$) and Murdock's measure of ownership of objects ($r = .22$, $n = 41$, $p < .10$). It seems that individuals within large, closed societies are regulating behaviours among themselves by means of the conventions, laws and physical restrictions of property.

Clearly, this finding is not a test of Mead's hypothesis, since there is no measure available for the abstractness of property. However, Toennies' (1957) earlier version of Mead's theory well accords with the data. He distinguished between concrete possession in an interpersonal, familiar, organic community and abstract property in an impersonal, legalistic, formalized society. From the strong negative correlations of "Outgroup Intimacy" with "Size of Population" ($r = -.53$, $n = 48$, $p < .001$) and with "Sovereign Organization" ($r = -.54$, $n = 49$, $p < .001$), it might be speculated that prop-

erty correlates negatively with "Outgroup Intimacy" because in large, dense populations, with social economies and complex political organization, the personalities of many people are unknown and alien to one another. The "ingroup" is so large that the personalities are not known and the organic relationships give way to formal, abstract relationships. In such a context, private property might provide a system for the abstract regulation of behaviour and the impersonal ordering of people.

That "Active Ancestral Spirits" and "Supernatural Sanctions for Morality" both correlated with private ownership reinforces this speculation that property serves internal social factors in large, populated, politically organized societies. As used in this study, "Active Ancestral Spirits" is defined by belief that spirits "aid or punish living humans" or "are invoked by the living to assist in earthly affairs" (Swanson 1966:211). Ancestral spirits are familiar and personal and their interventions in social relations would be at the personal level. They are micro-regulators, as is private ownership. However, the "Supernatural Sanctions for Morality" operate at more corporate, societal levels. As defined by Swanson (1966), these entail rewards and punishments for helping or harming members of one's own society. This variable correlated with private ownership but also with the two measures of social stratification, namely "Social Classes" ($r = .46$, $n = 43$, $p = .001$) and "Primogeniture" ($r = .24$, $n = 43$, $p < .05$). "Supernatural Sanctions for Morality" thus appear to be macro-regulators, as is private ownership.

Much of the historical and ideological controversy over private property arises from its micro- and macro-regulatory functions. As discussed in Rudmin (1988b), private property is favoured for its power and control where individual autonomy is valued. In capitalist rhetoric, property is the foundation of freedom, a micro-regulator of other people. But as communist theory argues, that same dominance and control can antithetically be the foundation of oppressive class structure. Property is a macro-regulator of social classes.

However, such speculations as these are very much premature. The behavioural and cultural contexts and correlates of ownership first need to be established before they can be interpreted and used to inform political and socio-economic theory. This present study contributes in a small way to that enterprise.

Acknowledgments

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AN EPIDEMIC OF PRIDE: PELLAGRA AND THE CULTURE OF THE AMERICAN SOUTH[1]

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Abstract: A large epidemic of pellagra, a nutritional deficiency disease of the B vitamin, niacin, broke out in the American South in the early 1900s. In epidemiological and nutritional literature the discovery of niacin and the conquest of pellagra are often portrayed as straightforward medical victories. However, when the true etiology of the disease was first discovered by Dr. Joseph Goldberger (a New Yorker), his results were angrily denounced by southern physicians, legislators and the general public. Nearly 20 years elapsed before his conclusions were finally accepted and a co-ordinated public health effort was begun. The reasons for this irrational Southern response are specifically related to the cultural identity and values of the South at this time. Parallel exploration of the history of the pellagra epidemic and the unique culture of the South provides powerful insights into how culture can negotiate the acceptable parameters of scientific research.

Résumé: Au début du siècle, une grave épidémie de pellagre, maladie due à une carence en vitamine B, la niacine, a éclaté dans le Sud américain. Dans la littérature épidémiologique et nutritionelle, on a souvent dit que la découverte de la niacine et l'enraiement de la pellagre n'étaient que de simples victoires médicales. Cependant, lorsque, le docteur Joseph Goldberger (un new-yorkais) découvrit les véritables causes de la maladie, ses résultats furent décriés par des médecins du Sud, des législateurs et le public en général.

Il fallut près de vingt ans pour que l'on accepte enfin ses conclusions et que l'on assiste à des efforts coordonnés dans le domaine de la santé publique. Les raisons de cette attitude irrationelle, de la part des gens du Sud, sont précisément liées à l'identité et aux valeurs culturelles du Sud de cette époque.

Un approfondissement, à la fois de l'histoire de l'épidémie de la pellagre et de l'unicité de la culture de Sud, offre une meilleure compréhension de comment la culture peut disposer des paramètres acceptables de la recherche scientifique.

If some day last July, you had happened to
visit the State Hospital for the Insane at
Columbia, South Carolina ... you might
have stood by while the doctor loosened the
bandages from the foot of a young negress,
and as you saw the horror of it, and heard
"Show the other one, this isn't the bad
one," you might have put all your firmness
as I did, into the words "Doctor, I don't
want to see the other foot — I have seen
enough — all I can — right now." And you
would have hurried through the corridor to
reach the sun and air with the tragedy of
those lives smothering your heart and the
eternal mystery of pain surging through you
in the question, "Why must a sentient hu-
man being suffer this?" And for many hours
the world would have been dark with inscru-
table purposes and appalling punishments.
For you have seen the disease that is more to
be dreaded than smallpox, than leprosy, than
the black death — you have seen pellagra. ...
— Marion Hamilton Carter,
McClures Magazine, 1909

Introduction

Niacin is a water-soluble member of the B vitamin family. It functions as a
co-enzyme, assisting other enzymes, such as those associated with the me-
tabolism of proteins, fats and carbohydrates. It is especially vital to the
maintenance of the nervous system, skin and digestive tissues (Kirschmann
1975). Pellagra is the deficiency disease resulting from long-term insuffi-
cient niacin (as well as its amino acid precursor, tryptophan) intake. A diet
high in unenriched corn has been shown to interfere with the conversion of
tryptophan to niacin (Etheridge 1972:216), thus increasing the chance that
any corn-dependent, nutritionally stressed population will incur the disease.

Outbreaks of pellagra were first noted in the southern United States
around the end of the 19th century. By 1910, it was regarded as a full-
fledged epidemic — with the subsequent fear and hysteria. The progression
of the disease was particularly unpleasant, and often referred to as the "four
Ds" (diarrhea, dermatitis, dementia and death). Some thought it related to
leprosy and many of the victims were shunned (Etheridge 1972:30). Mortal-
ity estimates range from 15 000 to 60 000 in the years 1915 to 1920 alone
(see Etheridge 1972:113 and passim). However, these statisitcs should be
considered only a small fraction of the total number of cases — first of all,
many afflicted areas of the South were rural and very isolated; most South-

ern physicians would not treat blacks (Bousfield 1934) and reporting the disease was not mandatory in every county. Certainly thousands more suffered undiagnosed and untreated (Wood 1909; King 1921).

The conquest of pellagra and the discovery of niacin in the United States were not straightforward scientific triumphs, as some medical historians would imply (Wilson 1953; McCollum 1957). Although the mobilization of resources for research, and the research effort itself, were exemplary, the subsequent response of the health care system was meagre and ineffectual. In 1914 and 1915, Dr. Joseph Goldberger unarguably demonstrated pellagra to be caused by dietary inadequacies (Goldberger 1964a,1964b). Southerners violently rejected these conclusions (Etheridge 1972) despite the overwhelming evidence to the contrary. Many Southern physicians, public officials and public health workers defiantly insisted that pellagra was not nutrition-related at all, but caused by infectious agents or mouldy corn (Roe 1973:58,86-88; Etheridge 1972:11). As a result, almost 13 years of fruitless and unnecessary research on viruses, sewage, insects and maize passed before Goldberger's ideas were finally accepted. During this time, only isolated steps were taken to alleviate the crisis or to improve the health of the heavily afflicted rural population. Even after poor nutrition was unanimously admitted to be the cause (around 1928), public health departments were still slow to react. It was not until the 1940s that pellagra was completely eliminated (Roe 1973). An estimated 600 000 people died and over 1.5 million more were afflicted during the long interim between Goldberger's discoveries and the initiation of an appropriate public health effort to eradicate the disease.[2]

The story of pellagra in the United States has been looked at historically (Etheridge 1972; Roe 1973), and epidemiologically (Terris 1964) but, to my knowledge, no one has yet examined it from a nutritional anthropological perspective — in other words, no one has asked the question "how did the surrounding culture of the South in the early 1900s affect the course of this epidemic?" Investigating the story of pellagra in the United States from this angle provides a powerful opportunity to explore how cultural processes intervene in health and disease issues and to investigate this potential interplay between culture and biology.

Specifically, this paper will be devoted to analyzing the seemingly inexplicable reluctance of the South to accept Goldberger's findings and its subsequent failure to initiate an appropriate response. Why was there such a furor over Goldberger's conclusions? What rationale did the Southern physicians use to justify their intractability? And, finally, in regards to the nutritional anthropological paradigm, how was the specific culture of the South responsible for negotiating the scope and direction of, as well as the response to this particular nutritional disease?

The first major section of this paper will be devoted to a chronology of the epidemic itself. The second major part will analyze the specific culture of the South in an effort to determine what exactly was responsible for this seemingly irrational denial of Goldberger's discoveries. It is my contention that the history of pellagra in the United States graphically illustrates the powers of culture, economics and politics to construct and define the acceptable domains of medical initiative. The story of the conquest of this disease in the United States will serve as a powerful testimony to the abiltiy of cultural forces to abort or deny unpopular scientific discoveries.

Prelude

> Sometimes it don't seem possible that we're living at all, especially when I wake up in the morning and see the children getting up ... and dressing in the kitchen where there's hardly a crumb of food. They make a fire in the cook-stove and I scrape together a little cornmeal, when there's any to scrape, and I cook it with salt and water. Once in a while we have some molasses, or maybe just some sugar-water to eat with it. .... A lot of times I've just sat and wondered if there's anything else in the world to eat.
> — Sharecropper's widow,
> Peterson, Alabama, 1930s

> ... if the government doesn't do something about the losing cotton farmers, we'd be doing them a favour to go and shoot them out of their misery.
> — Anonymous banker,
> Augusta, Georgia, 1930s

The economic foundations of the antebellum South were basically left intact after the Civil War. Although much of the region's wealth was lost through the war effort, the pre-existing agricultural and political patterns still prevailed. Landowners who were still firmly enmeshed in the plantation mentality regained control over many of the state and local governments through compromises with the Grant administration (see Stampp 1965:186-215). Despite the passing of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, within little more than a decade after the Civil War the negroes of the South were abandonned to the control and rule of that very class which had regarded slavery as a Divine Institution and had fought the North for four years in order to preserve it.

Since slavery was outlawed by the constitution, the South adopted a different yet equally exploitative labour system — sharecropping. Landlords

would furnish a mule, half the fertilizer and half the seed needed for one year. Tenants mortgaged their prospective crop yields; if prices fell or crops failed, they could not repay the landlord and would go deeper in debt. When they did obtain a crop, they would often be given vouchers for the plantation store rather than cash. The only other stores within reasonable distance were on neighbouring plantations. One census report showed that 70 percent of the cotton-producing farms in Georgia were occupied by tenants (Keasby 1915).

More often than not landlords would take advantage of the illiterate tenants — at the end of the year, many would find that their debt had mysteriously increased while their incomes continued to decline. (See Caldwell and Bourke-White 1937:52-55.) When tenants asked to leave the notorious Harris plantation on the Delta, they were asked to pay a fee of $50 (about one year's earnings). If a tenant left without asking, he was subject to arrest and forcible return to the plantation — supposedly for "skipping out on a debt" (Caldwell and Bourke-White 1937:55).

The whole economy of the South was based on the cultivation of one single, labour-intensive crop and on the exploitation of an uneducated rural underclass. Sharecroppers were completely at the mercy of their landlords. Most tenant farmers were not allowed to grow any food crops for their personal use. Since the soil continued to decline, more and more cotton had to be planted and food production became almost nonexistent. One traveller in the early 1920s described the scene as follows: ". . . almost never did I see a garden, a pasture, a haystack, a potato field, a flock of hens, an orchard, a dairy, an oat field, or anything else but tens of thousands of squalid huts and acres and acres of cotton" (Snyder 1924).

Since tenants grew no food (except a little corn), they were dependent on plantation commissaries. These stores carried little besides cornmeal, bacon and molasses — most sharecroppers couldn't afford anything else, and shopkeepers did not want to stock items they were unlikely to sell (Roe 1973). "Everything the cotton grower needs for his home . . . and his crop he must buy. . . . One and only one source of income has he; if it fails he has none. Hence the great need of credit and stupendous debt that ever hangs over the cotton belt" (Snyder 1924).

Blacks were by far the most exploited class of sharecroppers, but poor whites suffered equally in terms of food. White plantation owners preferred black tenants over white because they were easier to intimidate and exploit (Caldwell and Bourke-White 1937). As a result, whites were evicted from many productive plantations and forced to move onto the most marginal, eroded lands. Blacks at least had the *ability* to grow their own food, if the plantation owner would allow. This also served to heighten racial hatred and

violence from the poor whites, and effectively prevented the formation of any political alliance among sharecroppers.

This stubborn insistence on monoculture degraded the soil at an astounding rate. By the early 1910s, crop yields had withered, cotton prices fell, boll weevils invaded, food prices rose and the South found itself in a severe agricultural depression (Snyder 1924). People who for years had been marginally nourished suddenly found themselves with less than ever before. There was no public assistance. The epidemic of pellagra that followed was merely a final manifestation of the degradation inherent in the old plantation system that the landowning class had tried to resurrect.

Pellagra

> ... reddish spots appear upon the epidermis and small tubercules rise up; then the skin becomes dry, the surrounding coats burst, the affected skin falls in white scales ... finally ... [all] parts of the body exposed to the sun become repulsively disfigured. ... The patients begin to have trouble in the head, fear, vertigo, fluxes in the bowels and mania. ... [They] are consumed with a ghastly wasting.
> — Italian physician, Francisco Frapolli, 1771

> Acute pellagra is a death-dealing pestilence.
> — Dr. Edward Jenner Wood, 1900

The initial dramatic outbreaks of pellagra in the United States occurred from around 1905 to 1910 (McCollum 1957). Before then the disease was known only in Europe, where large-scale epidemics were first recorded in the mid-1700s. The disease went by the names *Mal de La Rosa, Mal de La Misera, Dartes Malignes* and, finally, *pella agra* (meaning literally "rough skin"). Although it was found in several European countries (Spain, Romania, Austria and France, for example), Italy was the only one in which the disease reached truly epidemic proportions (Wood 1909). One Italian physician estimated that by 1784 nearly one-twentieth of the population of Lombardy was pellagrous and, in the worst districts, one in every five or six individuals had the disease (Roe 1973:39).

One common factor noted in all pellagra-dense areas in Italy was a diet based on polenta, a cornmeal mush. This led Italian researchers to believe that corn consumption was responsible for the disease — not because of any inherent nutritional deficiency but, rather, because of fungi or bacteria growing on spoiled corn (Roe 1973).

The belief in rotten corn persisted in the United States. When pellagra first broke out in the early 1900s corn was implicated as the culprit. A full-page article in the Sunday *New York Times* led off with the warning, "If You Fear Pellagra Beware of Corn"(September 5, 1909). Other ensuing articles stated: "Pellagra is caused by an intoxication from eating corn that has been altered by fermentation" (October 24, 1909); "everywhere it seems that corn is charged with the responsibility for the disease" (October 31, 1909). There were some flaws to this theory, however. One journalist pointed out that the Indians subsisted on corn and never succumbed, and some (although few) pellagra patients claimed to have never or rarely eaten corn (Wood 1909).

Several alternatives to the corn theory were proposed. Pellagra had a specific tendency to appear in the spring, as a result of dietary deprivation during the winter. This led some to believe that it was transmitted by seasonal insects. Others noticed the high concentration of pellagra within certain families and insisted that it must be hereditary. Still more felt that it was infectious, due to its localized appearance in certain neighbourhoods, orphanages and asylums (Etheridge 1972:30,31). Perhaps the most creative theory was proposed by a Kentucky physician who declared pellagra to be spread by migrating robins (*New York Times*, June 8, 1912). Overall, the majority of physicians were fairly evenly divided between the corn and infection theories (McCollum 1957).

By 1912, there were two main bodies of researchers working on pellagra. One was the government-sponsored Pellagra Commission, appointed by the Surgeon General. The other was the privately funded Thompson-McFadden Commission. The government commission suffered greatly from lack of funding and was, for the most part, ineffective for the first few years. The chief researcher, Dr. Claude Lavinder, complained of a "fearful stringency in the government's finances" (Etheridge 1972:45), such that the spending of $15 or $20 on laboratory rabbits became a serious issue. The Thompson-McFadden Commission, by contrast, was extremely well funded. Two philanthropists donated $15 000 to study the disease—enough to set up an excellent laboratory and even buy a car (*New York Times*, May 26, 1912).

By 1914, the Thompson-McFadden Commission had concluded that pellagra was more than likely an infectious, insect-borne disease. The sable fly, the bedbug, the louse and the housefly were all considered likely candidates. They based this reasoning on the close proximity of cases within certain neighbourhoods (Terris 1964). Lavinder, of the Public Health Service, had attempted to follow up on the germ theory by inoculating monkeys with the injection of material from a pellagrin. His repeated failure turned government researchers toward a new (but still wrong) direction—since pellagra

was not transmitted by germs, they reasoned, it was perhaps caused by an error of metabolism (Etheridge 1972:60).

The turn in the course of the pellagra investigations came in 1914. First of all, the Public Health Service revoked its meagre funding and financed a new study with the generous sum of $80 000 (quite a significant amount, considering that the entire U.S. public health fund was only $200 000). Forty-one people were put in the field to study every possible aspect of the epidemic. Secondly, the disenchanted Dr. Lavinder requested other work and was replaced with the soon-to-be legendary Dr. Joseph Goldberger (Etheridge 1972:65).

Despite the prevailing climate of epidemiological opinion, Goldberger managed to look at the situation with a fresh and unbiased eye. As a New Yorker, he had the advantage of being an outsider — the diet of poor Southerners (consisting mainly of cornbread, molasses and, occasionally, fat bacon) looked very strange to him and took on a special significance. Within three months, he published his first paper, strongly and accurately asserting that pellagra was not communicable (Goldberger 1964b). He insisted that the cause was dietary and that prevention could be achieved by a "reduction in cereals, vegetables, and canned foods that enter to so large an extent into the diet of many of the people in the south and an increase in the fresh animal food component, such as fresh meats, eggs, and milk" (Terris 1964:11,12).

His reasoning was based primarily on observations that he made during a trip to the Millidgeville asylum in Georgia. The disease was epidemic among the patients at the institution yet, curiously, none of the staff had ever been afflicted. Surely, if pellagra were contagious, at least one nurse, doctor or orderly (who often spent up to 14 hours a day with the patients) would have contacted it. Supposedly, the staff and the inmates ate the same food, so diet was ruled out as well.

Upon closer examination, Goldberger discovered that the staff always had first choice in the hospital cafeteria. When meat, fresh vegetables or milk was available, there was seldom any left for the patients. Furthermore, food, in general, was extremely sparse; the total operating budget for the hospital in 1910 (including salaries, medicine, supplies and maintenance) was only 34.5 cents per patient per day (Etheridge 1972:73). Many patients would steal food from those too apathetic or weak to defend themselves. Goldberger designed a meal plan for the pellagrins at the asylum, and within a month or so half had improved significantly and four had recovered completely. He left the implementation of larger-scale diet changes under the care of another public health physician and turned his attention to two orphanages in Jackson, Mississippi, where some 60 to 80 percent of the children had the disease (Roe 1973:101).

For two years, beginning in 1914, the federal government paid $700 per month to supplement the food at the orphanages. The new diet included liberal amounts of fresh milk, meat and eggs. Grits and corn bread consumption were decreased from twice a day to once a week (Etheridge 1972:74). In 1915, the success of the plan was obvious. The annual report of the orphanages described the children as being healthier than ever before. "There can be no doubt that the cause of pellagra is dietary," it stated (Etheridge 1972).

The final proof came with Goldberger's experiment at the Mississippi state prison. He induced pellagra in volunteer convicts (who would receive a governor's pardon for their co-operation in the experiment) by feeding them a diet of white flour, cornmeal, grits, cane sugar, sweet potatoes, pork fat, cabbage and collard greens — the typical diet of many poor Southern families (Goldberger and Wheeler 1964). Six of them developed unmistakable pellagra after about six months. The others were very sick, but lacked the characteristic skin rash. For Goldberger this was enough proof: ". . . the conclusion would seem to us to be warranted that pellagra developed in at least six of our eleven volunteers as the result of the restricted diet on which they subsisted" (Goldberger and Wheeler 1964:79).

This study had been carefully kept out of the press, for fear the families of the convicts would intercede. It had all the makings of sensationalist news, however, and, when the story finally broke, it was given top headlines. Goldberger was exuberant. "This is beyond anything I could have anticipated," he wrote to his wife in 1915. He was convinced that the mysterious etiology of pellagra was solved once and for all and that the disease would soon be eradicated. Unfortunately, this was not to be. The sensationalism surrounding the publication of his "proof" engendered jealousy and hostility among his Southern colleagues. Almost at once they challenged his conclusions for any imaginable reason. (See Etheridge 1972:98.)

Goldberger became convinced that the only way to end the epidemic was to prove beyond doubt the relationship between pellagra and poverty. He deepened his research and analysis of pellagra into an indictment of the whole economic and social system of the South. Poor diet might be the cause of pellagra, he reasoned, but the disease was only a symptom of a greater ill, the utter poverty, degradation and ignorance of the South's rural poor (Goldberger 1964a).

In 1916, Goldberger, quietly went to work to prove quantitatively the relationship between Southern economics, exploitation and pellagra. He and his co-workers (a statistician and an economist among them) chose seven cotton mill villages in South Carolina and painstakingly correlated wages, diet, food prices and disease incidence. After three years of work, their results were published in a series of six papers which strongly condemned

sharecropping, cotton monoculture and the whole economic system of the south (Goldberger 1964a[1920,1921]:113-270).

After the results of the mill villages experiments were published, President Harding became very interested in the plight of the South. He wrote a letter which was published nation-wide calling for food assistance for the South to help combat pellagra. "Famine and plague are words almost foreign to our American vocabulary, save as we have learned their meaning in connection with the afflictions of lands less favored and toward which our people have so many times displayed large and generous charity," he wrote (Etheridge 1972:149). The medical profession had been angry with Goldberger's statements, but the debate had not yet been taken up by the general public. However, President Harding's letter paraded the plight of the South to the whole nation — it was an insult to Southern honour. The South was branded with the stigma of poverty and the implication that it was not capable of surviving without northern help.

Instead of accepting offers of food assistance and approaching the epidemic in a reasonable manner, Southern legislators angrily denied that pellagra incidence was increasing, and insisted that the disease was not nutritional at all (Etheridge 1972:154). The Institute of American Meat Packers offered to donate 20 000 pounds of meat to alleviate the crisis but the South angrily refused (Etheridge 1972:160). Many Southerners claimed that the "epidemic" was merely a fiction created by Northerners to insult them. They branded it as "malicious propaganda" or "utter absurdity" (Etheridge 1972) and spurned charity. To understand the South's seemingly irrational reaction to Goldberger's discoveries in its proper context, it is necessary to delve deeply into its mindset and culture.

The South

> I must have been probably twelve years old
> before I realized that "damn yankee" was
> two words.
> — My Grandmother, 1989

> All we have here in the South is cotton,
> slaves . . . and arrogance.
> — Rhett Butler

Since the early 1800s, the South has always been apart, both culturally and economically from the rest of the United States. For the most part, this separation was due to slavery — first of all because of the social system it created and, secondly, because of the antagonism it engendered from the rest of the country. The institution of slavery basically created a two-tiered caste system in Southern society with slaves on the bottom and white landowners on

the top. There was no middle class. Slavery mandated that the bulk of the population/labour force (slaves) be kept ignorant and oppressed. This created a vast economic and social polarity in terms of wealth and power—state and local governments, elected officials, newspapers (in most rural places, only the rich whites could read), cash and, most importantly, *information* were all controlled by this élite class. They, although numerically a minority, were the spokespeople of the South and their hegemony was impossible to challenge.

Up until the early 1800s, there were few serious campaigns in the North against slavery; anti-slavery protest was associated primarily with the Quakers or other religious groups (McPherson 1988). However, by the 1850s, slavery had become a serious sectional dispute. As Southern slaveholders came more and more under attack for their ''peculiar institution,'' they developed a stronger and stronger rationale to defend it. Since the main thrust of the anti-slavery crusade was moral, the South accordingly devised its own strident moral rhetoric to counteract the Northern attacks.

These pro-slavery arguments were built around several themes. Some pro-slavery advocates (most notably, John C. Calhoun) insisted that civilization, culture and progress were not possible without a labouring class. Furthermore, it was much more reasonable that this class should be owned rather than hired—that way the owners had a direct, paternalistic and economic interest in the well-being of their labourers. Pro-slavery advocates pointed out the exploitative factory conditions in the North, where workers would be dismissed and abandoned to starve when they were unable to work. South Carolina Senator, James Hammond, succinctly voiced this belief in the utter superiority of Southern civilization in his famous ''King Cotton'' speech to the Senate in 1858.

> In all social systems there must be a class to do the menial duties, to perform the drudgery of life. . . . Such a class you must have, or you would not have that other class which leads progress, civilization, and refinement. . . . Your whole hireling class of manual labourers and ''operatives,'' as you call them are essentially slaves. The difference between us is, that our slaves are hired for life and well compensated . . . yours are hired by the day, not cared for, and scantily compensated. (Quoted in McPherson 1988:196)

These images of the kindly paternalistic plantation owner and the civilized, refined and morally superior South were strong and resonant. Thus, the self-serving rhetoric sponsored by the planter class became the dominant ideology for the whole South. Poor whites endorsed it as well because of racism—they preferred to identify with the rich whites rather than the slaves. This belief in the inherent moral superiority of the Southern way of life provided a powerful impetus for isolationism, sectionalism and fierce

pride. As the tension between North and South escalated, Southerners became more powerfully unified around these images; it insistently became a distinct cultural entity.

Losing the Civil War did not destroy, but rather strengthened, those beliefs. For the South, the "Glorious Cause" became even more enshrined in defeat. Southerners were unified in their humiliation and defeat and, more importantly, utterly convinced that it was God's will that the South should "rise again" (McPherson 1988). Sharecropping was one attempt to reinstate the old beloved system. Cotton monoculture was also an effort to retrack the path that led the South to its former glory. Growing enough cotton, they reasoned, would surely bring back the pre-war prosperity.

These beliefs carried over until well into the 1900s. In the 1920s, President Harding made a special visit to the South; one old woman refused to see him, insisting that Jefferson Davis was the only President that she would ever acknowledge (Chapman 1922). Southerners saw themselves as the valiant remnants of a dignified and superior society. "The South has always been the land of refinement and chivalry, of leisurely courtesy and boundless hospitality, the land of fair women and brave men ... the greatest gift we can bring the nation is our true character" (Chapman 1922).

Integral to the Southern identity was fierce devotion and pride. The formula was simple: to criticize the Southern code was blasphemy, to endorse it was patriotism. This is especially evident in the South's reaction to Goldberger's discoveries. Southerners could not accept Goldberger's conclusions about pellagra because to do so would shatter their cherished belief in the purity of their social system. It would be defaced with the stigmas of poverty, hunger and social ill. The Civil War had forced the South to admit *defeat*, but epidemic nutritional disease meant *failure* — failure of cotton, failure of the Southern ideal and a surrender of Southern honour. This was the true reason for the South's inertia in addressing the pellagra epidemic. Had the disease been caused by a mosquito or a fungus, the response would have been different. As it turned out, it was not until a natural disaster decimated the croplands in the Mississippi River Valley that the South finally could accept food aid and initiate an anti-pellagra campaign without losing face.

Finale

In the early spring of 1927, the Mississippi River overflowed its banks and devastated prime farmland throughout 12 states in 112 counties (Etheridge 1972). Goldberger predicted a massive increase in the number of pellagra cases unless some preventive measures were taken as part of the flood relief in general. The flood meant that the Southerners could accept aid without

feeling stigmatized — they listened to Goldberger and could accept offers from the Red Cross. In the preceding years, he had quietly and painstakingly been conducting a search for foods high in the mysterious substance known as P-P (pellagra preventive factor). Brewer's yeast proved to have the most dramatic effects so the Red Cross began distributing yeast along with surplus garden seeds to flood victims.

The obvious success of this response to the flood crisis won over many of the Southern physicians. In 1928, they announced an official endorsement of Goldberger's ideas and denounced the economic conditions of the South. The public health effort still lagged far behind, however; mortality statistics continued to climb at an alarming rate and the South sunk deeper into an agricultural depression. Between 1924 and 1928 mortality from pellagra jumped 58 percent (Roe 1972:128). The agricultural depression and the economic conditions in the South continued to worsen — foreshadowing the industrial crash to come.

Ironically, it was the Great Depression that provided the most relief to the farmers in the South. A tremendous drought hit the South in 1930-31 at the same time that banks were failing all across the region. Relief efforts by the Red Cross were intensified. Since the cotton crop had failed miserably, and cotton was practically unsaleable anyway, agricultural extension agents encouraged farmers to turn their attention to food crops. Home canning was successfully promoted in conjunction with gardening. Pellagra incidence declined significantly, but it was not until the 1940s with the discovery of niacin and the subsequent enrichment of cereal products that it was finally eradicated once and for all.

In 1937, niacin was finally isolated as the elusive pellagra preventive factor by Drs. Tom D. Spies, William Bennett Bean and Robert F. Stone (Roe 1973:126). At that point, the number of pellagra cases per year was estimated to be around 400 000 with a mortality rate of about 30 to 40 percent (Roe 1973:126). By 1940, this had plunged to 9000 cases with 2040 deaths (or 23% mortality rate), and by 1945 this was further decreased to 4000 cases with 865 deaths (Etheridge 1972:208). The end of pellagra in the United States, however, came with the decision to enrich bread and other cereal products during the World War II years.

In terms of eliminating a particular nutritional disease, the eradication of pellagra is a success story. In less than 20 years, U.S. scientists had solved a medical mystery that had puzzled Europeans for decades. However, too much self-congratulation is not in order. Medical researchers had brought relief for some of the outward symptoms, but the true underlying illness was social, not medical. The eradication of pellagra did very little to modify the socio-economic conditions in the South to a more equitable system. The poor were still exploited (albeit on a somewhat smaller scale), but, once

they no longer suffered gross visual manifestations of their plight, little attention was paid to their misery.

Notes

1. This paper was the winning entry of the 1991 Northeastern Anthropological Association Student Essay Competition, graduate category.
2. I have based these estimates on various statistics. One South Carolina public health official estimated 400 000 cases of pellagra in the worst year of the epidemic with a mortality rate anywhere from 30 to 60 percent. I would estimate the average disease incidence per year between 1916 and 1930 at somewhere between 60 000 and 100 000 cases with a mortality rate of 45 percent.

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NEITHER MAN NOR WOMAN: BERDACHE – A CASE FOR NON-DICHOTOMOUS GENDER CONSTRUCTION[1]

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Abstract: How many genders are there? The notion that gender is inevitably dichotomous is strongly challenged by the historical and contemporary existence of the berdache status in many North American societies. A preliminary conceptual framework for the analysis of sex/gender systems is proposed. The berdache status as understood in the English-language ethnographic literature is summarized. The traditional characterization of the status (e.g., institutionalized homosexuality or transvestite) are criticized and alternative categorizations of — "male" and "female" — berdaches, as third and fourth genders, are presented. Considered in this light, gender as a dichotomous classification system is seen to be a cultural construct. The implications of this conclusion for feminist theorizing are explored.

Résumé: Combien existe-t-il de genres? Cette notion de genre inévitablement dichotomique est remise en question par l'éxistence à la fois historique et contemporaine du statut berdache au sein de nombreuses sociétés nord-américaines. L'article propose un cadre conceptuel préliminaire pour l'analyse des systèmes sexe/genre.

On y résume d'abord ce qu'est le statut berdache dans la littérature ethnographique de langue anglaise.

Les réprésentations traditionelles du statut (telles l'homosexualité institutionelle ou les travestis) sont critiquées; par contre, on propose des catégorisations alternatives de berdache «male» et «femele» comme troisième et quatrième genres.

À la lumière de cette argumentation, le genre comme système de classification dichotomique apparâit comme étant-une construction culturelle.

Les implications d'une telle conclusion sont examinées dans l'optique de théories féministes.

Introduction

> How many genders are there? To a modern
> Anglo-American, nothing might seem more
> definite than the answer that there are two:
> men and women. But not all societies
> around the world agree with Western cul-
> ture's view that all humans are men or
> women.
>   — Williams 1986:1

The existence of the North American Indian berdache status(es), I will ar-
gue, represents one such exception.[2] After outlining a framework for the
consideration of sex/gender systems, I will describe the berdache status as
understood in the English-language ethnographic literature. Next, I will
look at the traditional characterizations of this status and explain why they
are inappropriate. I will then propose that ("female" and "male") ber-
daches be viewed as gender statuses distinct from men or women. Finally, I
will suggest some implications of this for sex/gender studies and feminist
theorizing.

The existence of two sexes and of two genders is largely taken for
granted as "irreducible facts" within our Euro-Western cultural tradition
(Kessler and McKenna 1978:vii). Like our other basic and often related di-
chotomies, this pair of dichotomies is pervasive. In our mythology (e.g.,
Adam and Eve) and in our everyday social interactions, from the first ques-
tion we ask about a newborn to the ways in which we conceptualize the uni-
verse, a (gender) dichotomizing framework is discernible.[3]

Most feminist research on sex/gender issues takes the basic gender di-
chotomy for granted. Some call for a blurring of dichotomous views of men
and women by adopting a synthetic view of secondary dichotomies (e.g.,
Hein 1984, Ortner 1974); some argue for revalorization of women and those
things that are associated with them (an example can be found in Hein
1984), some argue for more integrated, interactional relationships between
individuals and groups (both inter- and intra-gender) based on "feminine"
traits of "caring" (e.g., Whitbeck 1984).

A careful consideration of the preponderance of feminist and sex/gender
research reveals that it is not really about the construction of sex/gender
systems but about the construction of the Euro-Western and dichotomizing
sex/gender system. While interesting and even politically fruitful (to some
feminist agendas), the feminist bipolar and ethnocentric perspectives are
forced to construct their (sometimes utopian) horizons out of a criticism of
the limits of *our* patriarchal system. By overlooking the sex/gender systems
of other societies (both historical and contemporary) researchers almost

inevitably fall into the trap of perceiving and conceptualizing the world with just two types of human beings.

Pre-feminist and non-feminist conceptions of the world had one basic type of "human" (i.e., man) and a secondary deficient (see Donchin 1984 for discussion) "not fully human" (see Frye 1975 for discussion) inferior "female man" or "other" (de Beauvoir 1940). Feminists, by contrast, have tended to conceptualize two types of full humans living in this world.

I intend, by the use of ethnographic example, to indicate the possibility and the reality of a world with more than two types, in the hope that this will serve to get beyond the dichotomizing conceptions of sex and gender within (universalizing) Euro-Western thought. To that end, I shall begin by making some necessary analytical distinctions. I will then endeavour to show that not only are our understandings of "man" and "woman" cultural constructs,[4] but to show that the number of genders itself is a cultural construct.

Analytical Distinctions

The following analytical distinctions form the basis of my subsequent analysis and very significantly inform and direct the perspective presented. It might be useful to understand my perspective as one which views sex, gender, the number of sexes and the number of genders as constructed. These definitions vary considerably from those in some of my source material, leading to necessarily different conceptualizations and conclusions.

Folk Classification: The concept of folk classification is central to my analysis. The use of the folk classification concept is an attempt to avoid imposing or applying "external" (ethnocentric or anthropologists') cultural categories when talking about some aspect of the social reality of a given social group. This social group may use different categories to talk about the same phenomenon, and it is precisely these categories, their taxonomic structures and other organizing models, that are referred to as folk classification. "The growing evidence indicates that environmentally uniform physical elements are classified differently by societies" (Martin and Voorhies 1975:87). One popular and often cited example of the variability in folk classification systems are the many Inuit distinctions for different types of snow.[5] That skiers (or Montreal pedestrians for that matter) have significantly large repertoires of similar distinctions is an equally valid example of a folk classification model.

Recent criticism of (and retreat from) extreme relativism in folk classification studies notwithstanding,[6] the notion remains both productive and insightful. The "folk" (i.e., social group) can be defined as any community

with a high degree of overlap in cultural category designations.[7] Significantly, the "folk" may be sociobiologists, anthropologists or feminist writers[8]

Sex: From an essentialist perspective, sex is viewed as the determinant of the biological, social and psychological make-up of a male or female. From a more recent feminist perspective, sex is distinguished from gender as the biological dimension in defining and constructing what it is to be male or female. In both versions, sex consists of what one is born with. But, at this point, distinguishing that which is biological from that which is not remains contentious and therefore sex should be understood as a folk classification system which divides humanity into two or more categories (e.g., male and female) on the basis of both biological *and* cultural criteria *in the belief that the criteria being used are biologically determined or "natural."*

Gender: By contrast, gender has typically been used to refer to the psychological, social and cultural elements in the constructions of males and females (Stoller 1968). Herein gender classifications will be viewed as folk classifications dividing humanity into two or more types based on what *are believed to be non-"natural," i.e., cultural elements.* One might note that at this point androgyny exists only in theory and fiction.

Sex/Gender System:[9] This is the folk classification of both gender and sex categories. The system varies in its construction from culture to culture but invariably (i.e., cross-culturally) contains a minimum of two sexes and two genders.

Gender Attribution and Sex Attribution: According to Kessler and McKenna (1978), gender attribution, or "assigning" a gender, is the act of deciding whether someone is a man or a woman. In keeping with the preceding definitions, I must expand the definition to include other genders that are neither men nor women (as defined by folk classifications). Gender attribution is made on the basis of numerous and redundant morphological (e.g., breasts and beards) and cultural (e.g., hairstyle, clothing, posture) elements. In this way Western gender assignments tend to coincide with Western sex assignments. As such is not necessarily the case in all societies, sex and gender attribution are analytically distinguished. Following Kessler and McKenna, *gender attribution* precedes and defines *gender role* and *gender identity*, although there is dynamic interplay between the three. It should be clear from this, that neither a person's sex nor gender are simply innate.

Gender Role and Gender Identity/Sex Role and Sex Identity: One's gender role is the sum of all behaviours that a person engages in to indicate to others or to the self that one is a man, a woman or some other gender. Gender role is the outward (public) manifestation of one's gender identity, and gender identity is the personal experience of one's gender role (Kessler and McKenna 1978). The concepts of sex role and sex identity should be distinguished here from gender role and gender identity as sex and gender

do not necessarily have a one-to-one relationship. The study of gender (and sex) identity is primarily the focus of psychologists. My focus here is socio-cultural and is thus more closely related to gender (and sex) roles and gender (and sex) attribution.

Female/Male — Woman/Man: The terms female and male are used to des-ignate two most common varieties of *sex* assignments. The terms man and woman represent the two most common *gender* assignments. All are folk classifications and are not necessarily universal or paired.

Intersex: This is a person with genitalia that are neither typically male nor female. The term itself implies a "middle" position which should not be as-sumed. The folk classifications hermaphrodite and Nadle (Hill 1935) fall into this category.

Transsexual: A person is a transsexual when the individual's gender iden-tity and gender assignment conflict. The term only has meaning because we make gender attributions for everyone.

Transvestite: A transvestite is a person whose gender assignment and gender identity are in correspondence with each other but are both in con-trast to the gender association of the clothes that this person wears. This cat-egory is highly contextual and, therefore, relatively ambiguous and difficult to apply.

Heterosexuality, Homosexuality and Bisexuality: These categories relate to one's (choice of)[10] sexual partners. The choice lies, respectively, be-tween different gender partners, same gender partners and "either" gender partners. These terms traditionally imply two genders, as well as one-on-one sexuality.

The term bisexual most explicitly implies two dichotomous gender categories and is, therefore, culture-specific. An appropriate alternative term, which would incorporate the possible variations, would be "multisex-ual." Sexuality, it should be noted, is an element of variable importance in different sex/gender systems. Gender attribution of each partner must logi-cally precede the labels of sexual practices (or preferences).

The critical or sensitive reader might think that the preceding presentation of "analytical distinctions" sounds itself very much like a folk classifica-tion model. Inasmuch as the notions are shared by some, it is. The frame-work outlined is intended to facilitate comparisons of different sex/gender systems and is itself subject to revision as "evidence" and "anomalies" dictate. The berdache will now be considered in the context of the preceding framework.

The Berdache Status

The berdache has been characterized in many different ways by different authors. This multiplex depiction is doubtless a reflection, in part, of the great variation that characterizes the role. I will briefly sketch a basic consensus regarding this role as interpreted by several authors, before discussing the more controversial and interesting theoretical views.

The berdache is a person who is usually male but sometimes female or intersexed.[11] This person assumes as least some of the occupations, dress, and other behaviours associated with the "other" (or different) sex, at least some of the time. This type of person is labelled by Native American societies with a title distinct from "man" or "woman," and the berdache has a recognized and accepted social status which is frequently rooted in mythology. They often serve a meditating role between men and woman; a position afforded by their distinctness and special spirit. This distinct and even unusual status also affords the berdache special spiritual power as the mediator between the spiritual and physical worlds. Sexuality is variable (Collander and Kochems 1983; Martin and Voorhies 1975; Bolin 1987; Williams 1986; Kessler and Mckenna 1978).

State of Research and Documentation

Williams discusses the state of research on the berdache (1986:3-14). The documentation on the berdache has been, until recently, largely hidden away as a peripheral topic in ethnographies or in early explorers'' and missionaries'' accounts of what was presented as the base immorality of the savages. There are a number of reasons for the lack of information. Historians have typically shown a basic lack of interest in the internal organization of Native societies. Furthermore, historians and more recently ethnohistorians have tended to consider men killing each other to be of far more importance in understanding the past than the history of sexuality and sex/gender systems. Homophobic Western attitudes have led to voluntary, and even mandatory censorship, such as the 1975 decision of the Executive Board of the American Anthropological Association which voted "not to endorse research on homosexuality across national borders" (cited in Williams 1986:13). According to Read this "is indicative of the persistence of [homophobic] Western attitudes . . . though it [homosexuality] is probably as prevalent as witchcraft [it] is morally distasteful" (ibid.).

Additional reasons for the lack of knowledge available on the berdache status include: missed references; "extinct" societies; inhibitions of anthropologists about discussing sex and sexuality and native inhibitions about discussing such matters for reasons of secrecy or, amongst some Christian

natives, out of fear of embarrassment and the self-conscious desire to suppress the "shameful" traditions of the past.

Range and Distribution

Collander and Kochems find the berdache institution to be present in 113 societies in North America, north of Mexico, as recorded by anthropologists and others since the time of contact. In many societies the evidence for the status is either missing altogether or ambiguous. A complete absence of the institution is only explicitly reported for nine groups. But even these instances are on shaky ground because numerous cases of explicit denials of the berdache status have been reported for societies in which the status is known to have existed (1983:444-445). Furthermore, the presence of the very similar "soft man" status amongst the Chuckchee of Northern Siberia (Bogoras 1907) points to the possibility that the berdache status was brought to America by the first people to come across the Bering Strait. If this is correct, the implications for antiquity and distribution are enormous. Combined with the reasons delineated above, it seems likely that berdache status was even more widespread than currently acknowledged: "We cannot assume that berdaches were completely absent from any Native American culture, and we need to question statements that suggest its nonexistence" (Williams 1986:4).[12]

Sexuality

Berdaches, without recorded exception, had sexual relations only with non-berdaches. Otherwise, they were not restricted. Non-berdache women and men could have sex with men, women and berdaches. Sexuality, in general, was highly variable.

Sexuality was not considered as important an element in definitions of gender within North American Native societies as it is in Euro-Western societies. Williams (1986) argues that a person's spiritual essence was of primary importance, while Whitehead explains that North American Native gender attributions, in contrast to Euro-Western ones, foregrounded occupation and social behaviour. Choice of sexual partners, she says, was of secondary interest (1981:97) in assigning gender. Unlike Euro-American society heterosexuality was not rigidly mandatory (Firestone 1978). This is not to suggest, though, that man-woman "marriage" unions were not also the norm.

Clothing

Although, generally speaking, berdaches "cross dressed" (i.e., wore the clothing of the "other" sex), there is great variability in the literature about this. Male berdaches often wore the clothes and hairstyles of women and often imitated their voices. Female berdaches often dressed as men. Most frequently clothing choice would be contextual. Often elements of men's wardrobes and women's wardrobes were combined. Sometimes the berdache would make and wear clothing that was completely distinct from women or men.

Clothing, like many aspects of the berdache status, was variable across cultures. For example, the Pima's male berdaches took the speech and postures of women but not their dress (Hill 1938:339), while in other societies there were female berdaches who did not wear men's clothing. There were instances of individual choice in dress but most commonly the choice of clothing depended on the gender association of the task at hand (e.g., cooking, hunting) or the "marital status" of the berdache (Collander and Kochems 1983:446).

According to Landes and Lurie, becoming a male berdache is a transformation which occurred in several stages. The status was adopted gradually with the adoption of women's clothing as the final stage and the end of the process (Landes 1970:198-202; Lurie 1953:708). The label of transvestite as applied to berdaches will be discussed below.

Occupations

Berdaches usually adopted the occupations of the gender whose clothing they assumed. This was a particularly significant characteristic of their status. It is one of the most often noted traits and, like cross dressing, it is one of the most significant (Collander and Kochems 1983:447).

Another feature of the status was the very frequently cited proficiency that the berdache had in the performance of the tasks specific to the gender whose clothing s/he assumed. For example, there are many accounts of very successful female berdache hunters (Devereux 1937:515).

The berdaches tended to be very successful in their ventures and very productive. This success and wealth is attributed to a number of factors including: the productive capacities of a male berdache-to-man marriage which did not need to raise offspring (Devereux 1937:513-515; Hill 1935:274); the claim that they had superior strength; their supernatural powers and, perhaps most significantly, their ability to combine men's and women's economic activities. Without the restrictions of the sexual division of labour, the berdache had great economic opportunities (Collander and Kochems 1983:447-448).

In some societies the berdache performed special services, often at birth or death. One of the most significant roles played by the berdache was that of mediator and intermediary between men and women in cases of disputes. This follows a tenet widespread in Native American religions: Where there are polarities, there are mediators. These mediators hold the polarities together "to keep the world from disintegrating" (Williams 1986:20).

Warfare

Berdache status has occasionally been associated with men who did not want to be warriors out of fear (i.e., the berdache as coward). The male berdache was frequently, but not always, excluded from warfare, which was, on the whole, a male-only activity. On the other hand, in many societies, male berdaches did fight, but wore men's clothing at this time. Sometimes they even had particularly significant roles in the "war complex," as they had special powers (amongst the Cheyenne Indians, for instance [Hoebel 1960:77]). Female berdaches, it seems, took part in warfare to an even greater extent than non-berdache woman warriors.

Regardless of the extent to which berdaches took part in warfare, or of their specific relation to it, like their relation to other aspects of culture they were, in this respect, notably distinct from men or women.

Spiritual Aspects and Ceremonial Roles

The spiritual power and position is the most difficult aspect of the berdache's role to understand because it requires understanding of, and contextualization within, Native American religious belief and ceremonialism. A rigorous description of this spirituality is beyond the scope of this paper and beyond the scope of my knowledge. Nonetheless, it is important to note the great significance of this aspect of life, and the spirituality of berdaches in particular, to traditional Native Americans. Williams (1986), throughout his work, strongly emphasizes that the berdache's spirit, or spiritual essence, is considered to be the most salient aspect of their existence. Referring to Native American spirituality:

> They have the greatest faith in dreams, by which they imagine that the deity informs them of future events, [and] enjoins them certain penances ... I have known several instances of some of their men, who by virtue of an extraordinary dream, have been affected to such a degree as to abandon every custom characteristic of their sex and adopt the dress and manners of the women. They are never ridiculed or despised by the men on account of their new costumes, but are, on the contrary, respected as saints or beings in some degree inspired. (Early 19th century, Peter Grant, as cited in Williams 1986:31)

These dreams or visions which "instruct" the person to become a ber-
dache are very widely known and reported. For example, such vision expe-
riences are described amongst the Winnebago and Iowa (Lurie
1953:70,711) and amongst the Santee Dakota and Potawatomi (Landes
1970:57,190-191). The other primary, though less widespread, factor which
is widely reported as preceding the assumption of berdache status is an un-
usual interest on the part of a child in the work and members of the "other
sex." These two factors are neither contradictory nor mutually exclusive. In
fact, they are often found in combination with each other, as well as with
other forms of "recruitment."

Certain mythological figures could be considered to validate and, by as-
sociation, valorize the role of berdache. Normally, though, the mythological
figure was not a berdache, but an intersex or intersex twins born to first man
and first woman (e.g., Hill 1935:273-274). Real and mythological intersexes
were strongly associated with berdaches. Consider for example, the Navajo
distinction, as reported by Hill (1935:273), between "real Nadle" (intersex)
and "those who pretend they are Nadle." While this real vs. pretend Nadle
represents an example of an application of the sex/gender distinction (per-
haps third sex and third gender), it also draws attention to the difficulty of
distinguishing sex (real) from gender (fake).

The ceremonial-religious role of the berdache overlaps with that of Sha-
man. Their responsibilities include mediation between the worlds of spirit
and flesh (i.e., the physical and spiritual), healing and a general responsibil-
ity for the welfare of the whole society. Shamans are not necessarily ber-
daches, but berdaches are usually considered to be powerful sorts of sha-
mans. The Mohaves believed that women shamans were more powerful
than men shamans and berdache shamans were more powerful yet. The ber-
dache's ceremonial and spiritual roles involved them in very significant
ways with almost every aspect of Native life (Williams 1986:31-43).

Characterizing the Berdache

The berdache institution has been variously described as, and confused
with, intersex, institutionalized homosexuality, transvestism, gender cross-
ing or transsexuals and gender-mixing. I suggest that all of these character-
izations are a result of misunderstandings of the nature of the status result-
ing from an ethnocentric perspective that is unable or unwilling to concep-
tualize more than two sexes or genders. The writers come from a culture in
which the gender and sex system is rigid and dichotomous. Gender attribu-
tion into one of two categories is taken for granted. When a puzzling gender
role is presented, the Western writers have tried to fit it into their own
sex/gender system and conceptualizations. They search for somewhat analo-

gous categories in Western society and call it a match. The basic errors can be simply understood as ethnocentrism and can be avoided by understanding folk classification systems and the nature of the specific sex and gender construction in the societies in question. In doing so, I will hopefully arrive at a more appropriate gender attribution for the berdache.

Berdache as an Institutionalized Homosexuality

Devereux (1937) and more recently Katz (1976) are two of the people who conceptualize berdaches as an example of the institutional sanctioning of homoerotic behaviour. Devereux's belief in rigidly dichotomized gender role categories kept him from understanding that the berdache role is not synonymous with either the man or the woman gender role (Kessler and McKenna 1978:28). Katz's political agenda of reclaiming and writing Gay American history may have been the motivation for his characterization of the berdache as homosexual.

There are two reasons to reject the homosexual characterization. First of all, as outlined earlier, a berdache's sexuality was highly variable. Neither same sex sexuality nor same gender sexuality is a necessary correlate of berdachehood.

Secondly, if we accept that berdaches are neither men nor women but rather third and forth genders, then only berdache-berdache sexuality could be construed as homosexual and as noted, this did not occur. From this perspective, male berdache-man sexuality or female-berdache-woman sexuality are by definition heterosexual.

Berdache as Transvestite

Devereux (1937) uses the terms "berdache" and "transvestite" interchangeably. A great deal of the anthropological literature refers to berdaches as transvestites. There are several reasons that this is not an accurate characterization. Firstly, there are instances in which men dressed as women but were not berdaches. These cases were related to disgrace for cowardice in battle and have no relation to berdachehood (Lurie 1953:710, Collander and Kochems 1983:443). Secondly, berdaches, as stated earlier, did not always wear the clothing of the "opposite sex.' Furthermore, they frequently wore a combination of both men and women's clothing or even altogether unique clothing.

In the terminology outlined, a berdache's gender assignment and gender identity are consistent with each other but are *not* in contradiction with her/his choice of clothing. The berdaches choice of clothing matches her/his gender role or is an example of the great license (freedom of choice) that

s/he (. . .) has and therefore berdache and transvestite cannot be considered synonymous.

Berdache as Intersex

Non-Natives, including anthropologists, have been so confused by the strange berdache role that they have sometimes mistaken berdaches with hermaphrodites. This term implies genitalia that are neither "properly" male or female. Berdaches have "normal" genitalia, as has been confirmed by curious and invasive whites. One possible reason for the confusion is linguistic. Natives sometimes characterize berdaches as "half-man/half-woman" or "half and half people." Combine this with Western gender construction's emphasis on physical traits — hair and body hair, breasts, genitalia — and we can understand the mistake. By contrast, the North American natives place far more emphasis on a person's spirit or spiritual essence, the physical body is secondary (Williams 1986).

Another simple distinction between the berdache and the intersex is the physical/cultural distinction. Intersex status is permanent, berdachehood is not. Even amongst the Navajo, who explicitly recognize an intersex category as well as a berdache category, there is a distinction made. Intersexes are Nadle and berdaches are "those who pretend to be Nadle" (Hill 1935; Martin and Voorhies 1975:87).

Berdachism and Transsexualism

Angelino and Shedd successfully steered away from the terms hermaphroditism and transvestism to arrive at the notion of gender crossing or transsexualism. They write that a berdache is a person who "assumes the role and status of the opposite sex" (1955:125). Whitehead, more recently characterized berdaches as "gender-crossers . . . becoming a member of the opposite sex." She considers the transsexual in our society to be an appropriate analog (1981:93,96).

While male berdaches sometimes do women's work and wear women's clothing, they do not bear children. They act as mediators between men and women, have special responsibilities and a distinct "spirit." It seems, therefore, inappropriate to assign them the status of transsexual, which essentially entails fulfilling all of the roles of the "other" sex.

At the root of this transsexual designation is the Western dichotomous view of sex and gender. There are two genders and they are "opposites." You must be one or the other. In our society, transsexuals (i.e., people whose gender assignments and gender identities do not match) often opt for surgery to establish this match. A berdache's gender assignment and iden-

tity do not conflict. The berdache's gender identity, though, *does* conflict with Euro-Western gender assignments.

Berdachism as Gender Mixing

Collander and Kochems refer to berdache as a kind of gender mixing or "movement toward a somewhat intermediate status" (1983:443). This is a much more subtle definition than those discussed above. There is certainly some validity to this notion if we understand that berdaches take on some of the behaviour and roles of men and some of those of women. But if we alternatively view this not as "taking on" behaviours of men and women, but as "sharing" behaviours with men and women, then the term "mixing" becomes invalid.

Furthermore, the distinct behaviours and roles of the berdache (for example, their special spirituality and the very ability to "combine" activities) are all elements of the berdache status which are not "mixed in" from women or men.

The concept of gender mixing is another appropriate response from a gender dichotomizing perspective which is unable to perceive this institution outside the basic Euro-Western framework. On the other hand, the notion of mixing does entail the recognition of individuals who are not precisely equal to women or men.

Conclusion

As I have elaborated, the berdache has a combination of dressing patterns and sex assignment that is shared neither by men nor women. The combination of their sex assignment and their occupational roles are also distinct. Their position in the "war complex" is often distinct from the warfare role played by people with the gender assignment of man or woman. In their sexuality, berdaches, unlike men or women, never have sexual relationships with other berdaches. Their spiritual role, although overlapping with shamanism to some extent, is distinct in that berdaches act as mediators between women and men and sometimes perform specialized services that no one else could. Their spiritual powers are impressive and unparalleled. Linguistically, natives used different referents for berdaches than they did for ordinary men and women. Finally, living traditionalist natives and berdaches consider the spiritual essence of the berdache to be distinct from men's and women's, and unique. Therefore, they should be understood neither as women nor as men. Female berdaches are a third gender and male berdaches are a fourth. But if we follow some of the mythology, the berdache was the first gender. In fact a berdache was the first human, preceding not only European arrival in this land, but men and women as well.

Kessler and McKenna question the premise that gender is an inevitable dichotomy and argue that it is continuous. They conclude that "biological, psychological and social differences do not lead to our seeing two genders. Our seeing two genders leads to the "discovery" of biological, psychological, and social differences (1978:163). This radical perspective asserts the primacy of gender attribution and has far reaching implications for all aspects of gender or sex research.

From the evidence of the berdache, there emerges the conclusion that gender as a bipolar classification system is a cultural construct. Berdaches should be understood as third and fourth genders and the sex/gender system should be understood as a way to divide up humanity. The full implications of this sort of argument for sex/gender studies and for Euro-Western (at least) feminism and feminist theorizing remain to be seen, but I would argue that the existence of the berdache, as well as other non-dichotomous gender systems cross-culturally,[13] strongly support certain feminist models for a sexually egalitarian society. The existence of third and fourth genders serve as strong buttresses in the construction of new models of sex and gender which eschew the basic dichotomies.

Amongst the fluorescence of new feminist ideas, particularly since the 1970s, is a stream of thought which I have referred to as "Gender Proliferation" (Schnarch n.d. a). An ideal society within a gender proliferation model would not propose a "unisex" world (like that of some liberal feminist models), instead, a diversity of (gender) roles would be possible. An individual could hold "masculine" traits (e.g., objectivity, agressivity, rationality) and "feminine" traits (e.g., nurturing, responsibility, sensitivity) in any combination, including "pure" masculine or feminine. Given time, these traits would lose their gender associations and simply become gender-neutral traits to be adopted (or not) by individuals hodge-podge, mix-and-match or don't match if you prefer.

Gender proliferation is *not*, as the label might imply, specifically about adding third and fourth genders. It is about diversity. It proposes the abolition of a formula for both gender and genders, as well as the lack of a formula by which sex and gender are linked. Knowledge about radically different sex/gender systems in other societies can help inform and support such feminist models and goals for social change. This knowledge can serve to take us beyond the rigid dichotomous conceptions of sex and gender that bare central to the organization of the Euro-Western patriarchal system.

Notes

1. This paper was the winning entry of the 1991 Northeastern Anthropological Association Student Essay Competition, undergraduate category.

2. I would like to thank those who helped me in various ways while working on this paper: H. Bristol, R. Keesing and especially my insightful undergraduate friends.
3. Feminist analyses and discussions of gender-related dichotomies can be found, amongst others, in de Beauvoir (1940), Hein (1984), Ortner (1974) and Whitbeck (1984).
4. The cultural construction of "woman" and "man" has been fairly well explored in feminist writings and has been developed in cross-cultural perspective in Rosaldo and Lamphere (1974) and in Ortner and Whitehead (1981).
5. The number of distinctions, though, has been occasionally exaggerated due to the linguistic error of failing to distinguish prefixes and adjectives from nouns.
6. Brown (1984) and Atran (1990) each discuss "regularities" and "uniformities" in cross-cultural folk classification.
7. Keesing (1987) addresses the question of how cultural (i.e., folk) models can be portrayed as monolithic, idealized and normative.
8. Keesing (1987) discusses the questionable distinction of "folk" vs. "expert" models. A discussion of the concept of folk classification and its specific applications with respect to sex and gender can be found in Martin and Voorhies (1975).
9. My usage of this term differs from that of Rubin (1975) who coined it originally.
10. In "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence," Rich (1980) argues that (within a Euro-Western framework at least) there is not much "choice" involved.
11. It should be noted here that the "female" and "male" labels used here, whether they are berdaches or not, are Native American (folk) sex categories. Amongst the Navajo, the Nadle, an intersex, was also recognized (Hill 1935:273). Geertz (1983) discusses the Nadle as a third sex.
12. The berdache status continues to exist in the late 20th century. In fact, Williams' *The Spirit and the Flesh* (1986) is, in part, based on the field research he carried out in 1980 interviewing and living with "real live" berdaches.
13. These include the "soft man" of the Chuckchee in Siberia (Bogoras 1907), the Mahu role in Polynesia (Levy 1971, 1973), the Hijras of India (Nanda 1990) and the Xanith of Oman (Wikan 1977), amongst others. See Williams (1986), Nanda (1990) and Schnarch (n.d. a and b) for comparative outlines and discussions.

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

The Politics of Evolution: Morphology, Medicine and Reform in Radical London
Adrian Desmond
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. x + 503 pp. N.p. (cloth)

Reviewer: Ron Curtis
Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada

Why did Geoffroyan anatomy and Lamarckian evolution dominate London medical science in the 1830s, when they were adopted by reformers wishing to democratize such institutions as the Royal College of Surgeons? Why were these theories rejected by the "governing class," the Oxbridge Paleyiite Anglicans? Desmond argues that they flourished where they were politically useful. The Lamarckian model of relentless, democratic ascent, of "power-driven from below," provided a natural legitimation for reform. By contrast, the Paleyiite alternative, in which an omnipotent Deity intervened directly to create new species, promoted the "aristocratic ideal of a downward-delegating authority" (p. 107).

These are loose analogies, at best. And although Desmond speaks of the "cultural implications of the competing . . . anatomies" (p. 373) and of the "binding legalistic requirements" which the new sciences "entailed" (p. 198), he does not mean *logical* entailment, for he acknowledges that their "social meanings . . . were . . . contingent and not logically inherent" (p. 378). The conservatives *could* have been Lamarckians.

In place of an objective, *logical* connection, Desmond tries to find a *social* link, with a force rivalling logic. He tries to illuminate it with a mixture of mechanical, medical and mercantile metaphor: "[W]hat . . . riveted the contingent political and scientific aspects . . . together was the disputes engaged in [between reformers and] conservatives. These . . . kept the camps polarized ensuring that [participants] supported the socio-scientific packages in their entirety" (p. 130). It was like subliminal advertising: the conservatives' distaste for the reformers' politics spread by association to their science. But why were things packaged this way in the first place? Why were reformers Geoffroyans and Lamarckians? Geoffroyan anatomy was like the common cold: "in the medical societies . . . Geoffroyans rubbed shoulders with . . . moderate [reformers]" and the "new anatomies thrived" in the presence of an "infectious radicalism" (p. 197).

Desmond's epidemiology seems to me mistaken. Shoulder-rubbing often produces friction, debate. Desmond ignores the scientific debates taking place *within* the opposing political camps. For example, not all conservatives were Paleyiite Divine Interventionists. William Whewell, a conservative Cambridge divine, argued that God acts not directly but through natural law. (See my "Baden Powell and the Whewell Legend," *Annals of Science* 47 [1990], 301-312). For Whewell, as for the radicals, nature was subject to binding, legalistic requirements; but Desmond, who sees only mutually exclusive packages, portrays him as a Paleyiite (pp. 63-64, 172-173).

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If we deny that political and scientific ideas had to come in complete, distinct packages, Desmond's question remains. Why was evolution to be found in the re-forming medical schools, but not in Oxbridge? Desmond cannot, in the end, answer this and he thus makes clear the deficiencies of the so-called Strong Programme in the sociology of science, with which he has close links. This school denies that ideas, scientific theories, are "autonomous entities with power or influence over . . . minds" (Barry Barnes, *T.S. Kuhn and Social Science* [Macmillan, 1982], p. 8). Desmond is determined to have no "truck with the old 'internalists' who wrenched science from its social context and wrote ghostly histories of disembodied ideas" (p. 21).

Though he writes as if his main historiographical rival is the old-fashioned Baconian inductivist, Desmond's real opponent is Karl Popper, who argues that fallible theories, intellectual problems and critical arguments do have an existence, a status, somehow separate from, and independent of, subjective thought processes, and a capacity to influence the course of history.

In limiting himself to social forces, Desmond has ensured his project will fail. We see this clearly where he summarizes his argument (pp. 378-380). If the "social meanings of the sciences were local and contingent," why did Geoffroy and Lamarck flourish among medical democrats? Because, the author answers, "the medical manufactures were the original warehouses of this imported republican science" (p. 379). This merely restates the problem: the medical schools, not Oxbridge, imported Lamarck. But why? Because, Desmond continues, "low status medical teachers were attempting to raise their 'professional stock' by engaging in polemics with the Paleyiites" (p. 380). Perhaps, but not just any polemics would do: why, again, were Lamarckian polemics appropriate?

This is as far as Desmond can go within the Strong Programme and, in the lengthy paragraph on p. 380, he simply offers more obfuscating politico-economic metaphor: "The new knowledge was being sold on the strength that it would provide the up-and-coming GP with scientific credentials" (p. 380). But why did the buyers think Lamarck would do the trick? Here we can almost see a ghostly "internal" explanation struggling to emerge and organize Desmond's welter of social details. The ideas themselves must have had a promising *intellectual* status. They were, perhaps, able to resolve anatomical problems, a preoccupation in the London medical schools. Oxbridge Anglicans paid more attention to the fossil record where the deficiencies of Lamarck were evident. Desmond himself does say that the imported science "had medical value" (p. 20), but by ruling out a *detailed* study of its intellectual status, he has deprived himself of the explanation he needs.

Neighbourhood Tokyo
Theodore C. Bestor
Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1989. xvi + 268 pp. + appendices.
$35.00 (cloth)
Crafting Selves: Power, Gender, and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace
Dorinne K. Kondo

Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990. xiii + 308 pp. $55.00 (cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Stephen R. Smith
            Wittenberg University

The works of earlier social scientists studying Japan, such as Ruth Benedict and John Embree, were admirable in their time, but their depictions of idealized behaviour and overly simplified models of social structure have cast long shadows that continue to obscure our understanding of actual behaviour. Japanese studies have been dominated by the Group Model which reduces people to culturally driven automatons seeking only to preserve harmony in small groups of hierarchically ordered relationships because it is their tradition to do so. Two recent books, Bestor's *Neighborhood Tokyo* and Kondo's *Crafting Selves*, are important contributions to the ongoing break with the Group Model and significant additions to the larger body of anthropological theory.

Bestor's ethnographic focus is the community dynamics and quotidian existence of Tokyo's old middle class (e.g., shopkeepers, small factory owners, craftsmen, self-employed professionals) who make up more than 20 percent of the private-sector labour force but whose story has been eclipsed by fascination with the life-style of the new middle class, the white-collar "salary man." The central issue is how and why some urban neighbourhoods create a sense of bounded community and what is the source of their apparent stability. Bestor takes to task three existing theories on the nature of Tokyo neighbourhoods. The first theory argues that the neighbourhoods are survivals of pre-modern villages. Bestor responds that historical investigation shows that his research site of "*Miyamoto-cho*" did not even exist until the 1920s. The second holds that neighbourhoods are no more than political or administrative conveniences, with no internal sense of identity. Throughout the work, we are shown evidence of belief in, and the construction of, community identity, even to the point of thwarting ward-office programs. The third theory holds that the old middle class is able to live in relative isolation from the rest of Japanese society and pursue a lifestyle that preserves "anachronistic forms of community organization that owe more to a rural village society than to an urban, industrial way of life" (pp. 8-9). Bestor counters with the argument that the seemingly traditional elements of old-middle-class neighbourhoods are not survivals preserved by isolation, but rather are recent responses to the larger context of salary-man predominance.

Bestor's second major theoretical conclusion is an important caveat to all anthropologists. Much of that which is thought to reflect tradition in Miyamoto-cho is what Bestor terms "traditionalism," the cloaking of contemporary social artifacts in tradition-like appearance to secure legitimacy, e.g., the "folk dances" for the community festival choreographed, in recent years, in traditional(istic) style.

Kondo shares much with Bestor. She has chosen an urban setting for her research (Tokyo), and she focusses on the interpersonal dynamics of entrepreneurs, craftsmen and part-time workers in a small sweets factory, rather than on the salary-man lifestyle. Likewise, she is interested in resistance to dominant power and the manipulation of purported "tradition," e.g., familialism in small enterprise.

However, where Bestor's rhetorical voice is conventionally third person (with a wry touch of first-person anecdotes) and in keeping with what Van Maanen (*Tales*

from the Field [University of Chicago Press, 1988]) calls "realist" representations, Kondo's tale is "impressionistic." Format follows function in this case, for prominent in Kondo's theoretical intentions is a critique of ethnographic authority. Her chosen style self-consciously conveys the subjectiveness of anthropologists' understanding, the emergent nature of meaning and the limitations of models in encompassing the complexity of everyday life.

Central to Kondo's work is the question of how selfhood is constructed in Japan; more specifically, how do her co-workers "craft" their identities in the context of shifting power and meaning at the factory and at home? She repeatedly argues that the unified, coherent, seamless, bounded self that is conceived of in Western ideology is an illusion. Instead, with little or no cognitive dissonance, the people Kondo studies (and, by extension, all people) respond to differentials in power and prestige created by class, gender and age, by leading lives filled with contradiction, paradox, ambiguity, complexity and fragmentation. Kondo begins with an insightful and moving account of her own struggle as a young American woman of Japanese descent trying to define her identity — for herself and to others — in circumstances where people force her to fit into pre-existing roles proper to a Japanese daughter. Kondo plays out at great length the history and cultural significance of the concept of family (i.e., *uchi*) and its relationship to work. Then she details how the factory owners, craftsmen and part-time workers manipulate the multifaceted concept of familialism to negotiate their identities and, hence, social relations. The image of self that is promoted is not a fixed and context-free entity, but rather is a fluid construct reflecting the historical moment, cultural meaning and the other.

Both these books are important works for scholars of Japan. They are highly readable and would lend themselves to use in upper-level courses in such areas as Urban Anthropology, and Anthropological Theory and Methodology.

Darwin, Sex and Status: Biological Approaches to Mind and Culture
Jerome H. Barkow
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989. xx + 453 pp. $45.00 (cloth)

Reviewer: Bernard G. Campbell
              University of California, Los Angeles

Barkow has, in his book, condensed 25 years of teaching and research on human behaviour. With a background of fieldwork in West Africa, mainly among the Hausa, the author has read widely in both cultural anthropology and biology. Originally inspired by Daniel Freedman and Donald T. Campbell, Barkow has consistently taken a biological view of human behaviour, something still rare among social and cultural anthropologists. This is what makes the book so fascinating.

The book ranges widely over such topics as communication, altruism, rivalry, deceit and self-deceit, influence, status, free will, self-awareness, ethnocentrism, dominance, prestige, self-esteem and, especially, human sexuality. It looks closely at the brain-body-mind relationship and at culture and maladaption. The author

also considers some species-specific, human anatomical and physiological adaptations such as large breasts, long penises and hidden estrus.

The book is generally discursive and many topics are touched on more than once. For some students who like everything cut and dried, this might seem rather confusing, but the chapters all end with valuable summaries.

The author discusses the work of all the main protagonists in the sociobiology debate in a balanced manner, and weighs and compares their hypotheses. His approach is critical, yet constructive and instructive. The book constitutes an excellent account of the state of the art of sociobiological thought on human behaviour, from the extreme views of Lumsden and Wilson to the seductive and damning criticisms of Gould and Lewontin. The book, however, is not a sociobiology textbook and hardly touches on animal behaviour. But this is its strength and its special quality: it is a book about human behaviour, written by an anthropologist, not a biologist. And the author's understanding of modern evolutionary biology is sound.

Barkow is an eminently reasonable man who never refers scornfully to those with whom he disagrees and who fairly represents their viewpoints. He never raised my hackles once. The book may be a little bland, but it avoids that infuriating journalistic ploy of generating needless conflicts and misunderstanding simply to gain attention. Some of the most bitter debates in anthropology, and especially those around the topic of sociobiology, seem rooted in a wish to excite the reader and generate conflict as much as in a willful refusal to see the validity of an hypothesis simply because its terms are those of another branch of science. As Barkow stresses, knowledge is seamless, continuous, and we have to be brave enough to stick out our necks and cross boundaries. There are reasons for the boundaries (and evolutionary biology in the past may have lost some respect through occasional but extreme racial hypotheses), but human biology is here to stay, and evolution theory has done more to extend our understanding of human physiology and behaviour in the last 30 years than anyone would have considered possible in 1960. Humans are a recent product of biological evolution, and the forces that created us are still operating today. The truth is that any attempt to understand human behaviour without recognizing this fact is ultimately doomed. In future all social scientists will require a very thorough training in evolutionary biology.

Barkow is right in his approach, because we are a product of our past as well as of our present. Every aspect of human behaviour must be viewed through the biologist's theoretical framework. This book represents the best approach to an understanding of human behaviour that I have seen. The author has the ability to present ideas which are quite complex in an easily understood manner. He never shrinks difficult issues and always has something interesting and often original to say about them. In the face of this remarkable *tour de force*, niggling criticisms are out of place.

The author's style is agreeable and his scholarship admirable. The work as a whole is a most successful and impressive achievement. Whether for students or more senior biologists or anthropologists, there is no better introduction.

State Formation and Political Legitimacy, Volume 6: **Political Anthropology**
Ronald Cohen and Judith D. Toland, eds.
New Brunswick, New Jersey: Transaction Books, 1988. vii + 207 pp. $28.95
(cloth)

Reviewer: Michael Blake
              University of British Columbia

This volume brings together 10 essays dealing with the role of political legitimacy
in states, both early and modern. One of the questions I usually ask about such top-
ical collections is: should I read the whole volume or are there only one or two pa-
pers worth looking at? The short answer is that if one is interested in the dual prob-
lem of state origins and maintenance, then one must examine the issue of political
legitimacy, and this volume provides an excellent jumping-off point for such an
enquiry.

   In his introduction, Cohen identifies the central focus of the volume with the fol-
lowing question: how do people come to accept enormous inequities where gener-
ally "1 to 2 percent of the population . . . enjoy up to one-half of the volume of ev-
erything produced in an entire society?" (p. 1). Clearly, such a situation, which in
pre-state polities would have been unacceptable, can only be supported if a large
portion of the populace agree to its legitimacy. Political legitimacy is traditionally
taken to mean that a given system is "acceptable and justifiable to all who live
within its rules" (p. 3). However, in all of the case studies that follow, it becomes
clear that none of the numerous strategies of legitimization create political orders
that are "acceptable and justifiable to all." Therefore, the processes of trying to
maintain and extend political control requires that the people in power seek as
much legitimacy as possible. In fact, their efforts to this end are usually a good
measure of the degree of resistance or opposition to state control.

   Cohen sums up the problem with four propositions concerning legitimacy
welded together in the following theorem: "The legitimacy of a state governmen-
tal system is a function of its coercive capacities, the benefits derived from compli-
ance, the moral validity of governmental practices, and the continuing evaluation
of these by the polity members" (p. 16). The papers that follow examine one or
more of these propositions in light of historic and ethnographic data. They fall into
two main groups, those that look at traditional and/or feudal states (H.J.M.
Claessen, R. Launay, R. Cohen, R. Willis, N. Yoffee and J.D. Toland) and those
that examine modern and/or colonial states (H.M.J. Claessen, J. Vincent, S.F.
Moore and P.T. Manicas). Most of the authors, with the exceptions mentioned be-
low, take a straightforward political-historical approach to their data, examining
the emergence of, or changes in, state legitimization strategies in historical context.
Two of the authors, Cohen and Willis, however, venture from historical analysis by
examining political legitimacy using origin or sovereignty myths. Yoffee's study
of the political uses of Early Mesopotamian legal codes, such as Hammurabi's,
also provides a refreshing contrast with the standard historical approach that most
of the other authors have taken. Of the authors that examine modern or colonial
cases, only Manicas clearly emphasizes that the world-wide political and economic
interactions which arose in the 18th and 19th centuries created problems of state

legitimation that were fundamentally different from those in the pre-capitalist, pre-industrial societies.

This stimulating collection of essays provides much insight into the tricky topic of political legitimation of state structures and activities. It becomes clear in reading these essays, however, that the question of how the legitimation of social inequality came about and operated in states cannot be completely answered without addressing the distinction between individual vs. structural motivation. Few of the papers deal with this question directly; most imply that the state, as a socio-political structure, promotes its own legitimacy, while at the same time recognizing that it is individual rulers, nobles, commoners and so forth, who make the decisions that create or undermine legitimacy. The small number of élites who control the state constantly seek to promote their own individual legitimacy as well as the legitimacy of the political order itself. It is clear that individuals, then, have the most to lose by failing to establish or maintain legitimacy while the state, not itself being a sentient entity, can have nothing to lose because "it" has nothing. The studies in this volume show that rulers from Hammurabi's time to the present understood this process all too well, and often with disastrous consequences for those they ruled.

The Making of a Transnational Community: Migration, Development, and Cultural Change in the Dominican Republic
Eugenia Georges
New York: Columbia University Press, 1990. xi + 270 pp. $37.50 (cloth)

Reviewer: Raymond E. Wiest
          University of Manitoba

This book presents yet another community study of the impact of migration, but it is one with a difference: Georges contributes significantly to the linkage of micro and macro phenomena by attending to Dominican historical processes stimulating migration. Recipient of the Columbia University Bancroft Dissertation Award, Georges offers a thoroughgoing, well-written, and theoretically informed analysis of migration from a forested, agricultural region of the Dominican Republic to the United States. The 1980-81 field study focusses on a village with a high incidence of migration to the U.S., but also draws comparisons from a smaller village in the same region from which few people migrate internationally.

A concise evaluation of two major orientations to migration studies — equilibrium and historical-structural models — sets the analytic expectation. The latter approach is favoured, but the author argues that it only yields good results when one looks at "intermediate processes operating on the ground: the organization of households, the composition of networks, and the local formation of classes and class segments" (pp. 9-10). In several chapters, Georges establishes the peripheral nature of development in the Dominican Republic, treats the history of the study village (with attention to the Trujillato), unfolds the historical development of international migration from the village and the migration strategies adopted by people from Los Pinos, and discusses the impacts of migration on the local econ-

omy and social structure. A final chapter offers comparison with other studies on thematic points.

There are no surprising findings (which says something positive for precursors of this work), but the skilful presentation of the complex of forces affecting people and social systems is humanly sensitive. The author weaves together the intricate tapestry shaping both institutions and individual decisions, perhaps best exemplified in discussion of the "transnational" character of family and kindred. The work clearly illustrates that "migration is always only one of a complex of pressures affecting agriculture in sending areas" (p. 171). Critique of Meillassoux's model — a recurrent and overemphasized issue in the monograph — is predicated upon the relatively high incidence of women migrating from the Dominican Republic, and on evidence that Dominican migration eventually relocates family members who are unproductive, thus transferring reproduction costs from the sending community to capital.

A short review cannot attend to the many positive points of this book, but they are self-evident. Shortcomings may be less so, however. Of the three "intermediate processes" set out in the introduction, household organization is treated reasonably well. Network composition is not analyzed, but cases of family and kin connections involved in migration decisions are replete. And local class formation enters the analysis only superficially, limited to cultural criteria and devoid of dynamic and of the theoretical rigor expected of a political-economy approach. No mention is made of local reaction to recruitment of Haitian workers at half the going wage! "Local" impact of remittance and return migration is difficult to evaluate because Los Pinos and Santiago (destination of many return migrants) are not effectively differentiated. Confused expression of manioc production (Table 5.1, and p. 173) disturbs an otherwise effective analysis of agricultural production. A glossary would greatly assist readers unfamiliar with Spanish.

Despite a few annoyances, and the fact that the work does not fully live up to the objectives set in the introduction, this book merits attention of anyone concerned with international labour migration.

Social Anthropology and Public Policy in Northern Ireland
Hastings Donnan and Graham McFarlane
Brookfield, Vermont: Gower, 1989. xii + 152 pp. $42.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Marilyn Silverman
            York University

The relationship between anthropology and public policy is receiving increasing attention in research and teaching. This reflects not only a relatively conservative political economy in Western society and a very tight job market in the discipline, but also a new wave of concern with "relevance" and so-called applied approaches. In this context, the present volume is of particular interest. It is a collection of six cases which illustrate links between social anthropology and policy by using a range of topics (unemployment, gender relations, housing, community care-giving and government subsidies) gleaned from research which ran the gamut

from interest-based "pure research" to evaluative research paid for by social agencies. Together, the cases provide a good empirical overview of the kind of policy work being done by social anthropologists.

By reviewing key issues which emerge when anthropologists become involved with public policy, the editors' excellent Introduction provides the themes which become the central foci of the subsequent case studies. Specifically, the editors explore three issues in ways which make this book interesting for the professional and ideal for use in a course on public policy. First, they provide an overview of the various ways in which social anthropology articulates, both indirectly as well as intentionally, with public policy concerns. Secondly, they explore the stereotypes and realities which underlie the "culture clash" which permeates relations between social anthropologists and policy professionals. Thirdly, they describe the nature of relevant research in Northern Ireland in order to show how "major trends" in anthropology/public policy "have interacted with more local factors to produce a particular set of responses to the major problems" (p. 14).

It is the location of general issues within a particular context which makes the volume so valuable. As well, all the contributors address at least some of the points made in the Introduction, and this gives the book good overall coherence. For example, a theme running through many of the papers is the difficulty (but importance) of building qualitative research techniques into policy research, given the hesitancy of policy makers to accept the validity to findings not based on so-called "hard data." Another is whether policy-oriented anthropology can contribute to the development of theory in social anthropology itself. For both these examples, contributors begin to show how it can be done.

The editors note that most research in social anthropology has policy implications. Although this fact takes on a certain immediacy in Northern Ireland, the editors correctly intend their point to be far more generally applicable. Indeed, while the context of Northern Ireland gives intellectual depth to this volume, the editors and contributors deftly make it clear that the issues and themes are applicable to contexts where division is more subtle than it is in Northern Ireland. The sectarian divide is an issue but not *the* issue; it is ever present, but so are other central realities such as unemployment, decaying housing estates, gender oppression, disablement and skewed government patronage. This interplay between the Northern Ireland context, the well-chosen themes and the case studies gives this book a validity and a special strength.

Finally, I should add that, for the Canadian reader and/or student, there is enough ethnographic background to make the materials intelligible and the book very usable.

The Northern Route: An Ethnography of Refugee Experiences
Lisa Gilad
St John's, Newfoundland: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Memorial
University of Newfoundland, 1990. xi + 369 pp. $20.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Doreen Marie Indra
              University of Lethbridge

In her Introduction, Lisa Gilad states that "the principal aim of this book is to ex-
plore the stages in the refugee experience of claimants in Canada and applicants
abroad . . . [and to] see how these stages are negotiated by different kinds of refu-
gees as they acquire new skills. The particular and unusual structure of the refugee
experience is clearly one of process. It has not one centre of gravity but occurs all
over the world . . . and so the scope is national, local and international" (p. 4). The
result is a very ambitiously conceived book covering much descriptive ground.

Most of the data were collected in St. John's, Newfoundland, during 1987. Gilad
extensively interviewed 32 refugees, mainly couples or young men (eight from Po-
land, six from Czechoslovakia, five from Iran, six from Vietnam, two from El Sal-
vador, and five from Cuba). She also interviewed about 60 local people who deal
with immigration and settlement, observed refugees in language training and other
settlement services, and briefly investigated the process of seeking asylum at
Gander International Airport (the Northern Route). These 32 individuals' accounts
are used to illuminate and personalize stages of refugee experience: the decision to
become a refugee (Chapter 2), flight (Chapter 3), temporary sojourn (Chapter 4),
Canadian overseas refugee selection and processing (Chapter 5), arrival (Chap-
ter 7), initial settlement (Chapter 8) and, for 80 percent, out-migration to other
provinces (Chapter 9).

The book's key strength is its extensive use of personal accounts of refugees and
many of those who interface with them. Written in compelling and engrossing
style, these are sure to provide students, professionals and the reading public with a
range of valuable insights. I would, however, have liked these stories to have been
less homogenized (in translation?), so that stylistically and conceptually a Salva-
dorean textile worker and a Czech doctor, for example, could have spoken in their
own distinctive voices. Also, Gilad categorizes refugees into mutually exclusive
types based on what some will find to be highly political arguments. Thus, for ex-
ample, a Czech couple of Jewish background and an Iranian Baha'i are classed as
"religious targets," while other Eastern European and Cuban refugees (including
those claiming religious persecution) are "refugee ideologues."

Another strength of the book is the multidimensional backgrounding provided
for these refugee accounts. Readers are given capsule summaries of refugee-
producing forces in relevant source countries and of conditions in relevant places
of temporary asylum. Being brief though, these summaries are occasionally insuf-
ficient to fully contextualize individual refugee accounts. She notes, for instance:
"Mina was terrified by the Pasdars who threw acid into the faces of women who
defied the order to wear the veil, and soldiers who used razor blades to "wipe"
lipstick off the lips of woman" (p. 55), but readers may not be able to judge
whether this was directed against the Baha'i specifically or against Iranian women

in general. More critically, nothing is said of how representative these individuals are of refugees in Newfoundland or Canada, or of particular asylum-seeking groups, yet such representativeness is sometimes claimed. Comparative background information would contribute greatly to understanding who chooses this ''northern route'' (a fascinating topic) and to understanding the varieties of the refugee experience. But no breakdown or disaggregated discussion of gender, national origin, age groups, education or occupations is provided; it appears that the majority are young, well-educated and, perhaps, English speaking.

In contrast, information on current Canadian refugee law and practice is richly provided and clearly presented. Chapters 6 and 7 carefully chart the rise, and describe the infrastructure, of settlement services in St. John's, while the role that ethnic, religious and other communities there play in grounding refugees is outlined in Chapter 8.

In the final chapter (the 10th), Gilad attempts to bring all the volume's themes together. Here one finds reasons why family, gender and ethnic identity were not given much attention. The chapter also includes a valuable discussion of the ''refugee label'' — though I would have liked more throughout the book about how refugees strategically manipulate this label for various purposes. I additionally hoped to see more supportive material from other academic studies of refugees incorporated into the text (though they are frequently cited in footnotes) and used to develop a few specifically anthropological theoretical themes.

I consider The Northern Route to be a significant addition to the literature on refugees in Canada, especially because of its illuminating presentation of the perceptions of refugees and of others involved with them in resettlement in one Canadian context. It provides much information on current refugee law and practice in Canada that is not otherwise easily accessible. The book has good potential, if supplementary materials are provided, for use in undergraduate courses in Canadian studies, migration and the anthropology of refugees.

Conflict, Migration, and the Expression of Ethnicity
Nancie L. Gonzalez and Carolyn S. McCommon, eds.
Boulder, Colorado: Westview, 1989. 159 pp. $26.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Gerald L. Gold
York University

This collection of seven ethnographic studies is focussed on the emergence of ethnic identity in situations of conflict or as an outcome of migration. The most effective introduction to the book is not the introductory chapter but rather is a stimulating summary by William Durham which notes that the volume's studies illustrate both instrumental and expressive dimensions in a ''situationalist'' approach to ethnicity, that is, one which sees ethnicity as a response to a real or perceived threat.

Five of the chapters are studies of minorities in Central America. With comprehensive and sweeping brush-strokes, Martin Diskin examines Sandanista policies toward coastal minorities and situates the expression of Indian ethnicity within the context of political conflict in Nicaragua. In a less-well-focussed analysis, Alex-

ander Moore demonstrates that civil war in Guatemala has not been marked by the ritual and symbolic unity that has characterized similar divisive struggles in American history. Though the comparison is effective only at a symbolic level, it does provide a bridge to a study by Allan Burns of Kanjobal Mayans who fled Guatemala to reestablish their community and cultural identity in Central Florida.

Nancie Gonzalez views the creation of ethnicity over three generations of Palestinian immigration to Honduras. Gonzalez enhances her analysis by linking Palestinian immigrant identity with events in Israel which strongly influence the ethnic and national affiliation of recent immigrants to Honduras. This wealthy enclave of Palestinians contrasts with Salvadoran refugees studied by Carolyn McCommon in neighbouring Belize, where Latin-American immigrants are a threat to the emergence of a non-Latin ethnic identity among post-colonial Creole and Black residents.

The situational dimension of ethnic identity and the dynamics of "representation and self-representation" which result from migration are the theme of Ruth Mandel's analysis of Turkish "guestworkers" in West Berlin, where migration-induced reworking of identity leads many Alevi Muslims to a symbolic reversal of their domination by Sunni Muslims. In this "novel rearrangement," some Alevis disassociate either with Sunnis or with Islam, while others group together to form a separate ethnic minority. Another opposition that weakens with immigration is the rivalry between Turks and Greeks, a rancour that loses its meaning in the confrontation of homogeneous Germans with the *Ausländer* from the south who together form "a significant other."

The dynamics of representation are not as evident in Cheryl Rubenberg's complex and historical account of ethnic conflict in Lebanon, where the emergence of ethnically based political power among Maronite Christians was one of the consequences of French colonial rule. Yet, even in Lebanese society, identities seem to have been redefined as changing structural conditions recast the respective power relations between groups.

This focus on ethnicity in situations which reflect migration and the non-localized character of ethnicity makes these essays stimulating if not always interconnected reading.

The Oriental, the Ancient and the Primitive: Systems of Marriage and the Family in the Pre-Industrial Societies of Eurasia
Jack Goody
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989. xix + 542 pp. $49.50 (cloth), $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: John R. Bowen
                Washington University

This work continues Goody's survey of family, heirship and gender, this time in broad comparisons of and within China, India, the Near East, and Greece and Rome (mainly ancient), with short forays into Tibet and Sri Lanka. Despite the grand scope, the author never lets us lose sight of his major thesis: that relatively

intense resource competition in Eurasia led families to develop strategies of conti-
nuity in property and status that gave value to the rights of, and linkages through,
women.

The empirical argument will be familiar to readers of Goody's previous works.
As they accumulated durable goods from intensively exploited resources, the so-
cieties of Europe and Asia (but not those of Africa) also became socially stratified.
Families developed strategies that would preserve (or increase) the status of male
and female descendants and also keep their property ''in the family'' over time.
Two social patterns resulted: ''diverging devolution,'' where sons and daughters
were endowed with wealth, and close marriages, whether between cousins or, as in
much of the ancient Near East, between siblings.

In certain regions the diverging-close marriage nexus conflicted with an agnatic
ideology, and the varying degrees to which such systems of ideas (Han, Brahmin
or Catholic) dominated different regions or different classes explain some of the
variance within China, India or Europe in strategies of heirship. The friction be-
tween agnatic descent and diverging devolution was ''pushed'' in one or another
direction by additional variables: high or low status, degree of economic develop-
ment and strength of state control. The author cautiously points to intriguing regu-
larities in the resultant patterns. Southern portions of India, China and Greece were
richer and have been characterized by more frequent use of ''filiacentric'' mar-
riages and direct dowry, thereby emphasizing the bride's perduring ties to her natal
family. By contrast, the poorer northern areas of all three regions were character-
ized by stronger agnatic ideologies and the greater use of indirect dowry, thereby
emphasizing the relations between agnatically-defined groups.

The author convincingly argues that inheritance, dowry and marriage are best
considered as part of a system of social reproduction rather than as separate institu-
tions of kinship, property rights or exchange. As he moves from region to region,
the analytical targets shift accordingly: lineage theory in China, exchange theory in
India, patriarchy in Greece and Rome. At times the very nature of his thesis — that
a single set of relations among women, property and group formation underlay de-
velopments throughout Eurasia — inevitably lends a certain sameness to treatments
of very culturally distinct regions. This is decidedly a work of sociological com-
parison rather than cultural contrasts, but a masterful one it is.

The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia
James Holston
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989. xiv + 369 pp. $50.00 (cloth), $22.50
(paper)

Reviewer: Richard G. Fox
Duke University

Based on fieldwork begun in 1980, this ethnography of Brasilia is a study in cul-
tural invention, specifically, the creation of a city whose architecture and layout
condemned the society that constructed it. Holston establishes the initial subver-
sive intentions of Brasilia's planners and builders and then chronicles their out-

come in practice. As they took form in an exemplary urban centre, these intentions sometimes exacerbated or enlarged upon existing Brazilian cultural patterns rather than revolutionizing them. At other times, these intentions successfully excised cultural patterns but failed to replace them with a radical alternative; only a void was left.

Holston convincingly argues that a utopian intention lay behind the highly generalized plan with which Lucio Costa in 1957 won the competition for the design of Brazil's new capital. He relates this intention to the modernist movement in architecture. The modernist design was to create pockets of subversive space in the capitalist city, to make room in such places for subversive social practices. Eventually, the movement hoped to reconstruct the whole social edifice in this manner.

To ensure acceptance of his plan for Brasilia, Costa concealed its utopian modernism. He presented its design features as linked to classical forms or to the panorama of the human construction of space. This recovery of Costa's intentions and of the way he buried them in Brasilia's plan, is one of Holston's most interesting analyses. Holston also shows quite nicely how modernism's plan for a perfected future dovetailed with the modernization strategy pursued by the Brazilian government. Both joined forces behind a conception of Brasilia as an exemplary centre.

In the event, neither the utopian intentions of the modernists nor the modernization expectations of state leaders were fulfilled. Raising up Brasilia did knock down Brazil, at least aspects of its culture, but, as Holston indicates, it left empty spaces in people just as it did in the city. For example, the rearranged street patterns provide little room for the active street life that characterizes other Brazilian cities; the standardized glass fronts of apartment buildings, which reflect no status differences, also expose and deprivatize the individual; the apartment designs eliminate the informal private areas in which Brazilian family life usually occurs. Holston aptly reminds us that cultural invention, even with the best of intentions, can still be Frankensteinian.

Similarly, the sprawl of inequality characteristic of Brazilian urbanism — centre city for the wealthy and hinterland for the poor — reappeared in Brasilia. Planners aimed to make residential space class-less, and government restrictively allocated apartments and commercial locations, but neither effectively foresaw that the inmigrant, "riff-raff" population necessary to build Brasilia in Third-World Brazil would demand its place in the city. Holston details the struggle by which such squatters eventually wrested recognition and amenities from the government thereby creating a periphery of the poor, a noose around Brasilia's ostensibly utopian equality.

Holston sees his study as an exercise in "critical ethnography," which, against postmodernism, remains committed to imagining better worlds and working for them. Anthropology, he argues, can inform this continuing commitment to modernist goals by keeping in mind — and making known — the "dialectic between alternative futures and existing conditions" (p. 318). In this work, Holston puts these intentions into practice most convincingly.

Surviving Fieldwork: A Report of the Advisory Panel on Health and Safety in Fieldwork
Nancy Howell
Special Publication of the American Anthropological Association, No. 26
Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association, 1990. xii + 217 pp. $12 members, $15 non-members (paper)

Reviewer: Sam Migliore
University College of Cape Breton

With the publication of *Surviving Fieldwork*, Nancy Howell makes a major contribution to the discipline of anthropology. She addresses issues that anthropologists traditionally have either ignored, or refused to acknowledge. More specifically, the book represents the first systematic attempt to identify and examine the potential health hazards of conducting field research in various parts of the world.

Howell makes effective use of data obtained from a random sample of anthropologists, as well as other sources of information, to demonstrate that the issue of health and safety in fieldwork can no longer be ignored. She argues convincingly that professionals, administrators, students and funding agencies must share the responsibility of: (1) acknowledging that researchers may be exposed to a variety of health or safety risks while in the field, (2) developing training techniques that may help reduce those risks and (3) working towards correcting the current problems.

Howell examines a wide assortment of topics ranging from the hazards of ''exposure'' to feelings of ''loneliness'' and ''depression'' in the field. Each topic is discussed briefly within the context of the statistical data derived from the random-sample survey. The evidence clearly indicates that malarial infection, hepatitis and vehicle accidents ''present frequent and serious problems for anthropologists'' (p. 192). Although Howell handles all topics with care and sensitivity, Chapters 8 (Injury Accidents), 12 (Mental Health and Illness in the Field), and 13 (Families in the Field) are particularly well presented and worth reading. Howell achieves a balance between the presentation of survey data and the inclusion of actual statements, including her own, concerning personal experiences with tragedy and suffering. These statements contribute an important human dimension to the study.

I strongly recommend the book as a required text in graduate, and possibly undergraduate, courses that deal with fieldwork, research methods and related topics. At the very minimum, it should be required reading for all students preparing to enter the field. *Surviving Fieldwork* will not only introduce students to the types of dangers they are likely to encounter in specific areas of the world, it will also provide a solid base for discussing the types of actions individuals can take to prevent, or deal with, the negative effects of potential health risks.

Nancy Howell and the American Anthropological Association have taken the first step towards addressing the issue of health and safety in fieldwork. It is time to respond with positive action. The onus is on the anthropological community to empower young scholars with the knowledge and skills they need to begin their work from a position of strength.

Images in Stone: A Theory on Interpreting Rock Art
Guy Lanoue
Rome, Italy: Art Center, 1989. 224 pp. L. 45 000 (iva compresa) (paper)

Reviewer: Zenon Stephen Pohorecky
            University of Saskatchewan

This text has two parts. The first assumes that hunters-gatherers did not change their social structure for 5000 years, so a social-structural theory of art is proposed to interpret petroglyphs on Lake of the Woods. As a symbol of inner self, rock art is seen as beyond truth, though it is both a private experience and a social gesture. Then, rather than cataloguing almost 80 images, rated as "unimpressive" (p. 7), or using cross-cultural comparison, the author invokes logic to "limit speculation" (p. 9).

Logic imposes order on the mind, so Lévi-Strauss is lauded for seeing how a shaman's healing rituals impose order on patients' chaotic feelings. Such rites, like rock-art symbols, seem to solve problems by swapping ambiguous symbols for antitheses, and letting people accept incongruities without removing the contradictions. Motives are then deduced for the "paradox of self" set up by a group's territory, whose boundaries were challenged even in this "dull landscape" (p. 15) of many fauna but few species.

Cited also are two language codes proposed by Bernstein and Barth. Elaborated (organic/integrative) codes bridge gaps between one and others, while restricted (mechanical/incorporative) codes relate members of groups. Turner saw the first used by flexible Cree bands in naturalistic idioms, stressing unity-by-sameness, and the other by rigid Australian Aborigine clans in abstract styles, stressing unity-by-differentiation.

Grant had also noted this split, but his view and those of Dewdney, Kidd, Ritter, Steinbring and Wellman are rapped for using the same sources (Densmore, Hoffman, Mallery and Schoolcraft) and arguing "injudiciously from the general to the particular" (p. 44). Dewdney, Kidd, Steinbring and Vastokas are then commended for avoiding "the archaeological trap" (p. 46), trying to identify ethnicity, by assuming Ojibwa ethnicity, since even Boas saw similarities in the arts of Algonkian- and Dakota-speaking people.

Basic here is the notion of sharing land flexibly, to foster co operation despite harsh environmental constraints. Thus many petroglyphs identify game whose migrations in seasonal variations within certain ranges also mirror human movements as noted by Dunning, who saw Ojibwa winter groups organize around brothers, while Turner saw the Cree pick a wife's brother and the Athapaskan-speaking Sekani pick a sister's husband.

Numbered figures are first cited in these "preliminary considerations" (p. 51), dominated by pictographs of land animals, with edible moose and caribou being regarded alongside inedible dogs, foxes and wolves. Alternative theories of interpretation, which propose totemism, imitative magic and making clan territories, are rejected in favour of "the idiom of boundary" (p. 63) noted between such actions as aggregation and dispersal.

Part two, called "descriptive comment," is interpretative. Symmetrical turtles are drawn assymetrically to show an ambiguity reflecting the ambivalence of an amphibious turtle's role as messenger between a world of spirits and the world of man. A sun-man is shapeless lifeline below a border and clear above it, arms forming a halo of self-spirit.

In discussing normal and abnormal, as well as changes and non-changes in state or being, Lanoue sees visual puns needing elaborated code to interpret some sexual symbols and images suggesting fertility. Perspectives showing what is near or far and what is high or low in art are seen reflecting reality acted out in life and expressed in ideology, thus revealing the "social structural configuration of art in territorial tribal societies" (p. 98).

Yet meaning is veiled in — "There is no widespread scientific idiom to provide a contrasting dimension calls the pre-scientific (or non-scientific) explanation into question" (*sic*, p. 22). Such non-sentences confuse; moreover, stilted phrasing, which replaces good clear words with somewhat esoteric jargon, may leave the uninitiated wishing for more clarity. The photographs could also have been clearer if fieldworkers had used sidelighting. Finding fault with other recording methods, Lanoue favours one described vaguely as bleaching inked photos on resin-coated paper, used in 1973 in Australia by Toronto mentor David Turner. Still, images lack scale so their sizes are a mystery.

Figure 6 just enlarges Figure 5, and such needless repetitions are climaxed with nine versions of the same petroglyph on Tranquil Lake, one of the few sites cited. Comparisons of rubbings with photo-based drawings should adjoin, and some do (e.g., 6, 7) but many do not (e.g., 3, 10; 4,8). Inconsistent orientations make comparisons difficult. Readers may wonder which side was up, since three different orientations are given for just one figure in three reproductions (42 photo-based, 44 photo upside-down, and 45 sideways).

No "List of Illustrations" identifies the 84 cited figures, no "Introduction" is listed in the table of contents, and no maps of the region appear, though Algonkian territoriality is deemed crucial. The book mentions, but the bibliography omits, authors such as Ernst Cassirer, Julie Cruikshank, Richard Doble, "Paddy" Reid and Beth Stanger.

Despite such shortcomings, the book is welcome for adding to the interpretation of rock art. No matter how faltering, such steps are necessary in any quest for meaning.

Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography
Jay Miller, ed.
Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press. 1990. xxxiv + 265 pp. N.p.
Coyote Stories
Mourning Dove
Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press. 1990. xvii + 246 pp. N.p.

Reviewer: M.E. Stephens
             University of Calgary

The subtitle of *Mourning Dove: A Salishan Autobiography* implies that the book is truly an autobiography of Christine Quintasket from the Colville Confederated Tribes of Eastern Washington State. Christine Quintasket used the pen name Mourning Dove and was the first Native American woman to publish a novel. But the work is not so much an autobiography as memories from childhood and a personal discussion of aspects of Interior Salishan life.

The manuscript had an interesting history. The pieces were originally composed for L.V. McWhorter who encouraged Mourning Dove in her writing and wrote the original notes for the book, *Coyote Stories*. Mourning Dove turned the manuscript over to Heister Dean Guie, the editor and illustrator of *Coyote Stories*. Guie intended to edit the manuscript after his retirement, but after his death the documents were recovered from his attic by his wife and turned over to Erna Gunther. Gunther began to organize the material but eventually gave it to Gerry Guie after sending excerpts to the University of Washington Press. The Press contacted Jay Miller who began putting together the book from 20 folders of manuscript. Both Mourning Dove and Erna Gunther had added notes and reorganized the material.

But despite valiant attempts by three people to organize the material, there is still an element of incoherence in it. Mourning Dove tends to digress from a topic and meander into personal asides about such things as the dress of a passing individual. Jay Miller calls the work a sustained discussion of Interior Salish life by an insider. It is not a basic reference text on Interior Salish, though it could serve as a supplement to a more basic book, and the 13-page bibliography would be a good guide to that book.

The 184 pages of Mourning Dove's text are loosely organized into three sections and a total of 16 chapters. The text is supplemented by a glossary and 41 pages of notes by Jay Miller, and the only way to read the book is with a book mark in the appropriate section of the notes.

One of Mourning Dove's aims was to improve the European view of Native Americans. Although some of her descriptions are quite candid, the influence of her Catholic convent education can also be discerned. The book is interesting in that it portrays the Interior Salish in a manner that a woman writing in the early 20th century thought would be positive.

The companion book, *Coyote Stories*, also reflects the few years of convent education. This is not the ribald and earthy book that a reading of McIlwraith's Bella Coola tales would lead one to expect. The stories of the Coyote, trickster figure and his animal friends have been sanitized to the point that they resemble a Walt Disney version. Polite expressions for bodily functions are almost Victorian. The skunk figure "breaks wind" and Coyote "goes potty." The stories are totally appropriate for young children. The notes by McWhorter and Miller are helpful, and Guie's line drawings are attractive.

Out of Time: History and Evolution in Anthropological Discourse
Nicholas Thomas
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990. ix + 153 pp. $37.50 (cloth)

Reviewer: Elvi Whittaker
University of British Columbia

Anthropological writings seem to fall into one of two recognizable general categories. One is to criticize the nature of the discourse itself, its premises and directions. The other is to keep faith with the discipline by accumulating more ethnographic evidence to support its demands. While the work of Nicholas Thomas belongs mainly to the first, he is not content to let Pacific ethnography go uncorrected. His endeavours are directed at developing a "refocused anthropological vision" that would "deal much more extensively with historical events and their consequences" (p. 122). History, he argues, should be more than a mere overture to the task of ethnography as has been the case, but rather should have the same importance as "ethnographic minutiae" and "informant's statements."

Accusations of ahistoricity are not new in social science, but they are seldom argued with such convincing detail. As he himself promises early in the volume, Thomas has indeed "jumbled together epistemological critique, evolutionary theory, substantive revisions of Polynesian anthropology and some discussion of the history of anthropological ideas about the Pacific" (p. 2). He tells us that present canons are not adequate and that we should not condone any representations which lead the reader to assume that, prior to European contact, "traditional" societies existed unchanged through centuries. Nor should we support the arrogance with which anthropologists have relegated observations made by non-professional observers, such as explorers and missionaries, to a secondary and dubious status. He makes his case by providing a critique of the work of the more illustrious pundits of Pacific anthropology. Goldman, Buck, Handy and Sahlins are scrutinized and found wanting in their lack of attention to history and change.

Many of the premises on which Thomas places his argument are easily acceptable. His assertions that implicit theorizing is rampant and that, in particular, evolutionism remains powerful in anthropological thinking are well supported by his evidence. His reminder that theories predetermine data and analyses, while part of the epistemological literacy of the age, is still a point worth making and supporting by example.

There are, however, some unexamined premises in Thomas's own argument that need exploring. He states that social constructionism as an important perspective and expresses sympathy for the hermeneutic orientation. In short, he declares as his main interest the "reading of texts" and the "discourses of anthropological genres and theories, of both ethnography and interpretation" (p. 3). Indeed, his whole volume rests on the assumption that texts are constructed (as is evidence) and that what needs to be examined are the covert, unstated, hidden agendas of these constructions. Yet he departs from these epistemological claims by slipping into unexamined, even old-fashioned, positivism. In his own analysis, for example, he adopts an authoritative stand — one which he surely could not himself approve. He unequivocally accepts such concepts as "actualities," "social realities,"

"bias," "truth," "actual history" and "real history," among others. While he is aware of the problems of glosses and is able to show the kinds of productions they can engender (such as the glosses of "power" and "status"), the reader is seldom clear about how the historical materials he uses for his own critique are actually constructed. There are some problems, therefore, with the lack of reflexivity, or the selective reflexivity, in parts of the book. The work is uninformed by the postmodernist agenda now under consideration. Thus it is without a close awareness of deconstruction, certainly as that appears in the radical Derridean sense, and is innocent of questions of reification.

Such criticism aside, Thomas has forced us to look once more at the epistemological problems of our discipline. He makes a strong case for the inclusion of history in the elucidation of ethnographic issues. His work could be seen as suggesting the virtues of more interdisciplinary attention in the discipline in general. One could ask, equally readily, what anthropological analysis could gain by considering the discourse of economics, of geography, and so on. Works of this genre, therefore, can only continue to be intellectually satisfying.

Cultural Theory
Michael Thompson, Richard Ellis and Aaron Wildavsky
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1990. xvi + 296 pp. $49.95 (cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Stephen M. Fjellman
                Florida International University

This books (part of Westview's Political Culture Series) is organized into three parts, and is fronted by an introduction which presents the authors' general argument, a spirited defense of functional analysis. They claim that functional analysis is centrally useful to the social sciences but has been applied to the wrong unit of analysis, the society as a whole, a level that abstracts from context, assumes systemic teleology, and ignores sociocultural variability. Suggesting smaller analytical units, the current authors return variability to the social sciences.

The organizing metaphor here is "way of life," the viability of which "is constrained by the need for congruence between social relations and cultural biases" (p. 3). There are five ways of life – hierarchy, egalitarianism, fatalism, individualism and autonomy. Each comes with a set of understandings about the world, including nature. Each is in competition with the others while relying on them in a kind of systemic codependency. Much of *Culture Theory* is the working out of the implications of this pentagonal organizational scheme.

Part One, "The Theory," weaves together the authors' elements of culture (values, symbols and ideologies) and their constituents of social life (social relations, modes of organizing and institutions). Employing a constrained relativism, the authors begin by presenting five myths of nature called: caricious, benign, perverse/tolerant, ephemeral and the hermit's myth. Each, along with its corresponding story about human nature, forms a cultural legitimation for the authors' "ways of life." These typological categories are then applied to brief analyses of peoples'

styles of reconciling needs and resources, of having tastes and preferences and of engaging in personal change. "Ringing the Changes" (Chapter 4) allows the authors to present two expanded typologies, a 12-cell typology of surprises and a list of the microchanges available from one "way of life" to another. Part One is capped by a discussion of the pluralism generated by the coexistence and interdependence of these types. I found Part One pretty exciting; but then I like the typologies created when sociocultural variability is taken seriously.

Part Two, "The Masters," addresses the past use of functional explanation. Here are brief discussions of Montesquieu, Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Marx, Weber, Malinowski, Radcliffe-Brown, Parsons, Merton, Stinchecombe and Elster. Here also is where the argument is made that functional analysis, though indispensable, has not yet been done correctly. This is a rather boiler-plate review, but as such would be useful to someone teaching a social theory course.

Part Three, "Political Cultures" was less compelling. A case for the model is made in discussions of Banfield's *The Moral Basis of a Backward Society*, Pye's *The Mandarin and the Cadre: China's Political Cultures*, and Almond and Verba's *The Civic Culture Revisited*. While these treatments might appeal to a political sociologist, I felt that the model lost its rigor in these applications.

Anatomy of the Amazon Gold Rush
David Cleary
Iowa City, Iowa: University of Iowa Press, 1990. xxvi + 245 pp. $17.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Bernard von Graeve
                Trent University

Cleary's *Anatomy of the Amazon Gold Rush* is a timely, well-written book on a subject which has received little anthropological attention. The author had intended to do a study on rural-urban migration in Imperatriz, near one of Brazil's largest gold fields, but, once there, "the scale and the importance of the gold rush came as a revelation" (p. xvii). The book deals with the gold rush throughout the Brazilian Amazon, and the research combines archival work, structured interviews, conversations and participant observation undertaken between April 1984 and March 1986. It begins with a descriptive account of the massive scale of production and employment generated by the gold rush in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and it includes a brief description of the technology associated with prospecting or *garimpagem*. The simplicity of the technology, its portability and easy accessibility make it eminently suitable for the small operator and the realities of Amazonian conditions.

Following a short historical introduction to *garimpagem* in Maranhao, Cleary launches into an ethnographic description of the boom. The central chapters describe the phases and pattern of the rush, the social structure and economic and social relations within the gold fields. Much of his argument responds to official and popular misconceptions of this type of economic activity. The analysis of eastern Amazonian mining camps demonstrates that the stereotypes of lawlessness, exploitation and violence among the "desperate and goldcrazed multitudes" (p. 222)

have little foundation and that the system regulates itself effectively. Most prospectors, owners and workers come from the ranks of rural smallholders and can readily move in and out of mining. The system offers a significant avenue for upward mobility. Since machinery is inexpensive and readily available, workers can easily become owners of claims. *Garimpagem* has advantages for the state which can benefit from its productive capacity without infrastructural investment. For the region, it generates large-scale employment for underemployed smallholders as well as a demand for goods and services. However, in his enthusiasm for small-scale mining enterprise, Cleary understates its destructive effects on the environment and on isolated indigenous peoples like the Yanomamo.

The ethnography could have been strengthened by some biographical sketches of experienced miners, and I would have appreciated a sample questionnaire in the appendix. But these are minor points in an otherwise excellent book.

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Thomas Abler is Associate Professor at the Department of Anthropology, University of Waterloo. His principal area of research is 19th-century Micmac society and he is the author of *Chainbreaker: The Revolutionary War Memoirs of Governor Blacksnake* (University of Nebraska Press, 1989) as well as "Beavers and Muskets," a paper related to his article in this issue. It can be found in *War in the Tribal Zone: Expanding States and Indigenous Warfare*, edited by R. B. Ferguson and A. Whitehead (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 1992).

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Mary Crabb is a graduate student at the University of Kentucky. Her research interests in anthropology are in nutrition, ethnobotany and development issues; her geographic area of interest is South America.

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Peter George is Professor of Economics at McMaster University. He has worked with Richard J. Preston for many years on northern development and Native communities and is one of the principal investigators in TASO, the Research Program for Technological Assessment in Subarctic Ontario. He is the current president of the Council of Ontario Universities.

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Floyd Webster Rudmin

Floyd Rudmin has had a cross-disciplinary career, with a focus on cross-cultural training and experience. His B.A. from Bowdoin College was in Philosophy, and he also studied Spanish and Chinese. Two years in the U.S. Peace Corps in the Philippines was followed by two years of teaching in Japan. An M.A. from S.U.N.Y. Buffalo in 1977 was followed by an M.A. and Ph.D. in 1988 from Queen's University. His thesis was on the concept of ownership. Since then he has held a cross-disciplinary appointment in the Faculty of Law and School of Business and continues research on property, ownership and possession.

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Brian Schnarch is an undergraduate student at McGill University. His academic interests include issues of gender and power, with a view towards the decentring of

Western, male ontology and epistemology. He is currently continuing his work on ''strange genders'' and the deconstruction of the moral, colonial discourse thereon.

David Smith

David Smith did his graduate work in Anthropology at the University of Iowa and at the University of Minnesota, receiving his Ph.D. from the latter institution in 1975. His fieldwork among the Dene of northern Canada was undertaken in 1968, 1969, 1971-72 and in 1974. He has written two monographs and several articles on Dene history, ecology and religion. In 1974, he served as a consultant with the Dene Nation (then the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories). At present, he is conducting research on small-scale agriculture in northern latitudes.

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All references cited in the text are placed in a section titled References Cited at the end of an article. There, references are listed alphabetically and chronologically according to the following format:

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Anthropologica utilise actuellement l'ordinateur personnel de marque IBM (PC), le système d'exploitation sur disque DOS 3.3, et les disquettes à double côté et double densité de 5-1/4 ou 3-1/2 pouces. Le logiciel de traitement de texte utilisé est le ''Word Perfect,'' version 5.1; ''ASCII'' est tout de même acceptable.

Les articles acceptés doivent être révisés de façon conforme au style de rédaction de la revue *Anthropologica* et des instructions données dans *Guide du rédacteur*. Le système des notes infra-paginales n'est pas utilisé, ces dernières doivent être incorporer au texte. S'il est indispensable d'ajouter des notes, il faut alors les reporter à la fin du texte, dans une section précédée du titre Notes, avant les References. Les *remerciements* adressés aux collaborateurs s'insèrent en début de Notes. Il faut apporter un soin méticuleux à la rédaction des références, les placer entre parenthèses et inclure le nom de famille de l'auteur, l'année de publication, et la pagination; par exemple: (Smith 1985), (cf. Lewis 1965), (Rouleau 1964:206), (e.g., Scheffler 1975:230), (Roy et al. 1980) ou (Marshall, Simon, et Williams 1985:110-115). On distingue la pluralité des références, pour une même année, par des lettres, alors que les dates originales de publication

figurent entre crochets; par exemple: (Trottier et LeVine 1977a, 1978b:110-115, 1979b:45, 323-325) ou (Kroeber 1952 [1909]). Les références multiples sont séparées par des points-virgules; par exemple: (Desjardins 1975; Desforges 1980, 1985a; Roy 1895;42-44; voir aussi Smith et al. 1980). Si le nom d'un auteur paraît dans le corps de l'article, il suffit d'indiquer la date de publication et la pagination; par exemple: (1966) ou (1895:249).

Les références citées dans le texte seront reportées par ordre alphabétique et chronologique à la fin de l'article, dans la section References.

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