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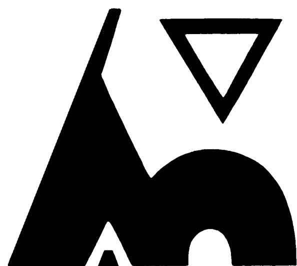

Anthropologica

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GARY GRANZBERG — The Rolling Head Legend among Algonquians

JEAN MICHAUD, PIERRE MARANDA, LUC LAFRENIÈRE and GINETTE COTÉ — Ethnological Tourism in the Solomon Islands: An Experience in Applied Anthropology

BRUCE G. MILLER — Contemporary Native Women: Role Flexibility and Politics

GAIL R. POOL — Culture, Language and Revolution in Grenada

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Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3C5

Corédacteur, les manuscrits en français /
Co-editor, French Manuscripts
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University of Western Ontario, London, Ontario N6A 3K0

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THE ROLLING HEAD LEGEND AMONG ALGONQUIANS

Gary Granzberg
University of Winnipeg

Abstract: An analysis based upon structural, archetypal and emic theory reveals that the Rolling Head legend among Algonquians supports the ideology of balance and oneness with nature and opposes the ideology of separation, manipulation and domination of nature. The analysis shows that the legends of Iyas and Trickster's Race with Rock are variants of the Rolling Head legend and that Earth Diver is an inversion. The analysis also links the legend to a wider body of mythic material which may be subsumed under the nomenclature of Mother Goddess legends.

Résumé: Une analyse basée sur une théorie structurale archétype et émique révèle que la légende algonquine de «La Tête qui Roule» appuie l'idéologie de l'équilibre et de l'harmonie avec la nature et rejette l'idéologie de la séparation, de la manipulation et de la domination de la nature. L'analyse montre que les légendes de «Iyas» et de «La Course de Trickster avec la Pierre» sont des variantes de «La Tête qui Roule» alors que «Le Plongeur de la Terre» en est une inversion. L'analyse relie la légende à un plus grand groupe de matériel mythique qui peut se subsumer à la nomenclature des légendes de la Déesse Mère.

Introduction

Although the Rolling Head legend is present in practically every collection of Algonquian stories (e.g., Ahenakew 1929:309-313; Barnouw 1977:112-115; Bloomfield 1930:14-18 and 1974:270-279; Brightman 1989:9-16, 23-26, 47-48, 59-60, 105-111; Coleman 1961:47-50; Jones 1919:45-103, 179-189, 405-413; Schoolcraft 1978:109-115; Skinner 1912:168-175; Stevens 1971:48-55, 112-120) and is usually the first in order of appearance (Brightman 1989: 66-72), its central role in Algonquian thought has not generally been recognized. Only Brassard (1980) and Lévi-Strauss (1974, 1978, 1981) have attempted formal analysis. Only Lévi-Strauss, who declares it worthy of an entire volume to itself (1974:451; 1978:99), has seen both the broad swath of its geographic impact and the depth of its localized input. Although he reveals it

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to be a continent-wide phenomenon which explains the origin of periodicity and mediates between such dualisms as life vs. death, sky vs. earth and being vs. non-being, he does not recognize an even wider geographic linkage nor does he adequately convey the critical role it plays as a living and growing political ideology of balance and wholeness.

Evidence which reveals the depth of its ideological role in modern Algonquian life was obtained when it was discovered that the legend is a key ingredient of a dispute over how to respond to a hydroelectric project which is flooding Cree land in northern Manitoba. Evidence that the geographic context for understanding the legend may extend worldwide was obtained when the case-study material was examined in the light of cross-cultural studies of mythology, especially the work of Joseph Campbell. These indicated that the Rolling Head legend is linked to a worldwide grouping generally known as Mother Goddess creation legends.

I begin my review of the Rolling Head legend with the insights of the Cree of Norway House, Manitoba. I extend our perspective by including Lévi-Strauss's structuralist contribution. I end this examination with the widest viewpoint by incorporating the work of Joseph Campbell and the archetypal school of thought.

The Rolling Head Legend

The analysis incorporates a review of 33 published Rolling Head narratives and a number of unpublished ones (see Appendices 2, 3 and 4). Based upon these data, the legend may be described as an account of how a once successful and harmonious family is torn apart by the interference of self-serving forces (usually adultery between the mother and her lover and desire for revenge by her jealous husband). The mother is separated from her lover, her husband and her children. Her body and severed head pursue the fleeing children. They use magical objects to thwart her pursuit and, in the process, create mountains, valleys, forests and rivers. She is defeated when she falls into the river and is transformed from a cannibalistic, food-consuming, food-withholding, witchlike object to a succouring, food-providing, sustaining water animal. The escaping children, usually Trickster and his brother, then encounter an evil man (often called Waymishose) who magically controls objects (such as his "motor boat") and who wishes to dominate all things. This man separates the brothers and tries to overpower Trickster to obtain a sacrifice for his guardian animals and to stop him, as he has stopped all previous suitors of his daughters, from mating and raising a family. This man engages in a battle of power with Trickster, almost always involving the control of fire or warmth as well as power over guardian animals, and is eventually defeated and made to perform a more balanced role in the world.

The Rolling Head Legend in Current Algonquian Life

Mr. Turnaround (Granzberg 1989) is a Cree elder, a grandfather of 15 children and a shaman. Before his retirement, he was a lay minister, translator, school teacher, janitor, trapper and disc jockey. He was raised in the bush and understands well the traditions of Cree life. But he is also a keen student of the future. He believes that the old and new must work together in an equal fashion and he sees the Rolling Head legend as corroboration for this belief. His interpretations of the Rolling Head legend were conveyed through casual conversations, lectures to my university classes and by formal and informal written documents.

His first teaching regarding the Rolling Head legend came at a time when there was great concern in his community regarding a hydroelectric project which was damming and diverting rivers and flooding land. He and I visited several affected reserves and conducted interviews. When the author returned home there came a long-distance call. Mr. Turnaround had heard a story and wanted to tell it to the author. He told the story of Woman and the Raven and then hung up without explanation. The author did not understand its importance until about a month later when he returned to the reserve. He then obtained a written rendition of the legend (see Appendix 5), a pictograph of it and an extended oral interpretation (see Granzberg 1978).

The legend, it turned out, was a prophecy of Hydro's actions. Moreover, though this was not learned till later, it was a variant of the Rolling Head legend. Hydro was symbolized in the legend as a child stealer and usurper of the Cree birthright whose actions were hidden until the lonely weeping mother got help from a raven in the form of knowledge and education which enabled her to begin to trace the footsteps of the thief and uncover what had been done. As she did this, her lost child grew up. He grew in four stages, the last of which was a reunion with the mother, a restoration of the Cree birthright and a transformation of the former enemy into a friend and equal partner.

The next teaching came in context of a lecture to one of the author's classes in which students were studying cross-cultural, child-rearing patterns. To illustrate Cree child-rearing conditions, Mr. Turnaround told them the story of Iyas (which again turned out to be a Rolling Head variant—see Appendix 6). The story is about a boy who leaves his mother to circle the world in one year (a euphemism for the vision quest).

On his journey, he meets up with many trials, beginning with isolation on an island where his friendship with the gulls and a big snake helps him to return to land. There he meets a female fox who offers him a plate of meat which always replenishes itself. When he is able to consume all the meat on the plate she rewards him with four magical objects which allow him to defeat women with toothed vaginas and sharp elbows and an imbalanced man with one huge destructive leg. When he finally comes back home, he finds his mother has

married a man named Waymishose who has enslaved her. Iyas then makes a red arrow, a black arrow and a circle. He gets in the circle with his mother and shoots the black arrow. This creates the long dark winter. Then he shoots the red arrow which brings the spring and summer. Iyas then becomes a crow and his mother a duck to usher in the seasons.

Mr. Turnaround told the class that the moral of this story was that Iyas was like a lost sheep looking for his people. He said that is the way the Cree people were. "We were lost and driven from town to town. I'm trying to bring you back to a new nation." He said, "Why were we lost?" "Because unfriendly," he answered. "You have to know people or you'll never get along. When you get to know people, you wonder where they are if you don't see them. You must walk well with your brother. That's what I am researching. Man I never knew came. He said, 'Would you like to come with me?' I said, 'Yes!' " Here was a reference to his relationship with the author and our journey to a number of reserves to investigate the hydro project.

If people are unfriendly to each other, he said, they get lost. "We are lost because of unfriendly—lost of White to Red." "How horrible it was," he said, "not to be understood—to have lack of understanding." This is how Iyas was treated, he explained. It is also seen in the relationship of White to Red. You need the old things to guide you in a new life, he said. "First time electricity comes, people throw kerosene old lamps away. Then electricity went out. They were in darkness."

Thus, he was saying, the Cree cannot go forward without taking their traditions along. Once Iyas returned to his traditions (symbolized as a reunion with his mother), he was able to defeat the enemy and restore balance. So it is with White people too. They too need their roots. Some of this is to be found in reunion with the Red. This, he said, is what he is trying to accomplish. To restore his own people as a new nation and to bring the White people back to this new nation.

His task back home is to educate the youth properly—to take them on a vision quest like Iyas underwent. They must first learn to honour and obey, however, just as this was Iyas' first task. That is symbolized in the episode, he said, where Iyas is forced to eat an ever-replenishing food supply. This symbolizes storing strength and planning and digesting all that is given to you. It means listening to the elders and not thinking that you know more than they do just because you are learning White ways in the school and can speak better English. The plate is the circle, he said. It yields plenty. It is tradition. It is return. The episode teaches children that they must face their temptations and weaknesses and turn them into strengths—turn gluttony into energy to store and plan. Sometimes knowledge is force-fed, he said, but you must face it, accept it, take it all in.

Iyas restores the circle. He shoots his arrows, one black and one red, and restores the seasons. He is the saviour. He vanquishes all one-sidedness, all evil. He defeats Waymishose, who is the north wind and who had attempted to always keep the world in the dark and cold. He defeats the women and men who could not live with others (women with toothed vaginas and men with huge legs). Before Iyas, Mr. Turnaround said, women were known as knives and men as spies. They were unfriendly and created separations and loneliness. But after Iyas they could get along better.

The next step in understanding Mr. Turnaround's perceptions of the Rolling Head legend, and a first introduction to the Rolling Head proper, came when the author was seeking to know more about the character of Waymishose who appears in the Iyas variant. Mr. Turnaround took the author to an old man, a relative of Mr. Turnaround's, who said that it all started with the Rolling Head. He said that Waymishose was against his sons-in-law, against their education, but that there was one son-in-law that he could not beat and that was the trickster son of the Rolling Head. He then proceeded to tell the story of the Rolling Head as presented in Appendix 1.

Mr. Turnaround explained some of the meanings in a number of later conversations. He said that the story could be interpreted as an allegory of how evil was brought into the world and how it robbed the Cree of their birthright. He said it could be compared to the stories of the Fall in the Garden of Eden which introduced evil, and to the story of Jacob and Esau where one brother had his birthright stolen.

The parallels to the Garden of Eden are obvious. There is the snake, the tree, the husband and wife and the two male children. One child is more animal oriented and the other more domesticated. They eventually separate. The Fall itself would be symbolized in the act of severing the woman's head, a symbolic separation of the above and below, spiritual and material, tree of life and tree of knowledge. The sword swirling around the tree of life is a further hint of that symbolism.

Mr. Turnaround said that evil produced the jealousy of the husband and then jumped into the woman's head and made it alive and cannibalistic. The fleeing Trickster tries to escape that evil and, when the head unites with the river and produces something useful (whales), he again confronts it in the form of Waymishose, a symbol, says Mr. Turnaround, of materialism, technology, science, warfare and dictatorship. With his inventions, such as his self-powered boat, Waymishose represents the force of change and growth gone chaotic and uncontrolled and being used to dominate and to feed greed and power. He said that Trickster's efforts are those of the teacher, the balancer, the forces of democracy over tyranny. Waymishose's arrival by boat with trinkets to lure Trickster and enslave and dominate him are equivalent, said Mr. Turnaround, to the arrival of the White Man who came by boat bearing trin-

kets, and tried to take the Native's land and enslave him. The parallels to Jacob and Esau, he said, are with regard to the way Jacob and his mother stole Esau's birthright and tried to enslave him. Esau would be like Trickster, hounded by an evil woman and an evil man.

It appears that Mr. Turnaround identifies with Esau and not with Jacob. He feels that he and his people have been victimized in a similar way by powerful forces that took advantage of weaknesses to make them give up their land and rights. This parallelism to the Jacob and Esau story is even clearer in the Iyas variant of the Rolling Head where Iyas (like Esau) was usurped of his rights by a stepmother who tried to set her own son up as the next in line. But, in the Cree version, Iyas returned and destroyed the woman and baby and restored his rights.

The intimate relationship between the three legends (Woman and the Raven, Iyas and the Rolling Head) was revealed during Mr. Turnaround's last lecture to a university class. At this time he focussed upon a rock-art site which he said summarized the history of his people.

He explained that the artwork was a prophecy from the old people. One of the dominant glyphs at the site was, he said, a depiction of the boat that would arrive one day to bring enslavement to the Cree. He said it was the treaty boat of Queen Victoria (see Fig. 1a). The boat has three kinds of people in it. On the right are people who lean toward traditional ways. On the left are people, under the British flag, who lean toward the White man's way. In the centre are those in between.

Below the boat is a divided road (a crack in the rock—Fig. 1b). It tells people that there are two roads available. Those who take the right road will find a saviour at the end, symbolized by an eagle (Fig. 1c), who was there at the beginning to bring initial riches (the eagle glyph on the right of the boat—Fig. 1d) but who flew away when the British ship arrived (the eagle glyph above the boat—Fig. 1e), waiting to return as the people learn to take the right path (see Granzberg and Steinbring 1992 for similar motifs in the southwest United States and elsewhere). Signs of this last stage drawing near, he said, are the presence of more and more eagles in the North and the use of eagle feathers by leaders such as Elijah Harper and Ovide Mercredi.

These stages of Cree history are not only prophesied by the three kinds of people in the boat and the three eagle figures at the beginning, middle and end of the split pathway, but also by three people seen at another part of the rock art site (Fig. 1f). The first, Mr. Turnaround said, is a person who is enslaved and made dependent and childish. "He is given candy!" The second "searches for what is happening." He finds out what has been done to the people. The third begins to free the people and to re-establish their pride and dignity and self-reliance.

Figure 1
Rock Art in Mr. Turnaround's Community

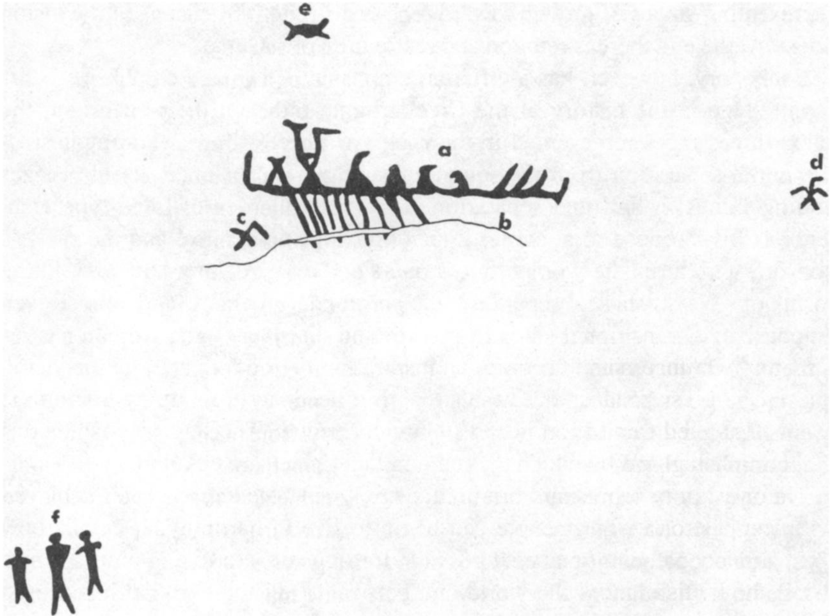

Illustration by Fred Steinbring
based upon photographs by
J. Steinbring and G. Granzberg

Note: All the figures at the site have not been depicted and Fig. 1f has been placed in closer proximity to the other figures than is actually the case.

> The third one we have today. We have a happy place. We have many of them who will stand for us. That's how the picture was taken. That someday you will be a great ruler on your own again. Now. All these stories I told. They were combined into one place where we are speaking of. They all returning. They all returning to a common place. In a pond surrounding the earth Iyas went to and found his mother a slave by the North Wind. He caught a man and put him in his canoe and away he went. And he thinks that he's going to enslave this man. So he left him in reef and came back. But this young fellah got back first. And so he took him camping and tried to steal his clothes and freeze him. Then they fought as birds. But Waymishose was defeated. And we have the pictures today. You heard about the wars. That was Waymishose. OK? That's all I have today.

Here Mr. Turnaround has blended the story of Iyas and the Rolling Head into one and states that all the legends have a common theme. They all are teaching youth how to grow up properly to have the pride and strength that is

their birthright. The three legends share the same story line. A woman and her offspring are united as the legends begin but then are separated. She searches for them or vice versa. There is evil to overcome by means of four objects, representing stages of growth toward renewed strength by means of the vision quest. At the end there is reunion and restoration of balance.

Each story, however, has a different emphasis. They each emphasize a different stage in the history of the Cree struggle to retain their birthright, the same three stages represented in the rock art. The Rolling Head emphasizes the initial separation from the source of strength and balance. It emphasizes cutting things in half and separation. The initial Garden-of-Eden-type existence is lost because of a jealous man who chops up a snake and the snake's consort, who turns the woman into a one-sided evil creature, and who, in the form of Waymishose, separates the brothers. Woman and the Raven emphasizes a transitional stage of growth and discovery. The woman has returned to wholeness and becomes an inspiration to youth to attempt the vision quest. She gives her lost child the strength it needs to grow up by tracing the events that led the child astray and stunted its growth. The stages by which this is accomplished and by which the reunion takes place are detailed.

The Iyas story represents the final stage when balance has been achieved with the past and when people can begin to live in harmony. It details how Iyas, a balanced being, makes it possible for opposites to live in union. It also details how he balances the world and gets rid of all the evil that has caused separations, loneliness and warfare.

The three myths thus complete a circle. At the beginning of the Rolling Head legend there is unity. This is broken. Transition to a new unity is traced in Woman and the Raven. Full attainment of that unity is achieved in Iyas. As Mr. Turnaround has said, "They are all returning to one place."

The Rolling Head Legend vs. The Earth Diver Legend

I have linked the legends of Iyas and Woman and the legend of Raven to the Rolling Head as variants. I include Trickster's Race with Rock as another variant. The Algonquian legend of Earth Diver can also be linked to the Rolling Head legend and is an inversion of it. The idea of comparing the legends of Rolling Head and Earth Diver arose from comments made by a middle-aged, entrepreneurial Cree man during a recent visit to Mr. Turnaround's community. This man belongs to a faction which opposes the views of Mr. Turnaround and his supporters. Mr. Turnaround believes that the hydroelectric project is a very negative and destructive force for which renewable and long-lasting compensation should be sought and current, limited offers rejected.

This opposed faction argues that an offer that had been on the table for a number of years should have been accepted because the money could have been used to build roads, to establish businesses and to ensure good housing.

This man argues that the flooding by the hydroelectric project was a "cleansing" experience, just like Noah's flood, that would get rid of old self-destructive habits by leading to a new world of progress and wealth.

He referred to the Earth Diver legend in support of his view. In this legend (see Messer 1989 and Fisher 1988 for details) Trickster fights water creatures who steal away his brother Wolf. Their control of water is used to revenge themselves against Trickster who killed their leader. They send a great flood but are defeated by Trickster when he builds a raft and sends animals down into the water to retrieve mud from which he makes a new world to float above, and to dominate, the old. Trickster then vanquishes these water creatures (frogs and snakes, for example) to the lower worlds. In his view, then, flooding can lead to a new and better world and, if leaders of his community took a more forward approach, they would realize how the community could benefit if they came to quick terms with Hydro.

This is evidence that the Earth Diver legend supports an entrepreneurial ideology at Norway House and stands in opposition to the ideology contained in the Rolling Head legend. Analyses by Messer and Fisher support this. Their structural studies of the Earth Diver legend demonstrate that it sanctions a role for humans as dominators of animals and nature (Messer 1989:221; Fisher 1988:90-91).

A point-by-point comparison of the two legends verifies their closely paralleled but oppositional nature. They both feature Trickster, his mother, his brother Wolf and Waymishose (Flint). They both explain earth's origins, fire stealing, revenge against a character who kills Trickster's mother and Trickster's travels with and separation from Wolf. They contrast in that the Rolling Head establishes a new world below while Earth Diver establishes a new world above. The Rolling Head's Trickster is young and innocent while Earth Diver's Trickster is older, trickier and more manipulative. In the Rolling Head, the female figure plays a continuing prominent role and eventually becomes a positive factor in the world. In Earth Diver, the Toad Woman, equivalent to the mother figure in the Rolling Head (Lévi-Strauss 1978:58, 59, 103), appears briefly and is portrayed as completely evil. In the Rolling Head, Trickster's enemy is opposed to mating and union, but in Earth Diver his enemies are the source of fertility and healing. In the Rolling Head, Trickster's defeated enemy is turned into a balanced being but in Earth Diver Trickster's enemy is vanquished and remains imbalanced and evil. Finally, in the Rolling Head variants, Trickster is very close to all animals and is helped by the underwater creatures (such as Snake), but in Earth Diver much of nature has become Trickster's enemy (see Appendix 7). The Rolling Head and Earth Diver legends carry out oppositional roles. The Rolling Head supports a balanced view according to which humanity is contained within nature. Earth Diver, on the

other hand, supports a rationalistic, technological and manipulative ethos, according to which humanity dominates nature.

Lévi-Strauss's Contribution

The evidence of the Rolling Head's functions and meanings among Algonquians is corroborated by cross-cultural studies of mythology. It is an ideology of balance and wholeness and is in opposition to another legend advocating the opposite ideology of human dominance of nature. Works by Lévi-Strauss and Joseph Campbell are examples. We shall begin with the views of Lévi-Strauss.

Lévi-Strauss believes that the Rolling Head legend, like all mythology, is structured according to the actions of such forces as dualism, mediation and inversion. Its main role, he says, is that of mediator between polar conceptions of how the world originates and is structured—polarities which he ultimately traces to the contrast between being and non-being (1981:694). The mediation of these polarities, he says, often takes the form of a demonstration that each of the extremes contains similarly contradictory ingredients which may each be transformed to a single phenomenon which holistically contains all the polarities within it. In the case of the mediation accomplished by the Rolling Head, this is the moon.

He says that the Rolling Head legend operates within the area of deficiencies in human affairs (trusting and virginal people), perhaps an aspect of the "non-being" polarity. He posits an inversive legend called the Clinging Woman which, he says, operates within the area of excesses in human affairs (licentious people), perhaps an aspect of the "being" polarity. The Rolling Head's transformation into the moon and rainbow could be seen as balancing the world of "non-being" while the Clinging Woman's transformation into the moon with moon spots could be seen as balancing the world of "being" (1978:99-101, 54-56).

He develops this broad theme slowly through several volumes. In *From Honey to Ashes* (1974:423-447), he discusses the Rolling Head legend as mediation between constructive and destructive forces coded variously as light vs. dark, good vs. bad, silent vs. noisy, empty vs. full and culture vs. nature. The key to this mediation role, he feels, is the presence of magical objects which regulate good and evil. His example is the oar (snake) and the gourd (human head) which can be combined into the rattle, symbolically uniting the circle (regulator of constructive forces) and line (regulator of destructive forces), and mediating between them through its control of conjunction and disjunction (1974:450-452).

He returns to the subject in the *Origin of Table Manners* (1978:102, 110) where he says that the Rolling Head and its variants deal with the problem of balancing forces that are either "too near" or "too far." These forces are represented both celestially and terrestrially. They are found in the sun's freezing

or overheating the earth, in the long or short periodicity of constellations, stars, planets, moon or meteors, in the moon's distance from the earth and nearness to the sun, in exogamy vs. endogamy and in licentiousness vs. incest. These polarities are resolved, he says, by the creation of balancing forces in the moon and on earth. These are the rhythms of life, death and rebirth, night and day and fertility and infertility. These polarities are fused within the waxing and waning moon, menstruating women and the seasonal earth. The creation of such balancing forces is recounted by the Rolling Head and its variants.

His ultimate statement of the mediation role is in the *Naked Man* when he boils it down to the need to mediate between "being" (humans-over-nature) and "non-being" (nature-over-humans) (1981:694). Here he exemplifies the process with reference to an episode in which blind hags with sharp elbows block the path of a hero-child. He sees this as a Symplegades symbol (standing for the vision quest) which indicates that the means for restoring lost relations between "being" and "non-being" is through enlightenment. By defeating the blind hags (who hover on either side of a doorway and do not allow in "light"), the hero shows that he can simultaneously understand the actions of opposite forces and has thereby found the means to overcome dualism. This is his enlightenment (1981:403-412). Features of Lévi-Strauss's findings which play a key role in our analysis include the dualism of "being" and "non-being," legends which operate in inversive relation to the Rolling Head legend, and the Symplegades as a mediator between opposing forces.

Joseph Campbell's Contribution

The central character in the Rolling Head legend, who is the mother of Trickster, is described in several narratives as "mother earth" or "daughter of mother earth" (e.g., Jones 1917:17; Benton-Benai 1979:2-5; Lévi-Strauss 1981:67). This opens up the possibility that archetypal categorizations regarding the mother earth symbol may be applicable to the legend. This is borne out in the ensuing summation of Joseph Campbell's ideas concerning the Mother Goddess archetype.

Campbell believes, as do many scholars (Eliade 1975, Jung 1969, Harding 1971, Vermaseren 1977, Hartland 1894, Showerman 1901 and Hulst 1946), that the Mother Goddess archetype is a central part of the human psyche's concern to understand such forces as life vs. death, meaning vs. chaos and science vs. intuition. He says that Mother Goddess legends admonish us that our purpose in life is to recognize that these forces are intended to work in partnership within us and that we should live our lives as a sacrament to these forces.

Campbell says that the Goddess is the "mother of both living and dead," but where "the lighter and darker aspects of the mixed thing that is life [are] . . . honored equally and together" (Campbell 1985:21). She is the giver of life but also the consumer of death (1985:21-22, 54).

Together, the Goddess and snake represent the timeless, cosmic process that overcomes all periodicity and all heroic deeds (1985:24). Together they represent the union of heaven and earth (1985:56). They seem like two but are really one (1985:56).

The separation of the mother into two may symbolize the creation of the world of temporality. This, he feels, is illustrated by a myth where the two consorts were originally together as one great mountain in which the top was male and the bottom female. But the mountain was separated into two by the son of the consort pair, signalling the creation of the world of temporality (1985:57).

Campbell connects the moon to the Goddess because, like the earth, it is a cyclical phenomenon. He says that the moon brings dew during the night as it wanes with the coming of day (as it dies). It thus refreshes and provides rebirth (1985:10). He contrasts lunar and solar symbols. The lunar, he says, represents the resolution of opposites while the solar represents separations and the upholding of polarities as ends in themselves (1985:26-27). "Darkness flees from the sun as its opposite, but in the moon dark and light interact in the one sphere" (1985:26-27).

In myths, Campbell says, the son is often separated from the mother and then has a hero's journey to seek reunion. The reunion is a symbol of the son uniting with the Goddess—a restitution of a consort pair. The reunion is a merging of microcosm and macrocosm. It is the sanctification of human life. It is a sacramental act, the mythology suggests, of which all humans are capable (1985:14-15, 30, 48-49).

These analyses may be applied to the Rolling Head legend as follows. The Mother Goddess and snake consort are quite clearly the woman and her snake paramour. The equivalent to the sun may be the husband of the woman who is jealous of her snake consort and who tries to overpower both of them. Waymishose, who separates and brings one-sidedness, may also fulfill the characteristics of the sun symbol.[1] The equivalent to the moon is not clearly seen in the version detailed in Appendix 1, but the Iyas legends (see above), which shade into the Rolling Head in characters and events, have versions where Iyas is quite clearly the moon (Lévi-Strauss 1981:46). And Iyas may be viewed as a developed and matured Trickster figure (Lévi-Strauss 1981:29, 32) who has completed the vision quest and is now ready to fight evil and imbalance in a hero's way. Thus Iyas and the Trickster fulfill the role of the moon and the hero son.

The evidence that the Rolling Head is a variant of Mother Goddess legends can be summarized as follows. There is a supernatural woman in the three variant stories who is identifiable as Mother Earth. This woman engages in sexual relations with a snake and is supported by the snake. She is beheaded and separated from her offspring. She turns into food. She energizes the vision

quest. And she participates in events which lead from balance to imbalance and then back to balance. All of these actions are predictable according to the archetypal hypothesis of the Mother Goddess who, along with the snake, represents the two great forces which created the world and which were originally united. They co-operated until selfishness entered to separate the two forces and to create evil, finite divisions and knowledge. Nevertheless, the Mother Goddess may be reintegrated with her other half by means of the vision quest. Some stories tell of her endeavours to reunite with this other half, who is often depicted as a child. From the union good things, such as staple foods, emerge or are created. In agricultural societies there is often a cereal crop that develops when the Goddess is beheaded and buried in the ground. Among hunters like the Cree, it is often a staple wild food like migrating fish or birds. This is seen at the end of the three Rolling Head variants when the journey to reunite separated parts, as seen either from the perspective of the child or the mother, produces a whale, or ducks and a crow or a tree that are harvested by a partnership of activity.

The Three Sources Summarized

The three sources agree that the Rolling Head legend is an origin legend which explains that the dualistic, imbalanced and periodic world which humans currently occupy was created by the shattering of an original unity to which humans can return if they overcome the egoism that initiated and maintains the world's imbalances.

Lévi-Strauss, for example, says that there is a jealous figure in the legend who represents the impetus which shatters the original unity. This figure, he says, has too much sexual need, too little, is too venturesome ("too close" or incestuous) or too shy ("too far" or frigid). The imbalanced actions of this figure produces jealousies and tensions which lead to violent acts that disrupt the original unified state and cause humans to procreate through sexual congress, to live and die, and to face a world of good and evil (Lévi-Strauss 1978: 99-110). Mr. Turnaround agrees. He has given the Rolling Head legend his own title. He calls it "jealousy." He is referring to the jealousy of the husband which leads him to chop his wife's head off and which then produces evil.

Jealousy is the origin of the current imbalanced world because jealousy cannot exist where there is oneness. Oneness means no separations, no boundaries and no dualisms. When jealousy emerges, dualisms are implied. The jealous one thus creates the new earth with its separations, boundaries and finite existence of life. Mr. Turnaround calls this whole process "unfriendliness." He cites it as the source of the loss of unity between Red and White.

Campbell also traces the breakup of the original unity to egoism and jealousies. These are motives he ascribes to patriarchal cultures which, he says, in the West, superseded more balanced cultures and gave rise to one-

sided, patriarchal versions of earth's origins. A key mythic statement of this patriarchal takeover, he feels, is the story of how Tiamat (the Babylonian Goddess) was cut up by Marduk, a Waymishose-like figure full of greed and aggression, thereby initiating a world of dualisms, strivings and periodicity (Campbell 1985:75).

The legend's call for humans to seek reunification is seen, by Lévi-Strauss, in its mediating role conducted by the symbolic bridgings accomplished by the Symplegades and by such unions of opposites as that of the line and circle to form the rattle. Campbell finds the call for return to unity in the journey of the hero-child who tries to unite with the Goddess (1985:15) and in the consort relation of the woman and snake depicted both in legend and in the sacramental acts of priests and priestesses. Mr. Turnaround also finds a call for return in the journey of the hero-child. The child is separated from its source of strength (the mother) in the Rolling Head legend proper and then must reunite with that source before balance and equality can return. This reunion process is traced by Mr. Turnaround in Women and the Raven and culminates, according to his interpretation, in Iyas' emergence as a balanced being who eliminates the evils of the world.

And, finally, the sources all agree that the Rolling Head legend is involved in an ideological controversy over the relationship of humans to nature. Lévi-Strauss says that this is a controversy that is deep-seated in mythology and provides some mixed evidence that it is essential to the inversive relationship of the Rolling Head and the Clinging Woman. Joseph Campbell feels that Mother Goddess legends are in opposition to Father God legends and that the former support humans-in-nature while the latter support humans-over-nature. Mr. Turnaround sees contrasting ideology regarding human-nature relations in the characters of Iyas and Waymishose, with Iyas representing balance and Waymishose conflict. And the contrast between the Rolling Head and Earth Diver legends also illustrates the ideological controversy within which the legend is embedded.

Conjecture on Other Linkages—Trickster's Race with Rock Turtle and Rabbit, Moses and the Rock and Others

According to Lévi-Strauss, the shattering of a rolling rock in an Ojibwa legend is homologous to the Rolling Head and Clinging Woman (Lévi-Strauss 1973:99). And, according to Joseph Campbell, sometimes the Mother Goddess is depicted as a great mountain or stone (Campbell 1985:46, 55, 57, 430). This leads us to speculate about the symbolism contained in a widespread Algonquian story in which Trickster races with a rock (e.g., Stevens 1971:30-31; Dorsey and Kroeber 1903:65-70; Wissler and Duvall 1908:24-25). In the version obtained from Mr. Turnaround's community (see Appendix 8), Trickster topples a rock off a hill and races with it. It eventually catches up to him and

rolls on top of him and pins him down. Trickster tries to match patience with the rock but fails and, in exasperation, calls Thunderbird to shatter the rock. Trickster is freed and immediately finds a very energetic mouse who tends to him and makes him well again. As a reward, Trickster makes the mouse beautiful with hair that is always neat and never needs to be combed.

The parallels to the Rolling Head legend are many. A round object standing upon a hill is toppled free (severed) and then rolls after Trickster.[2] Trickster is captured but shatters the rock (a repeat of the severing motif) and then confronts a busy and productive mouse (perhaps equivalent to the new fertile world produced by the rolling head as it drowned). Trickster is taken in and brought up by the mouse (a vision quest journey such as undergone by Iyas and the lost child) and, in the end, beauty and order is achieved. Thus a one-sided, impatient, teasing and taunting being is given a lesson after he shatters a unity and has to face the terror of its one-sided fury as it rolls down the hill. It turns into a new world within which Trickster has to learn to live. But with its aid, in the form of a female mouse (somewhat equivalent to the mother fox that aided Iyas), it teaches Trickster to be a more balanced being and is itself balanced. It is not much of a further step to consider that the Western story of the race between the rabbit (often a trickster symbol) and the turtle (a hard, rounded object) is a variant of this legend since the characters are similar and the message about balance and humility is the same.

Old World parallels to the Rolling Head legend may also be found. The legends of Perseus (Hartland 1894), Attis (Vermaseren 1977), Gawain (Abrams 1979:244-298) and Golden Feather (Weinreich 1988:142-147) show uncanny parallels. And this is true also of the story of Moses' smiting of a rock to obtain water. A rock is detached from its moorings, is shattered, brings forth fertility. It supports a people who are led by two brothers who escape pursuing evil by means of charms and who are on a vision quest of 40 days and nights (similar to the four days or charms of the Rolling Head variants). Such explanations as diffusion, independent invention and archetypal parallelism could be offered. A balanced perspective would include elements from each position.

Conclusion

Through an eclectic application of parallel viewpoints expressed by structural theory, archetypal theory and an Algonquian elder, I conclude that the Rolling Head legend is a variant of widely distributed Mother Goddess legends. In today's world, it represents a great battle between humans who take a short view of their life and seldom challenge the surface appearance of things and those who take a longer view in which humanity is seen as often foolish and immature and easily trapped by games of greed and power. The Rolling Head legend represents the long view, urging people to go beyond surface needs and appearances in order to seek deeper truths. It urges a union of the material and

spiritual, of "being" and "non-being." It is the voice of wisdom rather than knowledge, of balance rather than power. Earth Diver represents the short view. It urges humans to assert themselves and to use their rational gifts to take control of nature. It inverts the message of the Rolling Head by stressing separation from the world below, ascent of the material world and Trickster's domination of nature by guile.

This is an historic battle. It is often expressed in symbols of female (representing discipline, containment and balance) vs. male (representing energy, power and change). The community under observation in this paper is one where the sides are currently of equal weight and power. It is a community wherein the two competing and inversive legends carry equal weight. It is a community where many still adhere to a vision in which the mother figure and her child are the perferred models of strength and destiny who must be rescued from enslavement and made proud and free. The Rolling Head and its variants express this hope. It explains that the task is to see beyond surface separations that have been created by egoistic forces and to undertake a journey of enlightenment which reunites the separated pieces and restores fertility and harmony.

The events in Mr. Turnaround's community are a worldwide phenomenon. We see the same struggle in the industrialized world where the repressed voice of the "mother" is struggling to reassert itself after having undergone defeat at the hands of the opposing vision which has created massive wealth and dominating technology but has also produced new and more potent threats to the environment and cultural well-being. By identifying this battle at the micro level and in a Native context, I hope I have provided some perspective regarding the larger forces at work.

Appendix 1: The Rolling Head

They were a family. Man and wife, and two children. That's how it started. This woman got involved with snakes. It was in the Bible. Because when this man went out hunting in the daytime, this woman was left behind to do the work. But she couldn't finish the work.

All of a sudden this man began to see that there was something between the woman's work and whatever she had to do. So one day he was out hunting, and he left a deer in the bush. Quite a ways in the bush. And the way it happened, this man asked his two boys what was the mother doing in the daytime, he asked them. And then those boys told their father what happened. "She didn't do any more work. She couldn't finish her work. She was supposed to be skinning some beaver and putting them on a stretcher and scraping them down." So he asked those kids, "What kind of a person did I marry, that she couldn't do the work, that she's supposed to do?" And she would tell him, whenever he asked about it, "Oh, that's about all the time I had. And that's all

I could do," she would say. "I have to cut wood, and take ice for water, and all the rest of the day, I couldn't get anything for you."

So he sent her off to get this meat that he had left. So she went out with the sleigh and then those boys told their father that as soon as the man left his camp, that this woman went to a stump, and rapped on the stump. And then she said to the stump, "Your wife has come." And then a lot of snakes came out of there. They laid around her, they wrapped around her. They wrapped around her naked. ("Well that's the same thing as in the Bible anyway," he said.) "They are disobeying the orders of the family. Because they had two sons, Cain and Abel, only one was very good and the other was wicked. Well, these boys did the same thing."

So when she went out to get the meat, this man went and rapped at the stump. And as soon as the snakes came out, he chopped them into pieces. This was the woman's husband that did this. And he had a pot to hold the blood. He took it back to the tipi. And while he was doing this, he had already sent the boys on ahead of them, that they should go away from the camp. And he gave them three things, these two boys. He gave them a file [and thorn thistles] and a tinder. So he told them, "If you see your mother coming, you should throw the file back, and ask it to form the Rocky Mountains." So those boys went off. And he waited for his wife to come back home.

And when she came home, he gave her that soup that he made, and he asked, "How'd that taste?" "Alright," she said. "Well, that's your husband," he said. So she got up and ran to the stump. She knew that everything was revealed now. And that her husband knew what she was doing. So she tried to follow her sons. And she got mad and started fighting with her husband. And he chopped her head off. And he wrestled with the body, with her body. And her head began to roll around the house, and knocked everywhere.

But all at once, she must have had a comb. She had a comb like this. She put it somewhere in the tipi, she had hidden it somewhere. The man didn't know that this comb was there. She pulled it out, and she asked the comb, "Where did the boys run to?" The comb said, "Well, right from where you're standing. They sank into the air and are travelling underground." So she followed the road. She sank right down all at once, right into the ground, and the boys heard her, as soon as she started out, because she started talking, the rolling head. She says, "I'm the rolling head. I keep on rolling and rolling." And she never stopped saying that.

And so they threw the file back, and they asked the earth to form the Rocky Mountains. And all at once, it came up. Steep rocks, but I never heard about, in any other place, or any other book I've read about rocky caterpillars. "Have you ever heard about that?"

So she got these rocky caterpillars, this rolling head, and she told them to eat through the rocks, like worms. She asked them to cut a way through, where

she could go through. And these caterpillars said, "Well, what can you give us?" "Oh, you can marry me," she said. "What's the use of marrying you?" they said. "Well, I got ears. And I got a mouth," she said. And that's all she could offer. So those caterpillars took what she was offering, and they made the tunnel for her. But I don't know how long it stayed there. Well, then she had to wait anyway, before she could continue on. And then she did finally go through that tunnel. And she went on, without stopping. And she left those caterpillars behind. Those caterpillars were angry.

So she went on, and those boys heard their mother coming again. "Rolling head, rolling and rolling," she was saying. So they threw back thorn thistles. That was one of the things the father had given them. "Let the thorns be in her way," they said. And all of a sudden she ran against those thorns. She couldn't go this way and she couldn't go that way. She couldn't get over it, she couldn't get under it. So she finally found some way. I don't know how she made it. It took her a long time. She was all tangled up in those thorns. But she finally got through.

And finally they heard her coming, "I'm rolling and rolling and rolling," she was saying. And they heard her. And they threw back this tinder, this fire that they had, from the birch. And they said, "Let the fire cross the earth." So the flames sprang up across her path. She tried to get by. Finally she spat on the ground and asked the earth to substitute, to make something moist. So the flames sprang up across her path. So she rolled on that spit, and the wet soil and mud covered her up. And she went through like that. She must have been there a long, long time, and then she went on. And those kids were ahead of her. And then she became a threat to them again, after she went through that fire.

And they came to the river, those boys. There was a pelican there. The boys asked the pelican to take them across the river. So it took them across. But they told the pelican not to take their mother across the river. But finally she came to the river. "I'm rolling and rolling, ha, ha," she was saying. She went to the water, and she went back to the dry land and she looked around and she saw that pelican. And she asked him to take her. And she offered to marry him if he would. "Oh, no, no. What can you offer?" the pelican said. He wasn't much interested. "Oh, my ears, my eyes, my nose, I can talk." So he took her across. But he said, "don't go near my neck. I got a sore spot." And just about that time, about halfway up the river as he was flying across, she moved close to his neck. "Don't move over there," he said. And he got mad at the rolling head, and he threw her in the water, and drowned her. And she came up, and the pelican rolled her over and hit that head and said, "Let there be, that the people in the future will call you a whale." And that's why, when the pelican comes up, he spews water. And she came out and spouted the water, and that was the last of her.

And those boys continued to follow the river to the mouth. And they stayed there, laying in the sand. They don't know what to do. They had some kind of toy that they were playing with, chasing around.

Then all of a sudden they saw somebody landing there. I guess that's the beginning of the Waymishoos. He was coming by boat. So that toy, Waymishoos looks at that toy, and it goes by his boat. So the oldest asked him to throw that toy back to them. "Oh, you can come and get it," Waymishoos says. And he put his paddle out. And he wanted that boy to walk on it. And he puts him in the boat, and he takes the boat. But he doesn't paddle. But he went off, and everytime the boat slows down he hits it with the paddle, and the boat goes on.

And then he comes to this camp. And this woman has a couple of daughters. And he told her that he's got a man and a young boy with him. So when they left, when they left the younger boy on the ground, the boy started to cry. And he said, "Now that you're gone, may I become a wolf." And he looked off from the boat, and he saw his brother running on the shore and following the boat. And that's why a wolf is so cunning. That when a man sees the wolf, and has the wolf inside there, looking at him, because he's a human partly. So when she got home, she told her daughter, "They've got a man." So the other found out about it, and said, "It's your turn to go over for the night. We'll crawl in there." I guess he was crying so much the place was so dirty. Mud from all of that. And he went faster there. Then the elder daughter went back to the tipi, and told her younger sister, "I know the man brought something in there. It's muddy. Not much of a man." Now the mother told the youngest of the daughters, "You go down there and give him a washing. Dry him up." And then he began to dream. Dreaming and dreaming about this old Waymishoos, and what he has in store for them. So he dreamed up everything. And so that's why whenever he tried to kill him, the son-in-law had known everything already. And so he couldn't do it. So he knows how to protect himself, and save himself, and bring himself back to the camp.

Appendix 2: Trait List of Rolling Head Episodes

A. Battle between Woman and Her Husband
- 0. Absent
- 1. Period of innocence and purity before battle
  - 0. absent
  - a. present
- 2. Characters and names
  - a. mother
    - (0) absent
    - (1) present
  - b. father
    - (0) absent
    - (1) present
  - c. children
    - (0) absent
    - (1) 1 child
    - (2) 2 children
      - (a) boys
      - (b) girls
      - (c) boy and girl
      - (d) n.a.

- (3) three children
- (4) four children
- (5) other

d. grandmother
- (0) absent
- (1) present

e. other

3. Birth of Children
   0. absent
   1. present
      (1) woman lives
      (2) woman dies

4. Source of conflict
   a. adultery
      (1) snake
      (2) bear
      (3) human
      (4) other (explain)
   b. other (explain)
   c. n.a.

5. Fate of characters
   a. adulterous 3rd party
      (1) killed
         (a) body parts fed to woman
      (2) other (explain)
   b. mother
      (1) cut up but lives on
         (a) head chases children
         (b) lower body fights husband
         (c) other (explain)
      (2) dies
      (3) fights husband and lives on (not cut up)
      (4) other (explain)
      (5) n.a.
   c. father
      (1) dies
      (2) lives on
      (3) dies but part lives to help kids (e.g., voice)
      (4) other (explain)
   d. other

B. Transformations

0. Absent
1. Woman
   0. absent
   a. lower body
      (1) moon
      (2) stars
         (a) north star
         (b) little dipper
         (c) other
      (3) other
2. Father
   0. absent
   a. sun
   b. stars
      (1) big dipper
      (2) other
3. Other

C. The Chase

0. Absent
1. Direction
   a. vertical
      (1) up
      (2) down
      (3) n.a.
   b. horizontal
      (1) east
      (2) west
      (3) north
      (4) south
      (5) n.a.
2. Magical Charms
   0. absent
   a. type
      (1) flint
      (2) coal, punk, ember
      (3) awl
      (4) comb
      (5) chisel, axe
      (6) other
      (7) n.a.
   b. number
      (1) 1
      (2) 2
      (3) 3
      (4) 4
      (5) 5
      (6) other
      (7) n.a.
3. Woman's helper(s)
   0. absent
   a. worm or snakelike object
   b. bird
   c. four-legged animal
   d. other
   e. n.a.

4. Woman's offer in order to get help
    0. absent
    a. sex
    b. nurturance to children
5. Children's helper (to get across water)
    0. absent
    a. bird
    b. snake
    c. n.a.
    d. water made behind them, not in front
    e. other

D. Transformations

0. absent
1. mountains
2. waters
3. fire
4. ravines
5. forest or briar or thicket
6. other

E. Defeat of Rolling Head

0. absent
1. method
    a. falls off bird
        (1) into water
        (2) other
    b. falls off snake
        (1) into water
        (2) other
    c. falls into ravine
    d. falls into fire
    e. other
2. transformation
    0. absent
    a. fish
    b. whale
    c. sturgeon
    d. frog
    e. other

F. Arrival of Evil Man

0. Absent
1. Period of play and peace before arrival of evil man
    0. absent
    a. play with claws for fingernails
    b. play with ball
    c. other
2. Method of arrival
    a. by boat
    b. other
3. Name of evil man
    a. Waymishose or direct derivative (e.g., Mashos, Omashose, Wimisosiw)—give name
    b. other
    c. n.a.
4. Power of evil man
    a. has magic canoe
    b. can change his form
    c. controls elements
        (1) wind
        (2) fire
        (3) flint
        (4) other
    d. has guardian animals
        (1) bird
        (2) four-legged
        (3) snake
        (4) other
    e. other
    f. n.a.
5. Relation of evil man to hero
    a. father
    b. father-in-law
    c. brother
    d. other
    e. n.a.
6. Name of hero
    a. trickster (e.g., Wisakatjuk, Nanabush)
    b. Iyas
    c. other

G. Separation of Children

0. absent
1. Creation of wolf
    a. wolf rules underworld or death
2. Hero taken away by evil man
3. Separate and become opposites

H. Hero grows and matures

0. absent
1. hero mates
    a. youngest daughter first to accept him
2. hero goes on vision quest (e.g., journey or odyssey or sweat bath)

3. hero given advice
   a. by female
4. other

I. Hero fights evil man

0. absent
1. Cause of fight
   a. evil man wants a sacrifice
      (1) to bird
      (2) four-legged snake
      (3) snake
      (4) other
   b. evil man wants to dominate and torment
   c. evil man is jealous
   d. other
   e. n.a.
2. Nature of battle
   a. battle over control of elements
      (1) warmth
      (2) fire
      (3) cold
      (4) wind
      (5) other
   b. battle over control of balance (e.g., swinging)
   c. battle over control of power
      (1) sexual
      (2) guardian animals
      (3) other
3. Outcome of battle
   a. hero isolated and lost and must find way back home
      (1) direction
         (a) North
         (b) South
         (c) East
         (d) West
         (e) n.a.
      (2) method
         (a) rides on snake
         (b) rides on bird
         (c) helped by four-legged animal
         (d) helped by magical objects
         (e) n.a.
   b. hero reunites with mother
   c. hero defeats evil man
      (1) also defeats man's wife and baby
      (2) evil man killed
      (3) evil man transformed
   d. hero and evil man fight to draw
   e. other

J. Transformations

0. absent
1. balancing forces
   a. migratory animals
      (1) hero
         (a) duck
         (b) robin
         (c) crow
         (d) other
      (2) mother
         (a) duck
         (b) robin
   b. medicine
      (1) evil man
         (a) Tamarack tree
         (b) other
   c. seasons
   d. life and death (e.g., restores life to dead)
   e. gets rid of female parts that cling too much (e.g., toothed vagina or sharp elbow)
   f. gets rid of destructive and chaotic forces (e.g., huge leg, giant ogre)
   g. other
   h. other

Appendix 3: The Key Episodes in Each Narrative

Ahenakew 1973:1-19 (Chichipistikwan)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5a1a, A5b1, A5b1a+b, A5c1, B1a2c, B2b, B2b2, C1b5, C2a1+3+6, C2b4, C3a, C4a, C5a, D1+2+3+5, E1a, E1a1, E2c, F6a

Ahenakew 1929:309-313 (Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a+b, A5c3, B1a2b, B2b1, B3, C1b2, C2a1+3+6, C2b4, C3a+b, C5a, D1+2+3+4+5, E1a1, E2c, J1g

Barnouw 1977:112-115 (Oshkikwe's Baby)—A2a1, A2c2a, A3a1, A4a3, A5b4, B3, c1b5, C2a3, C2b1, D4, E1c, F3b, F4e, F5d, F6c, H4, I1b+d, I3b, I3c1+2, J1f

Bloomfield 1930:14-18 (Birth of Weesakayjac and origin of Mankind)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B2b, C1a2, C1b5, C2b4, C3a+c, C5b, D1+2+3+5, E1b1, E2c, F1b, F2a, G1+2, H1a, H2, I1a1+2+3, I1c+d, I2a1+2+3, I2c2, I3a1e, I3a2c+d, I3c, I3c1+2

Bloomfield 1974:270-279 (The Birth of Wisahketchahk)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A3a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B1a, B2b, B3, C1a2, C1b5, C3b, C4a+b, C5a, D2, E1a1, E2c, F1b, F2a, F4c4, G1

Brightman 1989:9-16 (Rolling head)—A1a, A2a, A2b, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a, A5c1, B2b1, C1a2, C1b5, C2a2+3+6, C2b3, C3a, C4a, C5a, E1a1, E2c, F1a, F2a, F3a, F5d, G1+2+3+5, H1a, J2

Brightman 1989:23-26 (Contest with Wimisowiw)—F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a, F4d1+3, F5b, F6a, G1a, G2, H1a, H4, I1a, I2a1, I2b, I2c2, I3a2b, I3c3, J1b1

Brightman 1989:47-48 (Contest with Wimisowiw)—F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, F6a, G1a, I1e, I2b, I3d, H1a

Brightman 1989:59-60 (Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c5, A4a1, A4b, A5a1a, A5b1c, A5c2, C1a3, C1b5, E1e, G2

Brightman 1989:105-111 (Ayas)—F3c, F5d, F6b, H2, H3a, I1a3, 12a2, I2c1, I3a2a, I3b, I3c1, I3c2, J1a1c, J1a2d, J1d+e+f

Coleman, 1961:47-49 (The Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a2, A5b1a, A5c1, C1b5, C2a1+6, C2b2, D1+3+5, E1e, F2a, F3c, G1, H1, I1d, J2

Coleman 1961:49-50 (The Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a2, A5b1a, C1b5, C2b2, C5a, D2+3+5, E1a1, F2a, F3c, F4a, F5b, G2, H1, I1b, I2a2, I3c, I3c3, J1b1a, J1f

Desbarats 1969:14-15 (The Snake and the Woman)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b4

Dorsey 1903:70-71 (Nihaca Pursued by the Rolling Skull)—C1a, C1a1+2, C1b5, D1+4+5+6, E1c, F1c, F6c,

Grinnell 1962:311 (The Woman Whose Head Remained Faithful)—A2a1, A2b1, A4b, A5b1, A5c2, A5c4, E1e,

Grinnell 1984:230-237 (Chase of the Severed Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A4a1, A5a1+2, A5b1a, A5c2, C1b5, C2a6, C2b4, C5e, D4+5, E1c, F3c, F5a, F6c, H3a, H4, I3a2c+d, I3b+c, I3c2, J1f

Johnson 1976:17-22 (Nanabush: Kitche Manitou's Emissary)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c4, A2d1, A3a2, A4b, A5b2, A5c2, F3b, F5a, F6a, H3, I1d, I3b+d, J1g

Jones 1919:45-103 (Orphans and Mashos)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A2d1, A2e, A4a1, A5a2, A5b4, A5c4, C1b5, C2a1+2+3+4, C2b4, C4a+b, C5a, D1+3, E1a1, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, F6c, G1+2, H1a, H3a, I1b, I3a1e, I3a2b+c, I3c, I3e

Jones 1919:179-189 (Old Man Mashos)—F3a, F4f, F5b, F6c, I1b, I2a2, I3a1e, I3a2a+b, I3c3, J1a1d, J1b1a

Jones 1919:405-413 (The Rolling Skull)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A2e, A4b, A5a1, A5b1a, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C5e, E1e

Kroeber 1900:184 (The Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2b, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1, A5c2, A5d, C1b5, C2a6, C2b1, D4, E1c, F5a, H4, I3a, I3a2c, I3b+c, I3c2, J1f

Radin 1928:142 (The Woman Who Was Unfaithful to Her Husband)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A4b, A5a2, A5b1a, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C2a3+6, C2b3, C5a, D3+5, E1a, E1a1, F6c

Radin 1928:143-144 (The Woman Who Obtained Meat from a Bear)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2c, A2e, A4b, A5a2, A5b4, A5c1, B3, C1b5, C2a6, C2b7, C4b, C5e, F6c

Schoolcraft 1928:109-115 (Mashkwashakwong)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a1, A5b2+4, A5c2+3+4, B2b, B3, C1a2, C1b4, C2a2+3+6, C2b4, C3b, C4a, C5a, D1+2+5, E1a1, E2a

Skinner 1912:168-175 (Omishus)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a3, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c2, C1b5, C2a3+4, C2b2, C3b, C4a, C5a, D1, E1a1, E2c, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F4c4, F5b, G2, H1a, I1a1, I2a2, I2c2, I3a2a, I3c, I3e, J1f

Spence 1914:205-208 (Blackfoot Day and Night Myth)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1, A5b1a+b, A5c4, B1a1, B2a, C2a6, C2b3, C3c+d, C4a, D1+2+5, E1e, G3

Stevens 1971:48-55 (The Legend of the Rolling Head)—A1a, A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A3a1, A4a1, A4b, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c1, B1a, C1b5, C2a1+3+5, C2b5, C3b+c+d, C4a, C5d, D1+2+3+4+5, E1a1, E2a, F1a, F2a, F3a, F4a+b, F5b, G1+2+3, H1+2+4, H3a, I1b, I2a, I2a2, I2b, I2c1+2, I3a2c, J1b1a, J1d

Stevens 1971:112-120 (The Plight of Iyas)—F1a, F3a, F4a, F5d, F6b, H2, H3a, I1d, I2a2, I3a1a, 13a1e, I3a2a+b+c+d, I3b+c, I3c1+2, J1a1d, J1a2b, J1d+e+f

Teit 1912:373-373 (The Snake Lover)—A2a1, A2b1, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b4, A5c2

Turnaround (N.P.) (Woman and the Raven)—A2a1, A2c1, A4b, C1b5, C2a2+3+5, C2b4, C3b, D3+5, F4e, F5d, F6c, H4, I2c3, I3b+d, J1f

Turnaround (N.P.) (Seasons)—F5d, H2, I1c, 12a1+2+3+4, 13a2a, 13b, 13c1+2, J1a1c+d, J1a2a, J1c

Turnaround's friend (N.P.) (Rolling Head)—A2a1, A2b1, A2c2a, A4a1, A5a1a, A5b1a, A5c4, C1a2, C2a2+3, C2b3, C3a+b+d, C4a, C5a, D1+3+5, E1a1, E2b, F1c, F2a, F3a, F4a, F5b, G1a, H1+2+4, 13a1e, I3c

Wissler 1908:68-70 (The Seven Stars)—A2c2c, A2e, A4a2, A5a1, A5d, B3, C2a6, C3c, C5a, D2+5, E1e, J1d

Appendix 4: Frequency of Episodes in the Rolling Head Legend and Its Variants

A0 1	A2c,(5) 1	A5a,(2) 6	B1,a 2
A1,0 7	A2d,(0) 3	A5b,(1) 3	B1a,(1) 1
A1,2 10	A2d,(1) 2	A5b,(1)(a) 13	B1a,(2)
A2a,(0)	A2e 4	A5b,(1)(b) 3	B1a,(2)(a)
A2a,(1) 25	A3,0 19	A5b,(1)(c) 1	B1a,(2)(b) 1
A2b,(0)	A3a	A5b,(2) 2	B1a,(2)(c) 1
A2b,(1) 24	A3a,(1) 3	A5b,(3)	B1a,(3) 1
A2c,(0) 2	A3a,(2) 1	A5b,(4) 6	B2,0 3
A2c,(1) 1	A4a,(1) 14	A5b,(5)	B2a 1
A2c,(2)(a) 16	A4a,(2) 1	A5c,(1) 9	B2b 4
A2c,(2)(b) 1	A4a,(3) 5	A5c,(2) 8	B2b,(1) 2
A2c,(2)(c) 4	A4a,(4)	A5c,(3) 2	B2b(2) 1
A2c,(2)(d)	A4b 7	A5c,(4) 5	B3 8
A2c,(2)(3) 1	A4c	A5d 1	C,0
A2c,(3)	A5a,(1) 8	B,0	C1a 1
A2c,(4) 1	A5a,(1)(a) 11	B1,0 7	C1a,(1) 2

C1a,(2) 6
C1a,(3)
C1b,(1)
C1b,(2) 1
C1b,(3)
C1b,(4) 1
C1b,(5) 18
C2,0 4
C2a,(1) 5
C2a,(2) 5
C2a,(3) 11
C2a,(4) 2
C2a,(5) 2
C2a,(6) 11
C2a,(7)
C2b,(1) 2
C2b,(2) 3
C2b,(3) 5
C2b,(4) 7
C2b,(5) 1
C2b,(6)
C2b,(7)
C3,0 8
C3a 5
C3b 7
C3c 4
C3d 3
C3e
C4,0 5
C4a 9
C4b 3
C5,0 2
C5a
C5b 1
C5c
C5d 1
C5e 3

D,0 2
D1 11
D2 9
D3 10
D4 6
D5 14

E,0
E1a 2
E1a,(1) 11
E1a,(2)
E1b
E1b,(1) 1
E1b,(2)
E1c 4
E1d
E1e 5
E2,0 13
E2a 2
E2b 1
E2c 6
E2d
E2e

F,0
F1,0 3
F1a 4
F1b 2
F1c 3
F2a 11
F2b
F3a 9
F3b 1
F3c 4
F4a 9
F4b 1
F4c,(1)
F4c,(2)
F4c,(3)
F4c,(4) 2
F4d
F4d,(1) 1
F4d,(2)
F4d,(3) 1
F4d,(4)
F4d,(5)
F4e 1
F4f 1
F5a 3
F5b 8
F5c
F5d 6
F5e
F6a 4
F6b 2
F6c 8

G,0 5
G1 5
G1a 3
G2 8
G3 3

H,0
H1 4
H1a 6
H2 6
H3 1
H3A 5
H4 8

I1a 2
I1a,(1) 1
I1a,(2) 2
I1a,(3) 2
I1a,(4)
I1b 5
I1c 2
I1d 4
I1e 1
I2a 1
I2a,(1) 3
I2a,(2) 7
I2a,(3) 2
I2a,(4) 1
I2a,(5)
I2b 3
I2c,(1) 2
I2c,(2) 4
I2c,(3) 1
I3A 1
I3a,(1)(a)
I3a,(1)(b)
I3a,(1)(c)
I3a,(1)(d)
I3a,(1)(e) 5
I3a,2(a) 5
I3a,2(b) 4
I3a,2(c) 6
I3a,2(d) 3
I3a,2(e)
I3b 8
I3c 8
I3c,(1) 5
I3c,(2) 7
I3c,(3) 4
I3d 3
I3e 1

J,0
J1a,(1)(a)
J1a,(1)(b)
J1a,(1)(c) 2
J1a,(1)(d) 2
J1a,(2)(a) 1
J1a,(2)(b) 1
J1a,(2)(c) 1
J1b,(1)(a) 4
J1b,(1)(b)
J1c 1
J1d 4
J1e 2
J1f 8
J1g 2
J2 2

Appendix 5: Woman and the Raven

There was war against the natives. When war was over there stood a woman and her child in a lonely home of teepee. Days passed and they lived all alone. Then the time came when she lost her child while doing her chores outdoors. Upon her return the child was gone. Days and nights of weeping ensued. There were no tracks or footprints. Kitchi Manitou (the Great Spirit) heard the cry of the lonely woman. He sent the fowl of the air, called Raven, with a piece of black cotton. "Why weepest thou?" asked Raven. She replied that she lost her child and can't find her baby. "See this cotton, I'll make of it a dress," said Raven, "wear this, it will never wear out, even though you go in thick bush." When the rag was finished, she put it on. "If you obey, you will find it, but, if you don't believe, your child will be lost forever," she was told. "Pull one of the posts beside the doorway." She did this and there, under the posts, she found footprints. "Follow," said the Raven, "that's the answer." "I will guide you wherever you go." The first day she found moss and little footsteps; the second day a bow and arrow; the third day, a campfire. The fourth day, late in the evening, she heard two people chopping wood. She went closer and saw her child, full grown in four days. She came back full of joy and courage.

Appendix 6: Seasons

The story I'm going to tell you is about Black Arrow and Red Arrow. Once upon a time there lived a boy named Iyas. He wants to circle the world within one year. So he decided to go out and leave his daughter, father and mother. Before he left he met an old woman who said, "Be careful, son, you have to watch out and protect yourself." So he went out and he met many temptations. So he listened to the old woman as he passed every trial and temptation, and then he came back and stayed on a reef and he didn't know how he could get across the sea.

Finally, the snake came along. It was the biggest snake that he has ever seen with horns. So he asked the snake to see if he would take him across the sea. The snake said he would if Iyas would tell the snake when Iyas hears the thunder. If you see the black cloud tell me. "I know how to protect you," said the snake. "All you have to do is to hit my horns and away I go." (Iyas broke his promise.) So he started to hit the horns of the snake and finally he saw the black cloud from the *West* so he hit the horn fast, the snake went swift through the water. The snake said "I heard something." "It's only your horns, I hit them so hard it sounds like thunder," said Iyas. Close to the shore the thunder struck the snake. The snake said, "that's what I told you, thunder would kill the snake. When you hear the thunder tell me." So there was only bloodshed. Iyas created snakes from the blood, small snakes. Iyas said, "from this day there will be small snakes. You will be plenty."

So off he went back to his home for one year's journey. He saw the mother all scratched on the face. He went up to her and said, "What happened, mother?" "Your father died when you were away and I had to get a stepfather." The mother said, "I had a baby and your stepfather was jealous and scratched me. It's somebody else's baby." So Iyas made the arrow, one black and one red, so he made a circle so Iyas and his mother could stand in a circle. He told his mother to stand in the circle but first the mother had to go in the wigwam and throw the baby in the fire and he said, "I'll stand by the door." As soon as the mother went in he put the big fire on and the mother threw the baby in the fire.

The old man (stepfather) ran after her. He saw Iyas outside the door. He saw Iyas and he said, "Oh my son, you have returned home, get the beaver skins and spread it. I know my son has tiresome feet." Iyas said, "You will never get tired," to the old man. So the mother ran to the circle that Iyas marked and Iyas ran to the circle. He shot the black arrow first. That's for darkness, it was the long winter season with North wind. He shot the red arrow. As the arrow drops to the ground it started to burn. It burned the wigwam and the old man.

So then Iyas said, "From this time the years will be like this. There will be a hard long winter and a cold North wind but when the red arrow falls all the snow will melt and this is Spring." And after Iyas finished all the things that he had done he said to his mother, "What would you like to be?" A bird or some kind of an animal." Iyas said, "I will be a crow." His mother said she would be a duck and the first day of spring we have the crow. He comes first then the snow began to melt and then the ducks come and it began to be summer.

This is why we can't leave some of the old things behind although we become civilized people. We need the old things to guide us in our new way of life. These old things tell about the future. I am very happy, my children, to teach you Cree. Use the language although you are taught English and reading books in English, but you need your language and I hope you understand what I am talking about in the legend. These people in the old times represent what you have and what has happened in the past. This was written in the Old Testament. The first and the last (Creation) and it is interesting what has happened and tell us what is going to happen in the future. We will understand what has happened and what's going to happen in the future. You will understand in days before Jesus. People knew someone was teaching them in Cree. When you are going with white children you must speak English so they understand us.

Appendix 7
A Comparison of the Rolling Head and Earth Diver Legends

Similarities

- Earth's origins and cyclicity are explained.
- Key characters are Trickster, his brother (Wolf, an evil man or Waymishose) and an evil woman (Toad Woman or Rolling Head).
- Trickster seeks revenge against his mother's adversary.
- Trickster duels the evil man over the control of fire and warmth and guardian animals.
- Trickster defeats the evil man and the evil woman.
- Trickster and his brother Wolf are separated.
- Good hunting or fishing is provided.

Differences

Rolling Head	*Earth Diver*
Trickster's mother lives on after his birth, plays a prominent role, and becomes a positive force.	Trickster's mother dies after his birth and plays a minor role. Toad Woman also appears briefly and is a banished negative force.
Earth is created below previous world.	Earth is created above previous world.
Earth is created by Trickster's magic as well as by his mother's transformation.	Earth is created by Trickster alone.
Trickster's enemies are above (the inventive, "mind" power of Waymishose).	Trickster's enemies are below—the power of the water monsters connected to earth and fertility.
Trickster's enemies want to dominate the world—the elements, objects and animals.	Trickster's enemies want to stop him from dominating the animals.
Trickster's enemies are against mating and union. They separate the woman and snake, woman and her head, Trickster and his brother and Trickster and his wife.	Trickster's enemies are the source of healing and fertility. Toad Woman is a medicine woman and the snakes are the source of the water supply.
Trickster uses magical power. He uses the power of the earth (beaver teeth, pines, porcupine quills, flint, awls, stone and moss).	Trickster uses the power of the mind. He uses guile and trickery.
The evil man desires change, separation, imbalance, power and disunity.	The evil water monsters want to stop Trickster from roaming and hunting too much and desire balanced relations between humans and animals.
Evil is balanced and transformed.	Evil is vanquished but unaltered.

Rolling Head	*Earth Diver*
Trickster has good relations with all animals.	Trickster is the enemy to sea creatures.
Rhythmic cyclicity in the seasons and in the cycle of life, death and rebirth is created.	Hierarchy and domination of humans over animals is created.
Sea creatures are created.	Land creatures are created.
The water transforms and unites.	The water buries and separates.
Trickster unties the above and below—woman and water, snake and thunderbird.	Trickster separates the above and below—sea creatures vanquished below.

Appendix 8: Weesacayjuc's Race with Rock

Weesacayjuc saw a stone on a hill and asked it if it wanted to have a race. And the stone agreed. So Weesacayjuc pushed the stone and it started down the hill. Weesacayjuc raced ahead laughing and teasing. But then he tripped. Stone landed on top of him. Weesacayjuc lay there a long time. Moss grew on him and his clothes became ragged. Maybe he lay there for two thousand years. Then he called Thunder to help. And so lightning split the rock and so he went off. He saw a teepee. He went inside and saw a mouse busy sewing, grooming and keeping house. The mouse took care of Weesacayjuc and made him well again. So Weesacayjuc did him a favour. He said never again will you have to comb your coat. It will always be combed. And so it is. Mouse hair is always neat and in place.

Notes

1. Lévi-Strauss says that self-propelled boats (such as that possessed by Waymishose) are symbols of the sun (1978:136).
2. In several versions the rock must overcome obstacles placed in front of it by Trickster (e.g., Dorsey and Kroeber 1903:65-70).

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ETHNOLOGICAL TOURISM IN THE SOLOMON ISLANDS: AN EXPERIENCE IN APPLIED ANTHROPOLOGY[1]

Jean Michaud
Université Laval

Pierre Maranda
Université Laval

Luc Lafrenière
Université Laval

Ginette Coté
Université Laval

Abstract: This paper relates the story of an experiment in tourism in Lau in the Solomon Islands. Whereas tourism is usually seen as a manifestation of globalization, part of a movement toward the eradication of cultural difference, the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project was conceived to achieve a different goal, the defence of a way of life threatened by Christianity and various economic and political forces.

The project involved co-operation between enterprising traditionalists in Lau, an anthropological team based in Québec and a private travel company. The intent has been to immerse tourists in the traditional culture. Although very few tourists have visited Lau, preparation for tourism has resulted in a revival of traditional ceremonial, the fostering of an entrepreneurial spirit and other changes of a socio-economic and socio-political nature. The authors suggest that such schemes cannot fully succeed if they are dependent on foreign private enterprise.

Résumé: Cet article rapporte une expérience touristique à Lau, dans les îles Salomon. En général, le tourisme est perçu comme une manifestation de la globalisation (il s'agit d'une partie d'un mouvement visant la disparition des différences culturelles). Le projet de Tourisme et de Protection de la Culture Lau a été conçu dans un but différent : la défense d'un mode de vie menacé par la Chrétienté et par diverses forces économiques et politiques. Le projet impliquait la coopération de membres traditiona-

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listes de la communauté Lau, une équipe anthropologique québécoise et une agence de voyage privée. L'idée était de plonger des touristes dans un bain de culture traditionnelle, tout en stimulant un esprit d'entreprise et d'autres changements de nature socio-économique et socio-politique. Les auteurs suggèrent que de tels projets ne peuvent pas réussir intégralement s'ils dépendent trop de l'entreprise privée étrangère.

Introduction

There is an irresistible movement toward the internationalization of tourism (Lanfant 1980, Britton 1982, Pearce 1989, among others). Indeed, very few places on this planet have remained protected from those promoters who are constantly in search of virgin territory or an island paradise until now untapped. In a world context that tends towards the elimination of differences, and insofar as travellers are assured by their agents that they can feel at home anywhere, little room is left for other initiatives such as the sort of integrated tourism that favours first and foremost respect for the host societies' cultures. It is this latter form of tourist development that the project presented here, the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project (LCPTP), represents. As the project is still recent and has not yet been fully analyzed, no final conclusions can be made. The authors propose instead a discussion of some of the cultural, political and economic consequences to the Lau community of the first stages of tourism there.

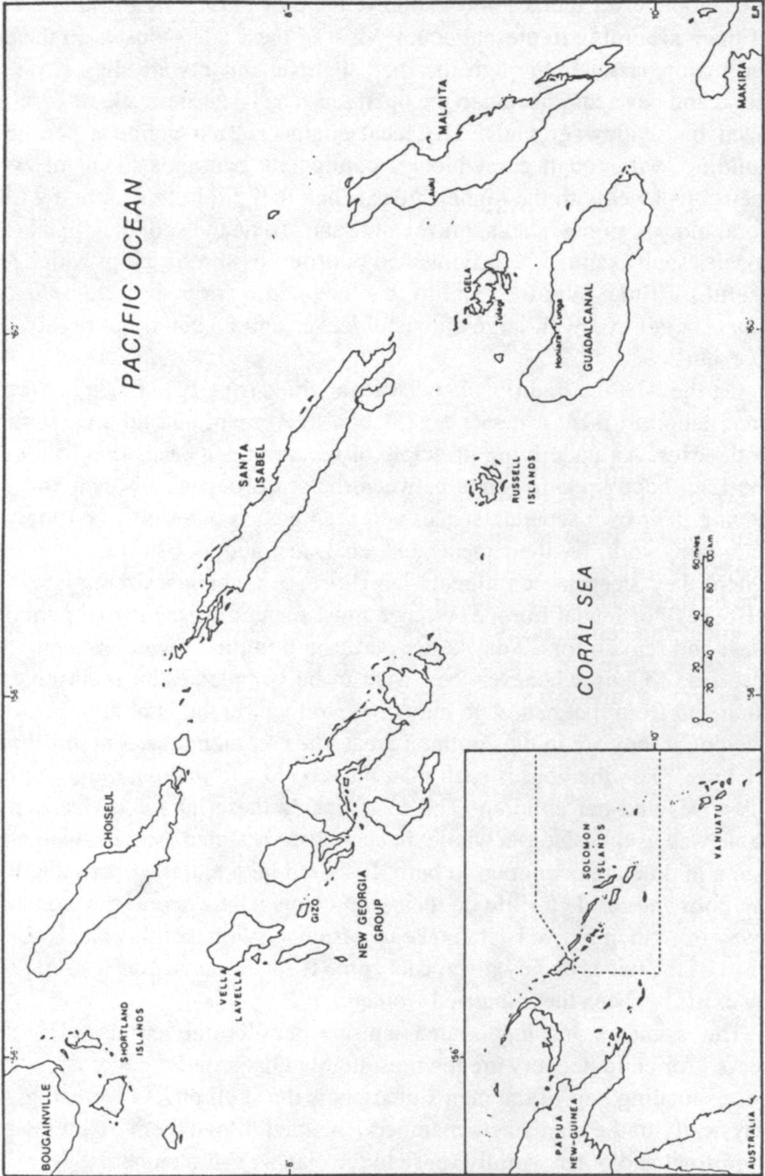
In order to understand the cultural and historical background of this project, we will first look in more detail at the Lau people and their setting in the Solomon Islands. We will review how the Lau decided to undertake a tourism project with the object of restoring and preserving their traditional culture, how they prepared for tourism and how a group of North American university anthropologists—drawing in a North American private sector tourist business along the way—took responsibility for finding, and having arrangements made for, suitable tourists. Additionally, we will describe the actual tourist visits the Lau received, and the rather far-reaching changes Lau society experienced before, during and after the foreigners' visits.

Genesis of the Project

Ethnographic Briefing[2]

The 6000 (approximately) Lau people of North Malaita, Solomon Islands, are lagoon dwellers. Their habitat is fenced in from the ocean by a reef, 27 nautical miles long, around the northwestern tip of the island of Malaita and extending south along the coast. Four major passages in the reef are navigable, and through them shoals of fish enter and leave the lagoon following tidal movements.

Map 1



The Lau have constructed the actual sites for their dwellings in the waters of the lagoon. Over the last 400 to 600 years, they have built artificial islets—63 of them according to present count. Most of these islets cluster on the edge of the major passages through the reef: their inhabitants are thus close to fish flows and have easy access to the open sea. The islets are made of coral blocks piled on shallow grounds. The local engineers first define a perimeter by building, with rough coral blocks, contiguous pyramids three meters high, their tops level with the highest tides. Then they fill in this outline with more coral blocks, stones, shells, gravel and sand. To tie the soil, they plant reedlike species such as ginger, cordyline and odoriferous shrubs, all of which are also useful for ritual purposes, and to this they add palm trees and *terminalia catappa*, a tall tree with large colourful leaves and inedible, but highly decorative, nuts.

On the islet the traditional social structure is tripartite. There is a women's area, taboo to men; a men's area, taboo to women; and an area common to both sexes. An underlying principle of this arrangement is that, according to the Lau, happy relationships between the sexes depend on men and women having their own separate spaces and seeing each other only sparingly. Thus men live, work, fix their meals, eat, chat, rest and loaf in their own quarters where they sleep in communal clan (lineage) clubhouses reminiscent of the "Houses" of feudal Europe. Women must spend their menstrual periods, give birth and remain for 30 days after parturition in their own area; here they are also free to stay whenever they wish to be completely by themselves, fully sheltered from the men, who may come to them in the late afternoon or early evening if they are in the common area. The common area contains the "family huts," i.e., the houses each man must build and maintain, one for each of his wives and her children. The space inside these huts is divided up in the same way as the islet as a whole: in each there is a men's side, a women's side and a middle area common to both. It should be mentioned here that the men are born and reside for life on their own clan's islet whereas the women move away from their native islet to take up residence with their husbands. But since most of the wives on any given islet come from the same clan a strong solidarity exists between these married women.

The women's and men's areas closely parallel one another. The huts reserved for child delivery are the most highly charged of the women's area; the corresponding part of the men's quarters is the skull pit. As women give birth physically to the clan's new members, the men mimic them by giving birth in a spiritual and other-worldly sense to the clan's dead members. Several rituals develop this parallel relationship; in these the fundamental premise is Woman, as explained in detail elsewhere (Maranda and Kongas Maranda 1970).

The most ancient ancestral islets are the largest and display the most luxurious vegetation. They measure about 100 meters in diameter. Their population

densities are very high: one islet, Sulufou, has as many as 600 people. The smallest, most recent islets are usually somewhat rectangular and their surfaces do not exceed 25 square meters; most are still completely bare of vegetation. These smaller islets—traditionally tripartite like their mother islets—are the homes of one family, i.e., a man, his wife and their children, or they may accommodate two or three brothers with their wives and children. These offshoots of ancestral islets are linked to their mother islets on which the clan's altars, sanctuaries, skull pits and other cult places are located. Thus larger clans may be scattered over several islets. All of a clan's islets, however, remain under the authority of the aristocracy of the clan's ancestral islet—high priests, priests, chiefs, lineage priests and lineage chiefs.

Change and Outside Influences

The impact of Christianity has made profound alterations to the physical and cultural habitat of the Lau. The Lau have always been very tolerant. Despite a shared world view and common social, economic and ritual structures, variations have always existed between their many clans. The major phases of the great ritual cycle are, in some cases, nine in number, in others they are eleven; dugong flesh is taboo for one clan but not for the others; some clans build very elaborate carved temples to mark the next-to-last phase of the ritual cycle whereas others build very ornate ceremonial canoes.

Missionaries encountered such variability as well as a deeply rooted mental curiosity and openness perhaps not surprising in a sea-going people who, to explore the world of their archipelago, venture quite far out to sea. Some clans received the "messengers of God" most hospitably while others showed more resistance and forbade preachers access to their islets. In the case of the former, a few chiefs and/or high priests decided to opt for the new way of life offered by the white people; as a result their ancestral islets were transformed and were, by traditional standards, defiled. The stone walls enclosing the women's and men's areas were torn down; birth sites, sanctuaries and altars were trod upon by members of the sex for whom they had been taboo; and men and women were told that they had to cover their genitals, live together in individual family huts and so on.

As for the clans more intent on the preservation of their traditional ways of life, their chiefs may have prevented missionaries from preaching on their islets, but they could not stop them from delivering their messages at the marketplaces where the Lau trade fish for vegetables with the people of the main island. Nor did clan chiefs, being fundamentally open and tolerant, object strenuously to the voluntary conversion of some of their people to Christianity. But they established a rule: converts had to move out of the ancestral grounds so as to preserve territorial purity and traditional integrity. Consequently, Christians began to build, near their former home islets, slumlike con-

glomerates of huts on piles or on irregular heaps of coral blocks, more or less loosely linked by tree trunks thrown over unfilled gaps. These Christian "suburbs" are near the ancestral islets but do not adjoin them.

The two most important islets, the first and the second ones built in the lagoon, are located in a passage called Makwanu near the midpoint of the reef's southeast and northwest ends. Together they are still the stronghold of tradition; each of them has its Christian suburb. The first one is called Funafou; the second, across the passage, is Foueda. A couple of hundred meters from Foueda is Maanaafe, a deserted islet that the Lau recently renovated to accommodate tourists, as will be explained later. In the 1960s, when Pierre Maranda and his family lived with the Lau for the first time, they settled in Foueda because it was more typical of Lau society than Funafou. Funafou was the only islet whose population was heterogeneous; it was founded by a segment of the Rere clan, the first clan to settle in the lagoon and begin building islets. Over time the Rere were joined on Funafou by six other clans and the core islet was enlarged to its present size. The skull pits of the Rere clan are still in Funafou, but the Rere chief and council of aristocrats moved early to Foueda when they built it several centuries ago.

Maranda and his family stayed with the Lau for two years, from 1966 to 1968. There were, he writes, "my wife, our first son who was two-and-a-half years old when we arrived there, and the second son whom we decided to have in the lagoon because it was so paradisiacal" (Maranda 1985). Traditional life was then overwhelmingly vital and exuberant: there were large-scale rituals as well as all sorts of diverse, more specific ones, sumptuous exogamous weddings, ceremonial gardens with high fences adorned with carvings of totemic ancestors and spirits, lagoon-wide feasts with several hundred participants, sacred and profane dances with panpipe orchestras, rattles and ornamented dancers performing for hours on end, nighttime pantomimes between two rows of singers chanting foundation myths with bamboo-stick percussion accompaniments and special multiclan fishing expeditions.

A few years later, in 1975, Maranda was told by the main Rere high priest in Foueda, whose name was Laakwai, that everything was "finished." Laakwai was referring to the fact that none of his sons would take over his duties after his death, nor would any of the sons of his colleague, the other Rere high priest, Kunua, take over from their father. Laakwai anticipated a full collapse of tradition under Christian influence. When Pierre returned 10 years later, he was informed that both high priests had just committed "ritual suicide": Laakwai had dived under a canoe in which a woman sat, thus committing a metaphysical and fatal sin by inverting the position of high and low in Oceanic semiotics; Kunua had knowingly made a ritual mistake. Both were dead within a few weeks. After that, deprived of their mediators with the Spirits, those Rere people who continued to follow tradition were forced to devise a

new type of interaction with the Forces (*mamana*). Many others, however, saw no alternative but to convert to Christianity.

The death of the two Rere high priests left the Lau unable to carry out the important rituals so fundamental to Lau life. All the feasts and ceremonies witnessed by the Marandas—even in 1976—were dealt a bad blow because the Rere clan had always been one of their most important proponents. The Rere clan had been, and still was, the strongest, most motivated and most numerous traditional clan, with well over 2000 members in some 10 confederated islets. It had also always been the most sophisticated ritually and otherwise: its elders had been the repository of enormous sums of knowledge. The two other remaining high priests, Ratu and Gagame, still alive in 1990 in their home islet Funafou, had lost their Rere counterparts and were without the partners necessary for large interclan ceremonial exchanges.

As a result, clans became isolated, islets inward-looking. Smaller islets were deserted, their people flocking to larger ones that were becoming overpopulated. True traditional exogamy, which had been the rule, became fictitious as clans divided islets into wards according to lineage lines so as to keep the pretence of marrying out while actually practising endogamy. Communications between islets and between clans, once lively, deteriorated. Centripetal and myopic trends hardened clan identities, provoking tensions and a general social fission. Large-scale rituals that would have maintained the healthy tonus of Lau social relations could no longer be held. Closure, harsh self-interest and suspicion began to take over.

Origins of the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project (LCPTP)

In 1985 and 1986, during two successive periods in the lagoon, Pierre Maranda became aware of a missionary strategy to defeat the remnants of the bastion of "paganism" in the two most important islets, Funafou and Foueda. The plan was to extend the Christian suburbs of these islets in the direction of the mother islets. It would be an easy task; only a few score meters of vacant shallow grounds would, in each case, have to be filled in with coral blocks. Once Christian soil had made physical contact with traditional land, the mother islets would be contaminated, their separate-sex wards defiled. Their populations would have to convert entirely to Christianity in order to escape physical (and metaphysical) annihilation in the form of the diseases and other disasters that inevitably overtake anyone violating the traditional laws.

Traditional men, and some Christian men as well, congregated with the anthropologist in the men's quarters of Foueda for long evening discussions of the state of affairs. Maranda also imparted to them the knowledge he had acquired in the capital of the Solomons, Honiara (Guadalcanal Island), that multinational tourist companies from Japan, Australia, the U.S.A. and Germany had approached the central government to obtain the right to implant

some kind of tourist enclave in the idyllic Lau lagoon. The government had rejected their plans because it did not like to see local resources exploited by foreign business concerns. The Lau men saw the point. They thought that if tourism were to come to them eventually, they should control it themselves instead of being subservient to outside masters from Honiara or elsewhere. The traditional men also understood that they could use tourism to consolidate their position: no white people eager to watch traditional customs would want to come to the Lau Lagoon to see Christians, of which there were plenty in their own countries. The immediate result was that the plan to extend Christian suburbs to ancestral islets was dropped, and suburbs and mother islets remained separate until 1992 when, finally, Christians prevailed and built a log bridge from the Christian suburb Roba to Foueda.[3]

Together, the Lau men and Maranda drafted a document in which the principles for the actions to come were clearly expressed. These principles were the promotion of cultural preservation and revitalization and the creation of self-organization and development, in order that readiness for the coming of strangers wanting to see unchanged Lau traditions could counterbalance the disruptive effects of missionary proselytism.

The Québécois Side of the Project

The Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project (LCPTP) tried to set down the minimal conditions for the preservation of the Lau culture, while at the same time allowing a certain type of tourist development. In the basic agreement, approved by the Solomon Islands' Ministry of Industry and Commerce, it was specified that the Lau wanted, first and foremost, their own control over the effects of tourism. Two conditions seemed essential to this goal. The first stipulated that the number of tourists be limited; the second required the tourists to be ready to learn, participate in, and respect the Lau culture, during their stay.

On the basis of these two principles, *Séjours ethnologiques Lau* (SEL) was created. In Québec, Maranda, commissioned by the Lau, engaged himself in the promotion of this "applied anthropology" project. In 1987, he formed a non-profit team composed of students and independent researchers, some experienced in the travel business and in social research on tourism, with whom he began formulating strategies to give this tourist plan a concrete form and to recruit potential tourists.

The tourist concept designed by SEL was based on five conditions, each elaborated in keeping with the reality of travel possibilities and the objective of the cultural preservation of the host society:

1. The stay will last three weeks during which two weeks are spent in the lagoon. The tourists will stay in Honiara for two days on arrival and for two days on departure.

2. The group must not be larger than 10 people since they must be accommodated, fed and paired with Natives. A larger group could potentially cause too great a disruption in the community.
3. All travellers will receive, in addition to the usual information, a basic ethnographic briefing given by Maranda.
4. The tourists will have to conduct themselves with respect for the Lau culture.
5. For their part, the Lau will build houses for the tourists, and will share the elements of the traditional culture with them.

The travellers were to agree to a package deal. Part of the money paid would cover the cost of the flight; another part would be used to pay for accommodation in the hotels in Honiara; an amount to cover a fraction of the costs involved in promotion would go to SEL; and the remainder would be given to the Lau. As far as SEL was concerned, the money obtained would go to administrative costs such as long-distance calls, photocopying and travel expenses for promotional conferences and meetings; a small percentage would go to the team members to compensate them for a fraction of the time they spent working on the project.[4] The ultimate goal of this package deal was to limit the number of administrative intermediaries, thereby enabling the Lau to benefit to the fullest extent from the money spent by the visitors.

Recruiting Potential Tourists

Several tourist agencies were invited to participate in the project; it was *Club Aventure*, a Quebec enterprise based in Montreal, that most quickly showed an interest in the project. *Club Aventure* appeals to an unconventional clientele willing to travel "off the beaten track" in small groups with a *Club Aventure* guide. By publishing an article in its magazine in September 1988 concerning its prestigious, new destination, the Solomon Islands, the agency gave us access to a number of people who would potentially be interested in the type of experience SEL was proposing. Many meetings and phone calls contributed to the establishment of a formal connection with this agency—a connection more and more sought in Canada in the area of academic research, that is, an association between the private sector and the universities. The agreement reached seemed adequate in relation to the basic objectives of the project.

Club Aventure was supplied with written information and a copy of a film on the life of the Lau produced by Granada Television for its "Disappearing World" series (Woodhead 1987) in order that future travellers might familiarize themselves with the setting and culture of the Lau. In addition, lectures were given by Maranda to provide further information and recruit travellers. Following this, the people who seemed genuinely interested received information of a more anthropological nature concerning the Lau culture. In November 1988 a group of four people went to the Solomon Islands for a three-week

stay. Maranda and one other team member, Luc Lafrenière, were in charge of guiding that first group. By all evaluations this first visit was very successful.

With such a positive response, SEL proceeded with a second recruitment attempt. From January to April 1989, SEL contacted, or was contacted by, the press. A total of six articles were published either in daily papers with a wide distribution or in more specialized magazines. Two radio interviews and an equal number of televised interviews were done by Maranda, who continued to give lectures and to promote the project with other travel agencies in Montreal, Toronto, Los Angeles and Vancouver. Despite these efforts, the success of the second phase of promotion was marginal: only five more visitors have gone to the Lau Lagoon since February 1989.

The Relationship between the Private Sector and the Universities

Although it was well known that promotion must be constant to keep up a steady flow of guests, the low number of people visiting the lagoon can be explained at least in part by fact that SEL members lacked sufficient time to spend on the project. Another possible factor had to do with communication difficulties that arose between SEL and the Lau, first because of the geographical distance between the Solomon Islands and Quebec and then, sometimes, because of different understandings of the same question by the two parties. It seems clear, however, that a large part of the problem was caused by the lack of support from the travel agency. *Club Aventure* progressively detached itself from the joint venture, company representatives arguing that the initial contract was not proving profitable for them. Internal changes in *Club Aventure*'s organization also contributed to the decline of their promotion of the Solomons. The new policy of the agency was not to promote the destination but only to respond, client by client, to demand. The Solomon Islands destination has not appeared in *Club Aventure's* promotional leaflets since the winter of 1990, and since that time no more tourists have been referred for information from that agency to SEL.

Yet, as far as the Lau were concerned, it seemed that the visitors' brief presence in the lagoon allowed them to take a firm and dynamic position towards their culture: there was a feeling that their traditional culture, which had been denigrated by the missionaries for so many years, was still of value. And at last the Lau had at their disposal money they could administer as they wished. As far as the actual visitors were concerned, they were able to live like the Lau, participating in the daily activities and receiving instruction in specific elements of Lau culture. Upon her return to Canada, a woman tourist confided to a journalist: "I did not take a trip, I had an extraordinary human experience" (*Le Soleil*, Québec City, 1989).

This half-success raises some questions concerning the real stakes in a partnership between the private sector and an academically oriented group like

SEL. It is difficult to deny the differences in the respective goals of the two parties. The travel agency was primarily concerned with economic profitability through the sale of a healthy number of its package deals. As far as SEL was concerned, the main priority was the preservation of the host culture which would be supported by the visitors' desire for cultural enrichment. While the Lau consider the project valid and wish to continue it, SEL feels its partnership with the private sector has not given adequate results. Organizational strategies need to be revised.

The Impact of the Tourism Project on the Lau Lagoon

However short-lived and limited in numbers, tourism did make an impact on the Lau lagoon. As soon as the first visitors were announced, the lagoon's Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project was responsible for the creation of a committee representing the four sections of the island of Foueda. This committee was equipped with a Western-style structure, including a president, vice-president, treasurer, secretary and advisers, but without a charter. All the members of the committee were men, some Christian and others pagan, and all of them were more than 30 years old. Important functions such as president and vice-president were filled by elders. The positions of secretary and treasurer, because they required a knowledge of writing and basic accounting, were held by the only members of the committee less than 40 years old, two men who had studied in mission schools.

Because of the fact that all meetings were held in the men's area of the island, it was impossible for women, had they so wanted, to listen to the discussions of the committee from the sidelines, as was the case with some men who were not directly involved in the committee. Any decisions made by the committee concerning the women were conveyed publicly in the central meeting place in the common area.

Although the structure of the committee was Western, its functioning was closer to the Lau process of decision-making. For almost one year, Lafrenière, in the field as a research assistant on the Maranda project, attended the weekly meetings of the committee; he never observed either the recording of minutes, a meeting agenda or even any kind of vote. All decisions were made by consensus. Time and effort were never spared to achieve a decision to which all parties could agree. Following the Melanesian pattern of decision-making, silence on the part of any member was interpreted as disagreement; therefore, approval had to be expressed by all. Generally speaking, relationships between members of the committee were congenial and the prevailing mood ensured the vitality of the venture.

The first task of the committee was to accomplish the renovation of the island where the guests were to be accommodated and the building of the necessary lodging. The island that was chosen is, by Lau standards, of average size.

Called Maanaafe, it is 75 meters in diameter and has been uninhabited for more than 50 years. An evil spell was believed to reign over it, preventing anyone from living there, though Lafrenière was told of other, more political reasons for staying away. The island was cleared and enlarged, its walls were rebuilt, two kitchens and four houses (one house in the men's quarters, one in the women's and two in the common area) were constructed. Women renovated the women's area, men the men's.

The community of Foueda worked on the project for more than three months. According to Lafrenière's calculations, 2000 person-days were invested in the restoration of the island. On some days more than 100 people—children and elders, women and men, Christians and pagans—combined their efforts to accomplish the task. The days devoted to collective work alternated with days dedicated to subsistence activities. Those who had helped with the renovation of the island were to be paid from the income generated by the first group of tourists; in due time that money was indeed distributed as wages. Apart from children under 10, everyone was paid two Solomon Islands dollars per day (one dollar Canadian) in accordance with a decision of the committee.

The busiest periods were, without a doubt, during the visitors' stays. A group of tourists was paired with one or two guides who spoke some English. The guides were paid five Solomon Islands dollars per day and were responsible for organizing the visitors, accompanying them in their daily activities and translating questions and answers between hosts and guests. It was with these guides that the tourists had the most contact during their stay. The development of friendly relations with the guides led the guests to give them presents before their departure, a situation that created some jealousy. The same phenomenon applied to the cooks who also established friendships relatively easily with the visitors. From the time of the first visitors, it was decided to appoint two new cooks each day.

Although the visitors moved about all over the lagoon, most of their activities took place in Rere territory. In fact, most of the time was spent on Foueda (the hosts' island), on the main island of Malaita in gardens belonging to the people of Foueda and on Maanaafe. One or two outings to the local market also involved expeditions to Malaita. These excursions gave the visitors the opportunity to meet with members of another group, the Baelelea. Tensions between the Lau and the Baelelea are sporadic, fights have erupted occasionally in the past during market sessions. The tourists' presence at the market required delicate negotiations on the committee's part as the Baelelea claimed a right to financial compensation.

The art of trading at the market is a female prerogative and it was therefore the Lau women who taught the basic principles to the female visitors. Following a practice session during which they were introduced to the different taboos that must be observed, the women guests were given fish which they

traded the same day. Despite the fact that all went smoothly, the elders were worried that if the tabus were not properly respected, tensions might flare up between the groups. However, since relations between the two groups were relatively calm at the time, it was possible to attempt the experience.

Immediate Cultural and Social Results

One of the main goals of the project was to emphasize the value of traditional Lau culture. From this perspective, many of the results were very encouraging. Before the arrival of the visitors, Lafrenière undertook a study of the perceptions that the Lau had of the project. One of the questions asked concerned what motivation they thought the tourists would have in coming to visit the Lau and what kinds of activities they would enjoy. All answers referred to the hope that the tourists would discover Lau culture.

Cultural activities were therefore prepared long in advance. Because of the fact that the weakening of ritual activities on Foueda had prevented the youth from learning fully the traditional activities, young men and women began rehearsing Lau dances several months before the arrival of the guests. The teacher/guides began preparation. At one point, Lafrenière and Maranda, in order to ensure that the guides were indeed well prepared, asked to be given a complete tour of the island, its sacred houses, its altars and all its important places. Several minutes after the beginning of the practice tour, the elders came around and began correcting the guides, finally giving the tour themselves to the guides and to an increasingly curious crowd. This practice run was soon transformed into an intensive session of intergenerational communication of information. During a discussion following this tour, the guides expressed their surprise at the generosity with which the elders had communicated their knowledge to the younger generation when formerly they had refused frequent requests to do so. Until the practice tour, the elders had been reluctant to pass on information to Christian youths who, on their part, were beginning to fear the loss of traditional knowledge.

Elders had frequently denied Christian youth information concerning traditional matters, arguing that such knowledge would be harmful to them because of pagan spirits' incompatibility with Christian faith and lifestyle. Furthermore, at a time when traditional knowledge was gaining importance due to the tourism project, elders seemed eager to demonstrate their exclusive expertise in traditional fields of knowledge, considered by many of them to be their last sphere of influence in a rapidly changing society. Some elders also viewed the tourism project as an opportunity to capitalize on their competence in order to create or regenerate power. But when the first group of tourists arrived, the elders never refused to answer any question their visitors thought to ask. The guides, realizing this, often took the opportunity to formulate, in Lau, questions that had not been asked by the tourists. In fact, locals were often at least

as interested in the answers as the tourists who had asked the questions. These sessions often contributed to a greater appreciation among the Christian Lau youth of some of the older men and women whose knowledge had not previously been revealed to them.

Defenders of Christianity were not long in responding to this focus on traditional Lau values. A two-week-long evangelical blitz preceded the arrival of the tourists. Every evening during this two-week period, Seventh Day Adventist missionaries preached the Word with the help of microphones and amplifiers powered by a generator brought from the capital, broadcasting their message to all the surrounding islands. During one of these evenings the Native minister preached against dancing.[5] The spirit of the young dancers was strongly affected by this sermon, and it was only after encouragement and much discussion that they resumed their practices.

The project was never directly criticized or publicly denounced by the local Christian leadership. The differences between Christians and pagans were felt in small details that were all but invisible to the tourists. The tourists did notice that their guides spoke differently about their culture depending on their religion. Christian guides referred to the various aspects of their culture with the words "in the old days," whereas the pagans used the present tense. Once in a while these differences in perception led to long discussions in Lau between the guides who temporarily left the tourists aside.

During the first group's stay, the presence of visitors stimulated a most remarkable cultural event. Since the island on which the guests were to stay had not been inhabited for over 50 years, and also because of the evil spell, an important ceremony was organized on a neighbouring island in order to explain to the spirits the presence of people on Maanaafe. This sacred ceremony attained spectacular heights. Twelve pigs were sacrificed and their meat distributed throughout the lagoon. Sacred dances were executed and, contrary to all expectations, two pagan priests were ordained by their fathers. One year later, during another visit, this ceremony was still the subject of much discussion in the men's quarter.

Despite the undeniably religious character of the ceremony, it is suspected that political factors also motivated it. From the beginning of the renovation activities on Maanaafe, several groups had claimed ownership of the island. Traditionally, the soil of an island could be extended with the permission of the owner. Since permission was almost always granted, construction went ahead smoothly. However, the tourist project made the possession of Maanaafe potentially profitable since the owner was eligible for financial compensation. Who, and which clan, first inhabited the island?

The Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project committee is still trying, at local pace, to clarify the issue of, and achieve consensus regarding, the ownership of Maanaafe. Discussions revolve around the names of the spirits that

live in the sacred houses, the kinship ties with the first inhabitants of the island up to 23 generations ago and certain clans' rights to make sacrifices on the island's altars.

Because the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project committee has been able to function in place of the formal political leadership that is lacking among the Lau and especially in the Rere Tribe, it has, Lafrenière believes, become an advocate for much more than the tourism project. The integration of the Lau into the world market creates new conditions, some of which require a large accumulation of national currency. Unlike the past, when the authority of the chiefs depended first on lineage aristocracy and secondly on their ability to redistribute the surplus they were able to accumulate from their people, nowadays the people keep their wealth, invest it in foreign goods acquired at great expense and in this way cut off the traditional flow of wealth to the chiefs. This dynamic leads to the emergence of the *wane 'initoo faafefe*: the important-man-who-make-me-shit. These rich men are criticized for their lack of generosity.

Furthermore, the increasing importance of Christianity and the forced pacification of the Lau people by colonial power has resulted in the breakdown of the traditional institutions from which the chiefs drew their *maana* to exercise their power and leadership (Lafrenière 1992). Missionaries, local constables, provincial judges and colonial administrators robbed the chiefs of their leadership roles in religious matters, in the maintenance of social cohesion and in warfare. This state of affairs resulted in a deeply transformed political dynamic for the Lau lagoon. Gradually, the Lau culture, under the influence of the newly installed national society, has been transformed. The focus has shifted away from the traditional leaders in favour of the younger, Western-educated elite that forms the majority of the elected Lau representatives in the regional, provincial and national levels of the government.

Political Formalization

Although, in accordance with the relatively new, Western-oriented Solomon Islands constitution, the Lau have elected and sent representatives to the different levels of government for some years now, to this day these representatives have exerted little leadership in the lagoon. They are mostly young men who have been educated by Christian missionaries in the Western system and are hungry to gain more control over their community's destiny.

The Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project committee seems to be a mixture of the new and old leadership systems; it is seen as a legitimate representative of the lagoon by the other Solomon Islands communities. At the outset, this committee fulfilled a specific need: it initiated the organization of an infrastructure to accommodate tourists; this, of course, was to enable the Lau to respond as soon as possible to the pressure to Christianize. This purpose

was implied in the principles laid down at the beginning of the project: cultural preservation and revitalization. Recent results of this initiative, however, have led some Lau to believe there may have been other, equally important motives behind their tourism strategies.

In the summer of 1989, when the Rere Trust Board was created, incorporated and equipped with a charter, it bore witness to a new approach that local councillors wished to adopt in the management of tourist activity. First of all, the Trust Board was overseen by an administrative council made up of representatives of the clans involved in the tourism project. As its name indicates, however, the group is composed of the representatives of one particular clan, the Rere, who, as it has been said, are at the centre of the tourist initiative.

The Trust Board's purpose is unique. Its *raison d'être* is to make decisions on behalf of the areas of the lagoon that are predominantly Rere concerning tourism and the capital it generates. However, since it is unthinkable for the Lau to compartmentalize narrowly spheres of decision in which the whole community has a stake, there is a second objective motivating this new political force: the Trust Board wants to make a place for itself as the primary representative on matters concerning the economic development of the Rere parts of the lagoon.

On the local level, there was, in fact, a void in the power structure. It is true that the three-level governmental structure (national, provincial and regional) which ensures national administration already applied to the lagoon as well as to the rest of the archipelago; furthermore, parallel to this structure, the Councils of Tribes have a right over cultural jurisdiction. Nonetheless, there was until now no organized decision-making structure to oversee the administration of funds that the community might derive by its own means. In the past, sums of money from outside the community were the object of negotiations between the different parties in the lagoon. However, the initiatives that led to these incomes were almost all aborted in the short- or mid-term because of clans lacking either the willingness or the ability to collaborate in a project. With the broadening of exchange networks, economic effectiveness depended on the creation of an operating political and economic organization that could accommodate various future partners. It was, therefore, natural that the movement toward formalization would lead to the establishment of a local authority that would attempt to resolve questions in a way that would forestall conflicts between clans.

In the first articles of the charter of incorporation of the Trust Board the means of accumulating the funds that will make up the Trust are defined:

> [The Trust] shall consist of any money, investment, business, or other property, real or personal, which (1) has been donated or granted to any person for the purpose of establishing the Trust, or (2) is donated or granted to the Trust.

The objectives that the Board aims to fulfill through the management of the funds are then described:

> To provide financial assistance to the people of Foueda Island to revive and maintain their cultural activities and values:
>
> 1. traditional customs and codes of behaviour;
> 2. traditional dancing and chanting;
> 3. arts and crafts, for example, shell money making and traditional weapons making;
> 4. traditional marriage activities and performances, traditional customary exchanges and cultural values;
> 5. the barter system and the activities that go along with it.

Although it may not be stated in precisely these terms, the aim is clearly the establishment of a structure for the collection and management of capital. Through the national government and missionary organizations, by means of tourism, a capitalist market economy is entering the lagoon. At the same time, the charter reaffirms the lagoon's primary objective: the preservation and promotion of the Lau culture.

Managing and disposing of funds involves the Board of Trustees. The Board's composition illustrates the interrelationship of the new and the traditional political structures:

> The appointment of the members of the Board of Trustees shall be made by the chairman of the Board, based on tribal or clan representation. The appointment of the Chairman shall be made by the Board of Trustees. All members, including the chair shall be appointed for an unlimited term. All members are eligible for further appointment.

The choosing of Trustees is based on delegation and the principle of cooptation. Half of the original 12 members of the Board already held a position in the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project; several others were members of the Rere Tribal Committee. Most lived on Foueda, the others mostly on Ropa, Foueda's Christian suburb. Choosing representatives this way reflects a willingness to achieve a compromise between the traditional and modern factions and may attest either to respect for the founding principles of the community—which would only be in keeping with the primary objectives expressed in the charter—or to the firmness of the hold that influential members of the community have on the reins of power, whether they be "Kastom people" or Christians.

The economic and political impact of this organizational formalization is multifaceted. It reveals the wish to control the economic destiny of the community in the most thoroughgoing way, to gain total power over the administration of the capital invested in community development. This mandate goes

far beyond the simple management of tourism. The possibilities offered to the members of the Board of Trustees by the charter are enormous and involve all economic activities linked to the entry of currency into the Rere parts of the lagoon.

Discussion

As in other parts of the globe, the encounter with the Western world brought about some profound changes in the Lau community of Malaita. Even though contacts with Westerners have been limited, missionaries have taken the leadership in health and religious matters, while colonial administrators and judges have enforced the new social order as requested by colonial rulers. Traditional chiefs were left with a limited sphere of influence; the Lau way of life was irremediably transformed.

Traditional leaders, until then unable to modernize the institutions that had allowed them to exercise power, saw in the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project an opportunity to gain influence by managing the project and the incomes it would generate. Knowledge of traditional matters, which had become decreasingly relevant, became much more important when the Project was discussed. The traditional elders were able to form the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project committee and to arrange for themselves to handle the distribution of profits. In controlling the money and using it for the good of the community, as they used to when administrating the wealth of the clans, they were in a position to renew and modernize the institution that had assured their leadership for centuries.

In view of the relative success of the enterprise, it was only natural that the Rere would want to extend the experience to all Rere lineages and to formalize it into a charter, reserving for themselves the prestige and the benefits that came with knowledge of traditional matters.

Although the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project is still too young for us to draw any definite conclusions about it, we can ask ourselves a few questions. While the elders have substantial knowledge of traditional matters, acquaintance with Western-style management is mandatory for the type of enterprises from which they hope to benefit. Where will the elders find the appropriate skills for such management? They may have to rely on the more aggressive and, in Western terms, better-educated youth whom they have hitherto tried successfully to keep out. Second, although few would deny the Board of Trustees the right to manage the profits generated by their own organization, it is questionable that all profits made through commercialization of traditional activities will necessarily be forwarded to them simply because they have a charter. The future of the project and of the Board are still largely uncertain; international conditions and the vigour of the elders will both determine it. The ability of the elders to build partial alliances with other groups

may determine the future not only of Project and Board but also of the traditional forms of political leadership of the Lau.

The Lau case is one of community involvement in a broad sense, rather than the infiltration of a new sector of activities by a category of local or foreign merchants already active before the arrival of tourists. This is largely due to the absence of a formal class of entrepreneurs in traditional Lau society: all resources, including shell money and dolphin teeth, the traditional forms of currency, were always managed by clan heads. These aristocrats, whose power is strictly hereditary, were the stewards of collective riches. They were never entrepreneurs in the sense of the Melanesian "big men" found elsewhere in the South Pacific. Small-scale local trade has, of course, existed for a long while, but its integration into the community is regulated, both on the level of the accumulation of initial capital and as far as the redistribution of profits (through the inevitable ritual expenditures and the exchanges of services) is concerned.

From being a simple local group fulfilling a specific need, the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project committee has grown into a representative of the general interests of the community in relation to the other clans and tribes, the governmental authorities and the Council of Tribes. This extension of the original mandate of the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project can be explained by the fact that tourism constitutes an activity without any precedent in local history. The traditional power structure had no preplanned response with which to manage it.

It must be kept in mind that concurrently, and without tourism being directly in question, the community had been engaged for several years in a formalizing process stemming from the federal policy promoting the unification of the people of the Solomon Islands and its peripheral areas into a national whole. This inclusion has, until now, proceeded at a very moderate rate for it has come up against regional traditions; thus its effects will be no more than distant and intangible for quite a while. The Lau lagoon is an example of this. This slowness is not, however, characteristic of the disruptions linked to tourism. A multitude of effects are immediately observable; every member of the community can perceive them at a glance. And because tourism is occurring within the local community, it is triggering a series of tangible consequences that national modernization, although on a much larger scale, is taking a long time to attain. When the Lau speak of modernization, or of the central government or of the capital of the country, they are referring to a reality distant both in real and in figurative terms. When they speak of the few visitors they have rubbed shoulders with in the past two years, their remarks are specific and their opinions set.

Thus, paradoxically, it will likely be in part because of the age-old isolation of Lau culture, an asset in that it is the culture's main attraction for visitors,

that the Lau could suddenly be projected into an accelerated process of economic, political and cultural transformation. This process coincides with the wishes of the elite in the Solomon Islands capital who are the only ones in the archipelago to have truly experienced such a transformation. In this sense, tourism can be said to have been a catalyst for modernization and integration into the national political, economic and, eventually, cultural identity.

The political weight that the Lau Cultural Preservation and Tourism Project has gained in the lagoon is now exercised against government, the missionaries and the other clans and tribes; they are suddenly being confronted with an element that emerged from their midst but speaks another language and is making connections both in the capital city and overseas. This element accumulates capital, solicits investors and follows norms of conduct that until recently were only barely understood. It is difficult to predict how viable this new mode of operation and new blend of power will ultimately be. It is frequently shown that tourist development encourages the emergence of an intellectual petite bourgeoisie, descended from the most powerful families, that, as universalist ideology becomes more firmly implanted and as the need to speak a modernist jargon in the day-to-day functioning of the community is felt, will progressively take over the exercise of local power (Din 1988 [on Malaysia]; Fürer-Haimendorf 1984 [on the Sherpas in Nepal]; Michaud 1991 [on the Ladakhis in Kashmir]). On the other hand, there is a body of research suggesting that in pre-industrial societies tourism may prevent the decay of traditions and even help to rejuvenate them, provided locals have some control over the flow and the business (McKean 1989 and Picard 1992 [on the famous Balinese case]; Saglio 1979 [on Senegal]). But social research does not provide us with much information about the reactions of tribal societies to the penetration of tourist capitalism, apart from some elements by Crystal (1989) on the Sulawesi in Indonesia and Altman (1988) on Aboriginal Australia. There is much room left for further investigations of this type.[6]

Currently, the SEL project and the activity of recruiting tourists to visit the Lau Lagoon are at a standstill. No more visitors have been sent from Canada since the summer of 1990. A solution considered by the members of SEL was to create an independent charitable organization to take charge of the whole project. The new organization would seek access to government financing through such sources as the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA); sources that, unlike the private sector's *Club Aventure*, would allow it to remain relatively free of the need for profit. However, time and a great deal of energy would have to be invested to gain access to such funding; both of these the members of SEL did not, and do not, have.

Facing an early end to the Lau tourism experience, and considering the important efforts and emotional investment made by the Lau to make it a success, one question remains: was the experience worth trying? The four of us think

we may find elements for an answer to this simple but fundamental question by going back to discussions we had at the outset of the project. We knew then that tourism was approaching the Solomons, in the form either of large tourist resorts or of travellers following guidebooks.[7] We believed the Lau were certain to meet with an increasing number of tourists/travellers reaching their islets in the years to come, and would then have to act quickly to find ways of protecting their traditions and coping with the possibilities tourism offered. Discussing the issue during our first meetings, we came to see our efforts as providing some of the Lau with an opportunity to prepare. The Project, to use a mechanical and only partially legitimate analogy, would be a kind of tourism vaccination, injecting into the social body small quantities of the virus of tourism in order to provoke an adaptive reaction. In this limited sense, the experience seems to have triggered an interesting set of valuable reactions.

Notes

1. This topic first took shape as a joint panel presentation during the annual Congress of the Canadian Anthropological Society (Casca) in Calgary, Alberta, in May 1990. The four papers presented there were subsequently melded into this article.
2. See Maranda and Kongas Maranda (1970) for details and development.
3. With Christian encroachment, the pagans of Foueda saw themselves confined to the men's area; tensions rose.
4. A grand total of $2,500 Canadian was thus split between five members of SEL.
5. A minister said that an American study had showed that 70 percent of young American girls who danced were no longer virgins.
6. Michaud is currently researching the impact of tourism and social change on a community of the Hmong, a tribal society of Northern Thailand.
7. For several years now, the publishers of the *Lonely Planet* have offered an annual guidebook to the Solomons; each new edition takes the traveller closer to the Lau lagoon.

Acknowledgment

The map on p. 37 is reproduced from p. xi of *Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy* by the late Roger M. Keesing, and is printed here by permission of the publishers, the University of Chicago Press.

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CONTEMPORARY NATIVE WOMEN: ROLE FLEXIBILITY AND POLITICS

Bruce G. Miller
University of British Columbia

Abstract: Some recent efforts to reconceptualize contemporary Native gender systems (1) argue that tribal and band political life is best understood by reference to social formations other than gender systems and (2) rely on poorly defined notions of one feature of the gender system, role flexibility. This article argues that these two issues are connected; differences in role flexibility by sex help channel the political participation of men and women. Several notions of role flexibility, each with different properties and implications for women's political role, are employed in the literature. A comparative framework of role flexibility is constructed, building on the work of Kopytoff (1991), and ethnographic examples are used to build the case that the analysis of gender (including role flexibility) is important in understanding Native women's recent successes in politics.

Résumé: Des efforts récents pour reconceptualiser les systèmes génériques chez les autochtones contemporains (1) argumentent que la vie politique tribale et de bande peut mieux s'expliquer si on fait référence aux formations sociales autres que celles des systèmes génériques. De plus, (2) cette vie politique tribale et de bande repose sur des notions mal-définies d'un aspect du système générique, à savoir la flexibilité des rôles. Cet article suggère que ces deux problèmes sont reliés : les différences dans la flexibilité des rôles par le sexe aide à canaliser la participation politique des hommes et des femmes. Dans la littérature, on trouve plusieurs mentions des diverses notions de la flexibilité des rôles, chacune ayant des propriétés et des implications pour le rôle politique des femmes. On peut ainsi construire un cadre comparatif de la flexibilité des rôles, basé sur les travaux de Kopytoff (1991). De plus, des exemples ethnographiques sont présentés pour montrer que l'analyse générique (flexibilité des rôles incluse) est capitale pour la compréhension des récents succès politiques des femmes autochtones.

An interesting problem in the literature on Native North Americans is understanding how aboriginal gender systems have been transformed in the post-

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contact period, an effort made difficult by inadequate knowledge of pre-contact gender systems. One key aspect of these transformations is the focus of this article: scholars have been struck by the assumption of important political and economic roles in Native communities by women in the second half of the 20th century (Albers 1989 reviews this literature). Perhaps the most visible emerging position in clarifying the connections between gender and political and economic life is to argue that gender is not necessarily useful as a category of analysis, because gender is constructed fundamentally differently in Native communities than in non-Native communities; because gender is not a superordinate status in Native communities; because Native communities frequently are egalitarian and structured around kin and not gender relations; and because changes in political life and in the allocation of work are not regarded as gendered issues by Natives themselves. For example, Albers (1989:160) argued that "many forms of work and leadership are not sex-typed in a fixed and narrow way." As an indication of this, she (ibid.:136) noted that "Importantly, when people achieved a prestige through channels most often utilized by the opposite sex, it was not perceived as a threat to established notions of femininity or masculinity (Spindler and Spindler 1979:36-37; Whitehead 1981:104-109)." Gender and other social roles are apparently not in conflict in such cases. Bourque and Warren, in describing the nature of sex roles in an egalitarian society, suggested that individual traits outweigh sex-linked traits in political life: "Sex roles, to the extent that they were marked at all, would be highly flexible and individually variable. In such a society, competence, and not sex, would determine how decisions are made, resources allocated, and activities undertaken" (1981:48). Initially scholars have benefited from the realization that the nature of Western gender systems, with highly partitioned male and female roles, has created difficulties in understanding fundamentally different Native systems. This realization led correctly to questioning whether an emphasis on gender in generating new explanations of Native social organization would produce the insights it has for Western societies. Such a position can mislead as well as enlighten, however, and I argue that in some communities contemporary Native political life cannot be understood without accounting first for gender, and cannot be explained adequately by reference to other social processes and institutions. This article is intended as a corrective. I do this, in part, by examining whether individual traits outweigh sex-linked traits in political life, and whether Native women have moved into new political and economic roles without drawing reactions in their communities. I suggest that in some cases debate on women's political role is not carried out publicly, but nonetheless is significant. In any event, not all Native communities are egalitarian, and material drawn from non-egalitarian societies of the northwest coast shows variability in the communities' responses to women in political life.

Understanding women's participation in political life begins with clarifying whether political tasks are allocated by gender and (1) if they are, whether for ideological or pragmatic reasons, and (2) the circumstances under which men and women take on tasks ordinarily carried out by the other sex. Many of the current reconceptualizations of North American Indian societies attempt to answer these questions by employing some notion of role flexibility (Kidwell 1975; Albers 1983, 1985, 1989; Knack 1989; Fiske 1989; Powers 1986; Medicine 1983; Klein 1976, 1980; Ackerman 1988; Schlegel 1977; Maynard 1979; McElroy 1979; Whitehead 1981; Blackman 1982; Brown 1982; and Kehoe 1973 employ some variant of this concept as do Bourque and Warren 1981, quoted above). But clarifying whether there is some sort of culturally acceptable flexibility in the way in which women carry out their tasks is just a start towards examining women's political participation. Native economic and political systems have not all been transformed in the same ways and some of the differences can be understood by examining specific, localized properties of gender role flexibility. The primary aim of this article is to clarify the otherwise impossibly vague concept of role flexibility so that it may be used comparatively in the analysis of women's changing political and economic roles, and a framework is developed here to facilitate these comparisons. This enterprise begins with a consideration of suggestive recent work by Kopytoff.

Structural Models of Gender Role Flexibility

Kopytoff (1991) argued for the importance of a distinction between existential (or immanent) identity, defined as a state of being locally regarded as natural, and role-based social identity, which is derived from the actions performed by individuals. In Kopytoff's view, women are less likely to assume formal political office in societies where the existential features of femininity are associated with a large inventory of behaviours than they are in societies where women's activities are amenable to negotiation and variability. He noted, as has been noticed about Native peoples of North America (Miller 1989; Green 1980; Albers 1989), the relatively high incidence of women in supposedly "non-progressive," non-Western societies who have taken on political roles in post-colonial regimes. Kopytoff found in Zaire that "among the Usu, few immanent roles were specifically linked to the man or the woman *qua* existential identities" (1991:81).

Kopytoff's distinctions suggest that social identities, including gender identity, can be regarded as having either the property of "immanence" or of "circumstantiality." Other sets of mutually exclusive properties of gender identities can be derived from this conceptualization and are noted in Table 1.

Kopytoff's work depends on the analysis of gender roles as well as identity. Gender roles are, in some cases, linked to particular personality configurations, in Linton's (1945:130) terms, "status-personalities," or in Kopytoff's

terms, "identity-personalities" (1991:88). Gender roles can have either specific linked character traits or be relatively unmarked, or "non-characterological." Schematically, the four logical possibilities generated by such an approach are as follows in Table 2.

Table 1
Opposed Properties of Gender Identity

immanent	circumstantial
non-negotiable	negotiable
permanent	provisional-changeable
self-justified	justifiable
essential	constructed
regarded as natural	regarded as cultural
global	compartmentalized: embedded in one of several local systems

Table 2
Logical Possibilities of Properties of Gender Roles

Gender roles have the property of either:		
(a) immanence	or	(b) circumstantiality
if immanent, then either:		if circumstantial, then:
1. immanent-characterological		1. unmarked
or		or
2. immanent-unmarked		2. circumstantial-marked

The fourth logical possibility (circumstantial-marked) does not arise in practice and circumstantial roles cannot be characterological. A negotiable gender role might be associated with particular traits of personality, but these traits, by definition, would not be identified as male or female.

Kopytoff's concepts may be applied to understanding relative differences in role flexibility by sex and role conflict and ultimately to clarifying the issue which motivated Kopytoff's work, the participation of women in political systems. Kopytoff's analysis stops short, however, of examining the historical conditions under which women's political participation occurs. It may not be enough simply to note that women are not stopped simply for reasons of their sex, especially since there is considerable local variation in women's participation in formal political structures. Indeed, historical factors and the nature of the gender systems in some locations actually facilitate the entry of women into political life (Miller 1992).

To summarize, Table 2 identified three types of gender roles: those which are immanent and characterological; those which are immanent but unmarked; those which are circumstantial. Each of these types can have flexibility, but the

properties of flexibility can be quite different. These types are represented in Table 3.

Table 3
Ideal Types of Gender Roles and Associated Properties of Flexibility

Type		Properties
A	Immanent-characterological	Legitimize new roles Disqualify from new roles Long-term flexibility only
B	Immanent-unmarked	Long-term flexibility
C	Circumstantial	Situational or long-term flexibility

Type A roles are non-negotiable but still have one sort of flexibility because such roles could legitimize new roles, which then become linked to the already established ones. Because Type A roles are connected to personality trait configurations, and because new activities require some selection of who will carry them out, they act to channel new roles to particular categories of social actors. Just as some personality types are thought to be appropriate for the new role, so too will other personality types be thought of as inappropriate. Type A role flexibility can be called long-term in that individuals do not negotiate new dimensions of their sex role, but members of groups may take on new activities over time only on the grounds of compatibility with pre-existing roles or through a process of analogical reasoning or role generalization. A hypothetical example of this is an association between bureaucratic activities, a new activity and women of a particular age group because of immanent, personality-linked characteristics (such as women are persistent and patient). Other groups, perhaps men, might be disqualified because of their personality-linked characteristics which are thought to be incompatible.

Type B, immanent-unmarked roles, also contain non-negotiable central features, but are not associated with particular personality traits. There are no such traits, as in Type A, which allow association with new social functions. On the other hand, there are no personality configurations associated with Type B roles that disqualify anyone from the assumption of new roles. By definition, situational role flexibility is not possible, but long-term flexibility is not precluded. A hypothetical example is the gradual linking of new mass communication activities with men because the existing division of labour makes the scheduling of such work much easier for men than for women.

Type C, circumstantial roles, have few or no associated personality traits and are individually negotiable, permitting both situational and long-term flexibility. There can be the gradual identification of individuals occupying a

particular status (incumbents of a particular cluster of roles) with a new activity and also the idiosyncratic usurpation of newly created roles by individuals.

The model of roles can be improved by incorporating further features, having specified the nature of the flexibility available to the three types of ideal gender roles. First, and most importantly, some gender systems are bifurcated (the property of role flexibility applies to one gender only); second, the degree of role flexibility may be variable; and, third, the likelihood of flexibility over the life course of individuals may be variable. Adding these three variables to the model yields Table 4.

Table 4 indicates that gender systems, in theory, are rather different in how the property of role flexibility is embedded in the gender system. But, in addition to the variation in the operation of gender systems, there is variation in how scholars have employed the concept of gender role flexibility, and thereby how they explain women's political role. Four ethnographic examples are used to show how these different approaches yield different outcomes.

Table 4
Ideal Role Types and Associated Variables

Type	A	B	C
Type of flexibility	long-term	long-term	situational, long-term
Degree of flexibility	undetermined	undetermined	high
Bifurcation	possible	possible	possible
Individual flexibility (innovation)	unlikely	possible	required
Change over life course	possible	possible	likely

Ethnographic Examples

Klein (1976, 1980, n.d.) explained the important contemporary political role of Tlingit women by reference to gender egalitarianism. She noted the regular participation of Tlingit women in office holding, specifying that 46 percent of Tlingit office holders, 1971-74, were women (1976:178). She argued that the Tlingit are an important example of a ranked society where "the issue of gender is not a primary consideration in issues of power and authority" (n.d.:2). Instead, other factors are important, most notably kinship, wealth and ability. People are said to relate to each other simultaneously as relatives within a matrilineal clan system and as ranked individuals. The ranking system cannot separate the social realities of men and women because it is not done in other social domains. This is a Type C argument (see Table 3). Klein makes a case for circumstantial gender roles, and especially the ability of women to manoeuvre situationally; there is no real need for long-term role flexibility to fa-

cilitate women's political roles. Women's political participation does not depend on being legitimized by either (1) local notions of an overlap between the personality types of political actors and women or (2) by a gradual extension of domestic responsibilities to the political domain. Klein was interested in insuring that her work be clearly distinguished from explanations based on simple domestic-public dichotomies. She noted:

> While I have shown that the contemporary Tlingit woman's position is compatible with her traditional economic role, the modern female roles are not simply extensions of internal family roles. The school and school board, for example, which have the care and education of children as their primary aim, are and were traditionally the responsibility of men as well as of women. . . . More importantly, by consigning an association such as the school board to a "supra-domestic" domain rather than a public or jural domain, important jural and political functions can be obscured. (1976:179)

In an interesting passage, Klein suggested that the way women operate politically is much like that of men, again focussing on the idea that gender largely does not matter (although Klein pointed out that women are better fundraisers for the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood [ibid.:177]):

> The two major town politicians at the time of the study were a man and a woman, both of whom held major elective offices. Both shared the important skills and traits mentioned above. They attended most meetings, sponsored individuals for appointments and jobs, and were sought for information by individuals. Their networks overlapped. . . . Both excelled in dealing with the outside powers. (Ibid.:177)

Contrast Klein's explanation of women's political role with that provided for another community where women have an important and regular role in elected tribal life. Albers (1983) described the changing circumstances of Siouan woman from a political economy perspective. She found Devil's Lake Sioux women's wage labouring income in the recent reservation period to have been more stable than men's and at least on a par in size. Also, women were better able to take advantage of newly created tribal job categories. As a result, in many cases women have been better able than men to make substantial contributions to the household, and women's influence has risen in day-to-day decision making. In such cases, women served as the nucleus of a kin-based support network, and controlled the distribution of provisions others depend on. These women also had influence in the important ceremonial life. Albers wrote: "To a large extent, tribal politics and domestic politics are the same. . . . The issues that tribal leaders have been faced with in recent years are dominated by domestic concerns that have been critical to both men and women" (ibid.:217). Albers added that the ascendancy of female influence

depends on historic patterns of mutual sharing and egalitarian values. Neither sex controlled the labour or produce of the other.

My reading of Albers' argument is that it also employed a Type C notion of role flexibility, although it differs from Klein's by emphasizing the connection of political and domestic life and by showing explicitly those economic factors that circumstantially and locally increase and diminish the contribution of women to family networks. As a consequence of their contributions to these networks, women have been elected to tribal office in significant numbers, a major departure from the 1950s when women had virtually no access to formal political positions. Albers demonstrated that it is not sufficient to argue that egalitarian values alone will guarantee that there will be a number of female formal political leaders. Klein's work suggests that women always have had a direct voice in public affairs, while Albers emphasized ups and downs. It is not clear under what circumstances Tlingit women have been or might be disengaged from public life, and data from council elections in earlier periods (when the local economy may have differentially advantaged men as it did elsewhere) could help resolve in what way gender is a relevant variable in the Tlingit case.

Put into the framework developed here, Klein's argument suggests that political roles are not associated with gender-linked personality configurations. Albers' analysis ties gender indirectly to politics, but not as a Type A issue, that is, politics is not tied to personality traits which are themselves associated with one sex. Neither men nor women are inherently disqualified from political life (or presumably most other activities) by virtue of their sex. Albers did not emphasize the actions taken by individual women in moving into political life, but showed that influence in family networks is actively translated into political influence. Albers described the connections between domestic and public politics quite differently than Klein in emphasizing that women take care of family business in the public sector. The works of Albers and Klein, although different in emphasis, both advance the view that gender is of limited analytic importance and that access to public office is largely determined along other lines.

Powers' (1986) work added another wrinkle by describing contemporary Oglala Sioux men's and women's gender roles as differing in flexibility. She pointed to the differential impact of contact with Euroamericans for men and women (as does Albers), and argued that women have fared better under reservation life than men, and that men have suffered greater identity dislocation and role loss (ibid.:3). In the contact period, gender complementarity matched the egalitarian values, and while these values persist to the present, the differential role flexibility has enabled Oglala women to move relatively more successfully both within Indian society and the surrounding society. Powers wrote that

> the successful Oglala woman glides along a most precarious continuum, back and forth from behaving as the ideal wife and mother whose role it is, as in the old days, to carry out the dictates of the White Buffalo Calf Woman—to reproduce and to nurture future generations of Oglala people, male and females. But she will also have the capacity to occupy the same positions as a male with respect to community, district, and tribal activities and programs recognizing that men will not compete with her for female roles and responsibilities. (Ibid.:212)

Oglala women, as seen in this analysis, are more successfully bicultural than men. In addition,

> In either case, a high value is placed on women's roles as wife and mother. A number of traditional women move freely along a continuum between what might be regarded as high-status Euroamerican positions (judge of the Oglala tribal court) and traditional high-status Native American positions (wife and mother) simultaneously and without conflict. (Ibid.:2)

In Powers' analysis, the nature of Oglala women's gender roles enabled women to more successfully make situational and long-term changes, individually and collectively. Put into the terms employed here, women's gender roles are generally Type C (circumstantial) and men's Type A (immanent and characterological). Powers wrote:

> women's participation in what are regarded as Euroamerican occupations in no way impinges on or detracts from their traditional roles, since in Lakota culture maternal and managerial roles are not regarded as antithetical. . . . However, these options are not so readily available to Oglala men. Those who occupy high-status positions (in the tribal council, for example) are usually criticized for behaving like white men. (Ibid.:3)

In sum, Powers' argument suggested that traditional maternal roles facilitate present-day managerial roles. While women can move into male domains, men cannot move into women's. The characterological quality of men's roles—their identification with specific personality traits—disqualifies men from women's activities. This is quite different than arguing that men do not object to women assuming positions that women previously had not occupied, the Kopytoff, Albers and Klein position. Powers is employing a very different notion of role flexibility.

A still different type of argument is employed to explain the same outcome, the recent high levels of participation of women in economic and political activity, in yet another Indian population, the Coast Salish of western Washington State and British Columbia (Miller 1989, 1992). The Coast Salish materials point to other relevant issues: namely, the significance of changes in role flexibility over the life course and the importance of individual innovators.

Although both the Tlingit and Coast Salish are regarded by anthropologists as peoples of the northwest coast culture area, Coast Salish women, unlike the

Tlingit, have not moved into new political and economic roles without commentary or disruption. Snyder (1964) described the contact period, female gender role of the Coast Salish people occupying the Skagit Valley of northwestern Washington State as ambiguous and with internally inconsistent demands. This ambiguity allowed women to take on part of the male role without being regarded as masculine. The male gender role, in contrast, was rather more rigid:

> ... the social system permitted women to achieve almost unlimited status and authority. But natives' generalizations about women's status as insignificant, the payment of a bride-price—which was unequivocally regarded as a purchase, and other explicit features of culture were in conflict with the actual functioning of society.... Myth and tale content about women reveal tension unequalled anywhere in the literature... but no other topics are so colored by hostility as those which represent attitudes towards females.... Analysis shows not only that a bewilderingly ambiguous situation existed, but more significantly, that feelings about women's roles were nearly explosive. (Ibid.:255-256)

Women were free to seek, or not seek, important spirit powers, and, unlike men, failure to obtain such powers did not reflect poorly on women. The lesser role women played in the religious system allowed them to "be passive when they chose to conform to the ideal feminine role" (ibid.:285), and, furthermore, they "could approach an ideal in supernaturalism stated for both sexes even though it conflicted with the specifically feminine ideal" (ibid.). Successful women could play the issues around spirit acquisition either way, but successful men could not.

Some post-menopausal women validated men's spirit powers and played public political roles, and in this circumstance, rank and age is more important than gender in the assignment of role (ibid.), although all of this is an aspect of the gender system itself. As Klein (1980) found with the Tlingit, women inherited family status equally with male relatives and could call upon the resources and labour of relatives as did males. But women had greater role flexibility than men, and were freer to innovate according to their personal inclinations and abilities. Gender more fully channelled the activities of men than women, but at a price. Snyder noted: "A woman, however, if she excelled or could dominate, created confusion in the hearts of others" (1964:375).

As in Powers' analysis, male and female gender roles diverged in type. Men's gender role was Type A (immanent and characterological) and, for some women at least, Type C (circumstantial). In Powers' analysis, Sioux women were more successfully bicultural than the Siouan men, and the same argument can be made for the Coast Salish, although the sources of Siouan and Coast Salish women's successes may be different. Powers argued that the post-contact period was relatively more disruptive for men. In the Coast Salish case the opposite was the case and for the most part the women have been

more disadvantaged by contact than the men (Miller 1989). Consequently, in understanding current gender systems and political roles the focus is best placed on women's innovativeness (situational flexibility) rather than on men's disenfranchisement.

In the late 20th century Coast Salish male and female gender roles still are of different types, even though a great deal of change has occurred since treaties were signed in the U.S. portions of Coast Salish country in the 1850s, and in many ways the gender system of today more closely approximates that of the contact period than the periods in between. As Albers found among Devil's Lake Sioux women, Coast Salish women once again make contributions to the domestic economy that equal or surpass that of men, women frequently control the distribution of important resources and are no longer so heavily circumscribed in the scope of their activities by the White world. Unlike the early and middle part of this century, women now play an important elective political role, although as Albers (1985) found among the Sioux, this varies inversely with the stability of male income; it also varies with the size of the tribe or band (Miller 1992). Although women had been almost completely excluded from public office in earlier decades, in 12 Coast Salish tribes of Puget Sound, Washington state, women held 41 percent of tribal council seats during the 1962-87 period. Fifty Coast Salish bands of British Columbia elected women to 28 percent of council seats in 1991-92, compared to 6.5 percent in the 1950s (Miller 1992).

Present-day Salish women manifest this differential role flexibility both situationally and through the long-term incorporation of activities new to the society into the domain of women's roles. First, to many women, present-day political activity is linked to the fulfillment of responsibilities to family. Second, women have assumed the bulk of the responsibility for dealing with the outside world: women act as bankers, deal with schools and agencies, and so on; prior responsibilities for the family could be said to legitimize women's new responsibilities. But the existential properties of femininity in some cases have become linked with the modern-day requirements of political life. Women's roles, to this degree, could even be said to be becoming marked or characterological (ibid.). In one Coast Salish tribe, a clear link has developed between traits regarded by both men and women as identifiably female and political life, and the council has elected a majority of women since the 1970s; in a second tribe, there is no association between femininity and politics and few women win election; in a third, the vast majority of councillors since 1986 are women, after decades of almost exclusively male authority, but an association between women and politics has not developed (ibid.). The local systems of gender attribution are clearly important in these cases, and any analysis missing this factor would be inadequate. Unlike the Tlingit case, the social

realities of men and women are separable and gender is not subsumed by other social domains as an organizing principle.

Coast Salish women's movement into political life has not occurred without drawing reactions, and some responses bring to mind the "explosive" reactions said to occur when contact-period Skagit women assumed political importance late in life (Snyder 1964). Perhaps the clearest evidence of a response to a majority of women in public office has been the subsequent decline of voting participation by men over 55 in one Coast Salish tribe for which voting records have been analyzed (Miller 1989). Interview data show that many of these men regarded women as inappropriate for elected positions and women's presence a factor in their alienation from their own government. Council women have described the hostility and belittlement they face when dealing with men from all or largely male tribal councils, and council men have described their discomfort in serving with women. Perhaps because of Coast Salish emphasis on personal autonomy (Amoss 1978), opposition to women in politics is not expressed openly and is only apparent after careful scrutiny. The feelings are quite real, nevertheless.

Conclusion

Kopytoff reported the circumstantial (non-characterological) nature of existential womanhood in several African societies. In the absence of any rigid behavioural entailments of womanhood, carrying out new activities does not conflict with any associated personality requirements. Women are not kept from participation in public life because of any gender attributions (such as "women are docile," for example) which might be in conflict with the personality requirements of another role which may require assertiveness. Rather, in this view, only pragmatic role-conflicts, and not immanent features of gender, restrain individuals circumstantially.

Kopytoff (1991) presented as evidence in support of his analysis the ease by which some African women have changed significant features of their roles:

> The significance of the free woman lies in showing the ease with which an apparently radical transformation of women's roles can occur by what is in fact a slight variation in role shedding and role acquisition . . . more recently they have taken these transformations in new directions—into the professions, the bureaucracy, and politics. They perform these new roles with little evidence of being victims of the kind of wrenching role conflicts that so often accompany the careers of their Western . . . sisters. These transformations have taken place without any notable public debate in most African societies.

But the circumstances Kopytoff described do not apply to all of Native North America, as the foregoing examples show, and one might conclude that it is essential to know more about local gender ideology, especially as it relates to role flexibility. The ethnographic examples given here are not meant to ex-

haustively catalogue gender systems and their implications for politics. Although, so far, only male roles were characterized as immanent-characterological (Type A), examples of societies with female Type A roles can be found. Kehoe described the Plains Cree women's roles this way: "the capacity of maternity is the key attribute for defining women. This metonymic usage has stereotyped and restricted women's roles, specifically by preventing women from attaining the most prestigious healers' roles."

Because of these differences in the internal organization of Native societies, it cannot be argued that women's movement into political life occurs everywhere without dispute, as the Coast Salish case shows. Instead, the processes of change in Native communities, including changes in the roles of men and women, are properly viewed as highly localized, even within a single culture. The quite different findings of Powers and Albers, summarized in Table 5, may be attributable to differences between Oglala and Devil's Lake Sioux communities, but it is equally possible that emphases on different issues has produced differing versions of the nature of gender systems and women's political participation.

Table 5
Comparative Gender Role Attributes

Attribute	Tlingit	Salish	Sioux (Powers)	Sioux (Albers)
Bifurcation	no	yes	yes	no
Type of flexibility	situational	situational long-term, women only	women only	long-term, situational
Degree of flexibility	high	high-women low-men	high-women low-men	high
Individual flexibility	yes	yes-women no-men	yes-women no-men	yes
Change over life cycle	?	yes, women	?	?

In comparing the Tlingit, Coast Salish and Sioux, a key difference is whether men's and women's gender roles are bifurcated, thereby allowing differences in role flexibility in the recent period. In the Coast Salish case, and in Powers' treatment of the Sioux, there apparently is such bifurcation. In Albers' treatment of the Sioux and Kopytoff's analysis of the Suku, bifurcation is not a factor. All of these societies have, at present, significant numbers of women in important political and economic positions, but not all are egalitarian, nor have women gained such positions historically or assumed important positions without comment. The presence of such variability suggests that

the way a gender system is constituted, especially differences in role flexibility by gender (and the accompanying differences in long-term and individual flexibility, the degree of flexibility and the changes over the life course) must be accounted for in the analysis of women's contemporary political and economic role. This is not to argue for a sort of "gender-role determinism" of political life, and, of course, the ideologies underlying gender roles are themselves amenable to change. Rather, the argument is that an assertion of an unproblematic movement of women into new political roles is misleading. A division of societies into two types—Western ones with relatively rigid gender boundaries and a heavy reliance on gender in organizing political and economic life and indigenous ones with permeable gender boundaries and reliance on other social institutions to organize political life—obstructs analysis of contemporary change.

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CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND REVOLUTION IN GRENADA

Gail R. Pool
University of New Brunswick

Abstract: In this article the Grenadian revolution of 1979-83 is examined. While Grenada had been a colony of France and Great Britain, it was the United States that maintained its hegemony over Grenada and the rest of the Caribbean in the 20th century. In spite of dominance by the world's foremost power, counter-hegemonic cultures may be seen throughout the region. During the revolution Grenadian culture and language were used by the political leadership to help transform society. The dialectic between language, culture and ideology is complicated by the fact that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic cultures are themselves the products of each other. It is concluded that for revolutions to succeed they should be based on counter-hegemonic culture but they also need new forms of understanding, which are often based in hegemonic culture.

Résumé: Cet article examine la révolution à Grenade de 1979 à 1983. Bien que Grenade ait été une colonie française et britannique, ce sont les États-Unis qui ont maintenu leur hégémonie sur l'île et le reste des Caraibes au 20ème siècle. En dépit de la domination par la plus grande puissance mondiale, on peut observer dans toute la région des cultures anti-hégémoniques. Lors de la révolution, la culture et la langue grenadines, utilisées par les dirigeants politiques, ont contribué à la transformation de la société. La dialectique entre la langue, la culture et l'idéologie est complexe. En effet, les cultures hégémoniques et anti-hégémoniques sont issues l'une de l'autre. L'article se termine sur l'observation qu'une révolution ne peut réussir totalement que si elle est issue de la culture anti-hégémonique, mais elle nécessite aussi de nouvelles formes d'accords qui proviennent de la culture hégémonique elle-même.

> One of the most serious mistakes, if not the most serious mistake, made by the colonial powers in Africa, may have been to ignore or underestimate the cultural strength of African peoples — Amilcar Cabral (1979:147)

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Introduction

Many arguments have been put forward for the demise of the Grenada revolution. The sudden reversal of Grenada's "revo" after the United States' invasion is held up as an example of how the people were controlled, fooled and misled.

Persistent questions have arisen over the past decade. Was the Grenada revolution derailed due to the misguided application of Marxism-Leninism, in particular, the vanguard party idea and military control? Was the leadership out of touch with the people? Was it an élite, class-based revolution? Did the revolution impose a foreign, European ideology where it did not fit? If the revolution was indigenous, why did the people so overwhelmingly reject its leaders and the ideas the revolution espoused? (see Thorndike 1985:176ff.; Lewis 1987:161ff.; Heine 1990; Henry 1990a; Marable 1987; Mills 1990; Devonish 1992).[1]

Whether the revolutionary system consisted of some form of élite domination is not the issue examined here, nor is the related issue of approval or disapproval by the United States, Cuba and the socialist bloc. These are questions mainly for political pundits, journalists and other scavengers.[2] On the other hand, cultural issues are seldom addressed. While Devonish (1986) examined the language policy and Searle (1984a) showed how words helped in Grenada's revolutionary consciousness, few have examined how much Grenada's revolution was moulded by its culture. In short, while much ink has been spilled on what the leadership did wrong, less attention has been paid to what the people were saying, thinking and doing.

This article explores the process by which culture, language and the political apparatus are transformed in the creation of a revolutionary consciousness. The Grenada revolution had a past from which it emerged and a past from which the revolutionary state extracted a sense of continuity toward a vision of the future. There was also a past, involving external elements, that was contrasted to Grenada's cultural revolution. These may be termed hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies. This article explores the counter-hegemonic tendencies in the formation of Grenadian revolutionary ideology. It is further argued that the cultural basis of the Grenadian revolution may easily be submerged, if not completely erased, by a new hegemonic culture. As I have maintained elsewhere, similar ebbs and flows in Grenadian migration are not unusual despite persistent cultural values underlying migration (Pool 1989).

Culture, Language and Power

Social transformation in the Caribbean has been examined in many different ways but the relationship between culture and power is poorly understood. Revolutions in Haiti and Cuba could not have been predicted, and in general we do not know when societies are ripe for revolution. At the same time few

would dispute the argument that the roots of social revolution lie in discontent, oppression and domination.[3] How much discontent will lead to revolution? We know "why" only in a vague way. A missing dimension in economic domination lies in a better understanding of culture. Stanley Diamond argued that Marxists and anthropologists have not understood revolutions because they did not examine culture. In colonial societies the dominated cultures are suppressed because the unity they engender is threatening. Diamond stated that the

> imperial thrust has destroyed cultures and languages in all parts of the world . . . [i]mposed so-called "universal" languages [and] drive[n] out local so-called "dialects." Modernization is imposed everywhere, no matter what the political ideology of the metropolitan power. In fact modernization becomes an end in itself, and all other transformative theory deteriorates into ideology. (Diamond 1988:280)

Post-colonial socialist transformations have also taken a modernization or developmentalist perspective, in part due to the underdevelopment of resources to meet the needs of the people. Revolutionary movements throughout the world have sought legitimacy by meeting these needs.

In the Caribbean many socialists, including those leading the Grenada revolution, were influenced by the Guyanese economist, Clive Thomas in his *Dependence and Transformation*. He identified three contradictions posed by: (1) increasing differentiation in the agrarian structure; (2) the role of the state vis-à-vis production and distribution; (3) the urban/rural contradiction (Thomas 1974:286). Thomas's political economy approach is useful for analyzing the developing structures and institutions of the Grenada revolution, but revolutions must do more than meet the physical needs of the people. The revolution must speak to the people at the same time that the people must speak to the revolution—words and knowledge are vital for success. A new society needs a new person—political, economic, social and cultural.

The Grenada revolution involved more than political economy. As Paul Friedrich has argued, we need to develop a means of analyzing the relationships between language, ideology and political economy (Friedrich 1989; see also Woolard 1985; Irvine 1989; Stromberg 1990). Friedrich identifies three types of ideology: (1) notational, (2) maintaining-changing and (3) masking (1989:295). Language is therefore important as metaphor and as metonym to alter, mask or identify a political economic system (Paine 1981b; 1981c; see also Bloch 1975; Bailey 1981; Parkin 1984; Grillo 1989). In the Grenada revolution the words "communist," "socialist" or "democratic" were key symbols of good or evil, depending on one's own political opinions. Grenada's short-lived revolution did not possess a coherent ideology and there were changes and conflicts within it. It is not surprising that there is considerable disagreement over the meaning of Grenadian revolutionary ideology.

In addition to the political ideology, I would argue that it is important to understand the people's involvement in the revolution. *How did it feel* to be involved in a revolution? How much did the revolution spring from Grenadian culture and how much was externally assembled? On the one hand, we need to examine the creative base of Grenadian culture; on the other, we need to examine the political rhetoric espoused by the leadership of the revolution. Culture involves creative activity, but it is not developed out of nothing. It is necessary to understand the relationship between this creative force and the political economy of revolution.[4] In short how can we characterize Grenada's revolutionary culture? Can language, cultural and historical roots as well as a political economy be brought to bear in an integrated analysis? How are culture and ideology related, or is culture really what we need to focus on?

Until recently anthropologists conceived of culture as a product of accumulated knowledge and understandings about the world. As a condensed version of belief, culture was thought to be conservative since it validated traditional modes of thought and action. Such an analysis has its limitations, not the least of which is a fossilized notion of culture. Culture must include the fundamental repositioning of thought, tradition, action and social formation. Re-thinking culture is a dialectical process, since the new thought-pattern-behaviour must be subjected to continuous critique. Consciousness is but a reflection of reality, filtered through the prism of culture. Increasing attention has been paid to the use of culture in its anthropological sense to analyze social situations in transition, resulting in studies of the culture of oppression and resistance (e.g., Sider 1987; Taussig 1987; Rebel 1989a, 1989b).

Still we have problems. Most anthropologists do not recognize the difference between culture as source and culture as product. This misunderstanding is in part because the word culture has complex meanings. Furthermore, the anthropologist has his/her own cultural glasses, and represents his/her own "local, personal, or professional moment" as much as that of the colonized (Said 1989:224).

Moreover, the baggage accompanying the concept of culture is a problem. Pierre Bourdieu has shown not only how objectivity is limited, but also how, by means of a "critical break," we can construct "an inquiry into the conditions of possibility" (Bourdieu 1977:3). To accomplish this break Bourdieu developed the concept of habitus, the basis of which is tradition and habit, which immediately transects history: "In short, the habitus, the product of history, produces individual and collective practices, and hence history, in accordance with the schemes engendered by history" (Bourdieu 1977:82). Habitus is both product and producer. Bourdieu, by replacing culture with habitus, focusses on the dynamic historical process as well as the limits history imposes on possibility. The argument is structural: "The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g., the material conditions of exis-

tence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures . . ." (Bourdieu 1977:72)

A more recent clarification is diagrammed as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1
Symbolic Instruments

such as *structuring structures*	such as *structured structures*	such as *instruments of domination*
Instruments for knowing and constructing the objective world	Means of communication (language or culture vs. discourse or behaviour)	Power Division of labour (social classes) Division of ideological labour (manual/ intellectual) Function of domination
Symbolic forms subjective forms (*modus operandi*)	*Symbolic objects* objective structures (*opus operatum*)	*Ideologies* (vs. myths, languages) body of specialists competing for the monopoly of legitimate cultural production
Signification: objectivity as agreement between subjects (consensus)	Signification: objective meaning as a product of communication which is the condition of communication	
sociology of symbolic forms: contribution of symbolic power to the gnoseological order: sense = consensus, i.e., *doxa*		
Ideological power as specific contribution of symbolic violence (orthodoxy) to political violence (domination)		
Division of the labour of domination		

Source: Bourdieu 1991:165.

Thus, the *sources* and the *proceeds* of social formation as well as the *modus operandi* of individual and collective action and the *opus operandum* of institutional structures are exposed. Both symbolic forms and symbolic objects are incomplete without the symbolic domination achieved through the instruments of domination, i.e., ideology. What we need to understand is how these symbolic instruments interplay in actual social fields. Examination of the instruments alone is insufficient (Bourdieu 1991).

Gramsci offers another means of exploring how culture and power are connected (1971).[5] While many Marxists have seen the benefits of his ideas (Anderson 1977, Bocock 1986, Mouffe 1979, Sassoon 1982, Walker 1984), until recently few anthropologists took a Gramscian approach, and those who did were cautious (Counihan 1986, Austin 1983, Woolard 1985). Hegemony is the central concept here where domination may be understood as consent. Not only does the dominant class have the power to coerce, it also directs or leads the subordinate class through an ideology which is part of a natural understanding of how things work (Hall 1977:332). Gramsci suggested that individuals have a philosophical understanding of their condition, i.e., common sense. People reach a level of understanding through:

> 1. Language itself, which is a totality of determined notions and concepts and not just of words grammatically devoid of content; 2. "common sense" and "good sense"; 3. popular religion and, therefore, also in the entire system of beliefs, superstitions, opinions, *ways of seeing things and acting*, which are collectively bundled together under the name of "folklore." (Gramsci 1971:323; emphasis added)

More significantly, Gramsci viewed culture as a fundamental part of the formation of ideologies, which was in turn important in his theory of the state. While the state leads, coerces and dominates there is still room for the dominated classes to have, as Stuart Hall suggests,

> their own objective basis in the system of productive relations, their own distinctive forms of social life.... When these subordinate classes are not strong or sufficiently organized to represent a "counter-hegemonic" force to the existing order, their own corporate structures and institutions can be used, by the dominant structure (hegemonized), as a means of enforcing their continued subordination. (Hall 1977:332)

While Gramsci's ideas are not always clear and varied over the period of his writing, they might be summarized as follows. Culture and economy are the nexus of civil society which is the basis of hegemony in political democracies where the state is not repressive. He conceived of a different model for non-democratic societies where the basis of power is coercion and not hegemony. Language and communication were important in Gramsci's concept of hegemony (Anderson 1977:27). These ideas are particularly germane to the Grenada situations since political democracy during the revolution was both coercive and hegemonic. Aronoff has suggested that this is a two-sided process:

> A political culture tends to be unquestioned to the extent that it meets existential and societal needs; and becomes undermined to the extent that it fails to do so. The more immutable a political culture is perceived to be, the more it tends to constrain political behaviour, and the more evaluated it is.... The more a political culture is rationally evaluated, the more likely it is to change.... The more

> conspicuously manipulated for political purposes a culture is, the more likely it is to be questioned, undermined and eventually changed. (Aronoff 1983:7)

We are still faced with the problem of where to place culture and how to understand its role. What we need to know is how "salient, effective and meaningful the various symbolic forms of the political culture(s) are to [people] in different contexts and points in time" (Aronoff 1983:16).

Both Bourdieu and Gramsci contribute to the central ideas analyzed below. Culture is often seen as "detached" from production, but Bourdieu makes it clear that culture is part of production and that Marxism has failed by "reducing the social world to the economic field alone . . ." (1991:244; see Raymond Williams 1980). One should place culture within, neither on top of nor opposed to, political economy. For example, some writers have used the concept of political culture in analyzing the transition to socialism. Halliday, writing about Arab culture and religion in South Yemen, suggested that literature, dance, music and archaeology have all led to increasing Yemeni national culture and that this represents a transformed set of political values in a materialist sense (Halliday 1983:49-50). It is remarkable that so little attention is paid to how culture can be a mode of producing and reproducing counter trends (Williams 1981:201-205). U.S. hegemony, based as is it is on global economic and military dominance, cannot be opposed on its own terms, unless there is a complete cultural transformation of the social and economic basis of colonial existence. Tiny Grenada was able to transform itself despite U.S. hegemony in the region. It was able to do so because revolutionary ideology was revelatory—it transformed Grenadians' images of themselves and their roles in Grenadian society and culture.

Culture has often been seen as oppositional and unifying in the Caribbean. In recent years talk of regional unity has increased to the point that A.N.R. Robinson, Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, told the United Nations in December of 1986: "we are a crucible where a new civilization is taking place" (cited by Smith 1988:2).[6] Also, the importance of music as an oppositional form in Jamaica was examined by Hebdige (1977, 1990) and Wilson (1990), while language, dance, drama and other creative arts have long been seen as an important integrative force in Caribbean identity (see Nettleford 1978). Appropriate to revolutionary Grenada is the work of Chris Searle (1984a). However useful for a description of the use of language in revolutionary Grenada, Searle's book does not address theoretical questions. The only other study of culture and the Grenada revolution is by Henry, who artificially separates and condenses Grenadian culture (1990b) as part of general Caribbean culture.

How then does culture give meaning to the social, political and economic forces to create a context for revolution? Grenadian culture is not indigenous but rests on centuries of cultural domination and hegemonic ideology which

effectively limited the emergence of an effective counter-hegemonic force. In the following analysis, the main features of Grenadian culture are identified insofar as they help us to understand the 1979-83 revolution. It is argued that hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies are expressed in cultural productions such as sayings, poems, songs and political rhetoric. The changes which took place in Grenada in its revolution and counter-revolution will become clear if we view events, symbols, rituals, ideas and structures as hegemonic and counter-hegemonic forces, which revolve when conditions change. To understand the Grenadian revolution we must examine Grenadian culture as used in revolutionary symbols and rituals, and the revolution as an expression of Grenadian culture. I argue that the sudden appearance of a revolution in Grenada is the result of the co-existence of hegemonic alternatives: the dominant one being external, hierarchical and capitalistic and the subordinate one being co-operative, non-hierarchical and potentially socialist.

A Brief Note on Cuba

The Caribbean has long been exploited by the United States, which eyed the area with interest once the region became less important to the British in the 19th century. By the mid-19th century a growing tide of American jingoistic imperialism thrust the U.S. government into the region economically and politically. The term Manifest Destiny has been applied to this concept openly by individual Americans and their governments since 1845 when the phrase was first used publicly in a New Orleans newspaper. The vision was quite grand:

> We have a destiny to perform, a manifest destiny over all Mexico, over South America, over the West Indies and Canada. . . . The people stand ready to hail tomorrow . . . a collision with the mightiest empire on earth . . . [and] a successor to Washington [shall] ascend the chair of universal empire. (Cited in Thomas 1971:218)

A century later a University of Chicago historian argued that the Caribbean "is strategically one of the most important regions of the earth. To the United States it is so urgently significant that its domination by a strong aggressive power can never be permitted" (Rippy 1940:4). The grandiosity and fervour of the imperialist vision have not diminished in a hundred years.[7]

It is in this context that we must view the Cuban war of liberation (1868-78), the 1895 rebellion of Martí and Maceo and the Cuban revolution. The thwarting of an independent Cuba by U.S. intervention and occupation in the first half of the 20th century has strengthened the resolve of Cubans, who oppose U.S. hegemony over the region. Cuba had its own landed classes and urban merchants as well as a bourgeois culture: the very imperial spirit of Spain was transferred to Cuba in the form of architectural styles, literature and

educational institutions. Spanish imperialism also fostered a sense of *cubanidad* (Lewis 1984:58, 286ff.).

I draw on the Cuban case since Spanish hegemonic culture reached its fullest expression there in the same measure as English culture was lacking in Grenada or other British colonies. In the 1930s the Jamaican Marxist H.C. Buchanan remarked on the strength of Cuban identity after spending several years in Cuba:

> [The] illiterate Cuban guajiro [peasant] beats his chest with pride and declares: "I am a Cuban." It is one thing to see it written, but quite another to hear it, and gauge the intensity of emotion behind those words. This pride of even the most illiterate Cuban is due to the fact that at a certain time in the past they rose and did something monumental. The deeds of a Maceo, a Martí and a thousand patriots who distinguished themselves in prose and poetry, and in the text books of their schools. It is the source of a never-ending folklore, the vital chord to which every Cuban responds. "La independencia," even though reduced to a solemn farce by the stranglehold of Wall Street, is nevertheless the motive force, the ideal of a nation of progressive people.... (H.C. Buchanan, quoted in Post 1978:5-6).

Buchanan failed to recognize the emergent Rastafarian culture as serving Jamaican identity, perhaps because it was draped in a quasi-religious robe. I do not wish to go into the genesis of the Cuban revolution, but it could be argued that the wielding of imperial power and the historical development of *cubanidad* contributed to the revolutionary culture which has characterized the Cuban revolution. In short, hegemonic power contributed to a counter-hegemonic culture.

Background to the Grenadian Revolution: Symbols of Revolutionary Sacrifice

Grenadians have not often rebelled, and a revolution in Grenada was improbable but nonetheless authentic, as Paul Sutton noted (1988:150). To a certain extent a tradition of revolt had to be dredged from the past. Grenadian history provides some fine symbols of independence and resistance. The native Caribs resisted European colonization and were forced to the northern end of the island in the 17th century. Faced with capture by the French, they jumped off a cliff to their deaths at what is now known as Sauteurs.[8] Little is known about these people in Grenada despite some archaeological work, but their petroglyphs are found throughout the island (Bullen 1965).

In the following century, the brown slave Fédon led a revolt against slavery with the slogan "liberty, equality or death," adapted from the French revolutionary slogan. Like the Caribs, Fédon was never captured. Fédon's revolt lasted for more than 10 years, and, when his camp atop a hill was about to be defeated by English troops, he fled (Craton 1982:180-190, 208). Fédon's body

was never found and his spirit still looms over the island. Slavery, the basis of Fédon's revolt, was abolished 40 years later. While it is unlikely that most Grenadians knew about Fédon before 1979, the leadership revived this symbol of resistance and sacrifice, almost as a patron saint of the revolution. Fédon's spirit was embodied in the national press that bore his name (see anonymous, n.d., 1982a, 1982b, 1982c). The People's Revolutionary Government (PRG) recreated a tradition embodied in resistance to colonialism and slavery, but it also created a tradition of sacrifice.

Despite continued planter dominance there was only one uprising in the 19th century. In 1848 "labourers," likely including sharecroppers, became discontented about wages not being paid, a situation prevalent in the former British slave colonies. Several hundred workers assembled at the court house in Gouyave, a small town bordering large estates. Two days later the Lieutenant Governor, backed by troops brought in from the capital of St. George's, gave a speech promising reform and the crowds dispersed (Colonial Office 1848). While reforms were attempted, the former slaves were more able to purchase land in Grenada than on other islands, often under the *métarie* (sharecropping) system. Nonetheless, constraints were placed in the way of land purchases, creating the conditions for peasant co-operation in such traditions as the *su-su*, or revolving credit association, marketing co-operatives, friendly societies and labour-sharing arrangements (see Brizan 1979:17ff.). The large estates were able to survive on immigrant labour from Africa and India (Brizan 1984:183ff.). While planters preferred the African (Colonial Office 1859), indentured immigration from India grew between 1857 and 1890. The descendants of the Indian immigrants constituted less than 4 percent of the population in 1970 (Grenada, Central Statistical Office, 1979:18), and are not concentrated in any one area. The "liberated" Africans eventually integrated into the ex-slave communities. Grenadians identify themselves as a people of African origin, although African traditions are weak. Skin colour, as elsewhere in the Caribbean, remains as a marker of status.

By the beginning of the 20th century Grenada had been transformed from a sugar to a cocoa and nutmeg economy—bananas were a later addition. Increasingly the rural population of smallholders felt the pinch of land scarcity, and the rural workers the squeeze of prices on their meagre wages. In response to social, demographic and economic pressures, the political awareness of Grenadians increased.

Eric Gairy's rise to power in the 1950s was nurtured by the poverty of the unionized estate workers. After leading dramatic and violent strikes followed by substantial wage increases in 1951, Gairy used his union base to launch the Grenada United Labour Party. Quickly moving to contest elections, Gairy and his party won six out of eight seats on the legislative council in 1951 (Singham 1968:170).

Gairy's success shattered the complacency of the larger landowners, and political struggle characterized the next decades. Gairy's charisma was widely acknowledged although his detractors say that he knew how to "bramble."[9] I was told that at the height of his popularity, the people would sing "The Holy Ghost Creator Come" when he attended church. Although Gairy had his ups and downs, even today he is showered by awed admirers when he makes a public appearance. Many Grenadians still admire "uncle" Gairy, a testament to his charisma if not his policies.

Political participation took on new meaning during the 1970s when Gairy turned from a benign leader to a demagogic and manipulative, even vindictive, force in Grenada. More important, Gairy was a symbol of ignorance since he was reputed to dabble in obeah magic and believed the world should be made aware of extra-terrestrials. In the 1970s there was widespread opposition to his arbitrary use of power. Demonstrations were led by Jewel (Joint Endeavour for Welfare Education and Liberation) and MAP (Movements for Assemblies of the People), later combined to form the New Jewel Movement (NJM). The police and other members of the infamous Mongoose Gang, operating under restrictive laws preventing the use of loudspeakers and the printing of papers, harassed the opposition. The NJM leadership, including Maurice Bishop, was severely beaten on November 18, 1973, later commemorated as Bloody Sunday (see Grenada, Commission of Inquiry 1975; Lent 1990).[10] The 1970s saw massive demonstrations against Gairy, re-grouping of opposition forces and even electoral success of the NJM despite alleged fraud by Gairy. Oppression was undiminished, but Gairy days, as the pre-revolutionary period was known, ended when the NJM overthrew his government on March 13, 1979.

Culture and the Revolution: Singers and Poetry

What about the culture of the revolution? Did the government create a sensibility opposite to that of the dominant culture or did it just flow out of Grenadian culture? In the following examples I will show how Grenadian culture was used, or recreated. The introduction of new culture, if that is possible, was limited and was highly ritualized.

During the 1979-83 revolution there was considerable attention paid to Grenada's past, and the government promoted an image of Grenada as part of a wider English Caribbean revolt, as expressed in reggae and calypso. The sentiments expressed in calypso are more often barbs than calls to action or support for a political party. Calypsos have frequently contributed to and reflected political sentiments, including attacks on the People's National Movement in Trinidad, the Labour Party in St. Vincent or individuals such as the late Prime Minister Tom Adams of Barbados (Manning 1986, 1990).[11] In the Grenadian revolution, calypso, reggae, Rastafarian symbols and famous Grenadians conjoined national and Caribbean identity.

Even before 1979 one sees culture in action. In 1977, after Bishop won his seat in parliament calypsonians started *We Tent*, showing that calypso "is a vibrant, progressive force" (Searle 1984a:180). As one poet/singer explained in 1982:

> There has been an enormous growth in culture since the Revolution. It has brought forward a lot of expression that people were afraid to come out with before. The creative side of our people is now explode! . . . This year . . . there is more calypsonians coming forward than any other time in our history! It's clearly a Revolution in culture too, and it's reflecting the real life of the people. (Boldeau 1982:8)

Various artists, poets and writers came forward. It was comparable to a conversion phenomenon, as described by Manning in Bermudian political rallies (1980).

An important aspect of the revolutionary culture is its language. Hubert Devonish (1986:136ff., 1992) argued that since the revolution did not embrace Grenadian creole as the official language, the leadership could not hope to communicate with the people. While there are no specific documents about the PRG's language policy, it is clear that creole, lexically an English medium, was acceptable and encouraged by the leadership. But how far can one go in defining an appropriate national language for Grenada? Renaulf Gebon, a schoolteacher and poet, frequently used *patois*, lexically a French medium, in his poems. Gebon felt that by using *patois* he was unifying Grenadians in a common language (for a short biography of Gebon see Searle 1984a:154-161). In fact *patois* was in danger of being lost, being understood well only by older people.[12]

Certainly colonial educational systems were irrelevant, as the words of many artists show. This was nothing new. The Mighty Sparrow, who was born in Grenada, sang the following in the 1960s:

> According to the education you get when you small,
> You will grow up with true ambition and respect for one and all.
> But in my days in school
> They teach me like a fool.
> ....
> The poems and the lessons they write an' send from England
> impress me they were trying to cultivate comedians.
> ....
> Listen to this piece of stupidness:
> Humpty Dumpty sat on a wall
> Humpty Dumpty en fall
> Goose Goosey Gander, where shall I wander?
> Ding don dell, Pussy in the well. . . . (Quoted in Searle 1984a:14)[13]

In June of 1983 Maurice Bishop reflected on Sparrow's insight and noted how the lyrics promoted unity:

> You know like old Sparrow. Sparrow is such a great Grenadian, so articulate. Sparrow points out in one of his best songs that the way they were educating us, there were really educating us to make us into fools.
>
> They tell us if you're speaking Dutch, you're the best. If it's English, you're the best, French is the best, Spanish is the best, American is the best. And all of us hating each other.
>
> When in fact we are one people from one Caribbean with one struggle and one destiny. (Radio Free Grenada, June 5, 1983; an edited text is in Bishop 1983b:306)

The oppressors' culture also could be used against imperialism. For example, Michael "Senator" Mitchell wrote the following poem that parodied Psalm 23:

> The imperialist is my exploiter
> I shall always want.
> He maketh me to lie down on fibre,
> While he live and dress in his rich attire. (Quoted by Searle 1984a:165)

Quite often hegemonic culture (American) and a political leader (Gairy) were opposed by counter-hegemonic symbolism. In the following examples Grenadian identity was contrasted with the U.S.:

> Just arrived! Something you've long awaited.
> A fried chicken it's not Kentucky, it's not Chuck Wagon fried chicken
> It's Quality fried chicken.
> It has been made from Quality's special recipe which
> makes a fried chicken golden brown in colour and gives it
> an enticing flavour.
> Rich in local flavours and spices that makes it different from the rest.
> Check us out at Quality Restaurant and Bar on Young Street.
> Our name speaks for itself. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

This advertisement from a local restaurant tried to emphasize the local vs. imperialist contrast even though many Grenadians do not fry chicken. Ironically, much of the chicken eaten in Grenada came from the United States.

A government advertisement was more clear in projecting a sense of national pride in the cultural productions of the people. It appealed to Grenadian culture to promote revolutionary values:

> The fourth festival of the revolution is upon us, bringing with it a range of interesting events and functions.

Song:
Festival is here. Everyone prepare,
we feel so freedom, have no fear,
by living in a peaceful country,
the greatest blessing a man can see.

Yes the fourth festival of the revolution is here and the call goes out for all to be a part of it. For farmers and agricultural workers, craftsmen and artists, there's the productivity exhibitions. Poets, dramatists and singers—there are many cultural shows.

For all there are many values, and last but by no means least, the street dancing marks March 13th, liberation date.

Grenadians, as is tradition, beautify your communities. Put up your buntings and banners, brighten those walls, write up those slogans.

Imagine! We're celebrating four years of revolution! (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

Here Grenadian values of beauty, productivity and celebration are highlighted without reference to hegemonic culture. Yet Grenadians were, as the following excerpt from a revolutionary song extols, "free from 'fraid":

Struggle
....
Refrain
Struggle, struggle for rights!
Struggle, struggle for freedom!
We struggled before we found Grenada's ship to everlasting freedom.
Let justice and equality live on, live on!
Let justice and equality live on.

. . . Now we prove weself,
we put up a fight,
and we show the world
that we are right.
Oh thirteenth of March
is the realist thing
and we know from now
we will make the grade.
We are fully strong
we are free of 'fraid
and we will fight on even to the grave.
Long live the people's revolution, on and on!
Long live the people's revolution!

Refrain[14]

Both of the above songs used some Grenadian creole and French Caribbean folk melodies. Repetition in these cases is a creole form, linguistically characteristic of African-American creoles (Alleyne 1980:173).

An emphasis on youth was created to show that the future belonged to them, since 65.6 percent of Grenada's 92 755 people were under 25 years of age in 1970 (Grenada, Central Statistical Office 1979:12). Young people had been important in the struggle against Gairy and many later became leaders in the PRG (Marable 1987:213-214). Award ceremonies, called emulations, featured the youngest teacher; conferences were opened with young singers or poets. The cover of one publication showed a group of children with raised fists, dressed in National Youth Organization (NYO) T-shirts featuring a flower with a red circle in the middle. The circle was the symbol of the People's Revolutionary Army (see Anonymous 1982a).

The PRG recognized the importance of both song and poetry. Songs often created a lively mood of celebration at public meetings, using folk music as a medium. Calypso and poetry were both used to attack U.S. hegemony, but they also expressed revolutionary sentiments. Calypsonians and the associated carnival were fully promoted by the PRG. The PRG supported the national calypso contest with the final at Queen's Park and regular broadcasts of the contestants (see Figure 2). Lyrics supported "the revo," contrary to the normal use of calypso. Often the radio calypsos reflected on the festive atmosphere of Grenada's revolution. King Darius sang:

> And now check out the meaning of carnival,
> It should be a happy time for one and all.
>
> ....
>
> *Refrain*
> We show them we carnival and we show them festival,
> we show them we carnival, we show them.
>
> ....
>
> It's a time when we all come out peaceful
> and enmity gives into unity. (Radio Free Grenada, August 1983)

Carnival, the calypso and the use of Grenadian creole contributed greatly to national identity. Calypso has particular significance for the political content of its lyrics (see Manning 1985; 1986), although few calypsos during the revolution were overtly critical of the PRG. The importance of calypso in support of counter-hegemonic culture is also indicated by the post-invasion banning of certain calypso lyrics (Ferguson 1990:108, McAfee 1990:27). Of course, any government promotes itself through celebration. The PRG recognized calypso as a vehicle for national unity. Other festivals, such as "Fishermen's birthday," celebrated June 29, were much less important. Fishermen in Victoria complained in 1983 that the government did not provide adequately for the local fête (10 pounds of rice and a couple of bottles of rum for a community of 1500 people). Few opportunities to promote Grenadian identity were missed, however.

Figure 2
Calypso Semi-finals, 1981

Calypso semi finals
A GREAT SHOW.....
UNTIL IT RAINED

LORD PRIM
KING PELE
MIGHTY GUAVA
KING DARIUS
MIGHTY FOOTSEY
AFRICAN TELLER
Photos by WAYNE

EVERYBODY WELCOMED
NO MINIMUM

Source: *Free West Indian*, August 8, 1982.

Grenadian National Identity: Metaphor and Metonym

Direct verbal assaults on U.S. imperialism urged Grenadians to unite, as in this news item:

> The National Youth Organization has joined peace-loving people around the world in condemning the oppressant acts of aggression and espionage being carried out against Libya by the United States and its allies. The United States has been described as insolent and outrageous because of its plans to set up a radio station for broadcasting anti-Cuban propaganda in violation of legal and moral standards. The charge was made by a member of the political bureau of the Communist Party of Cuba, António Perez Herrero, at a meeting marking the 25th anniversary of Radio Rebelde, a Cuban radio station. Herrero said, in their unsuccessful endeavours to undermine Cuban integrity, the United States had brought into play the most outrageous practices such as the project counter-revolutionary station. He said that the intention of using José Martí, Cuba's national hero, to identify the station is provocative, gross and also irrelevant. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

In the audio version, the statement of the NYO and the report on Cuba blend into each other to appear as one. It is a message of solidarity with "peace-loving people," "Cubans" and "José Martí" and independence. The PRG encouraged Grenadian youth to join the revolution. Many did so by joining not only the NYO but also the militia so they could defend the revolution if necessary.

In the same newscast, the virtues of a united Grenada were extolled:

> Prime Minister Maurice Bishop has identified national unity as a critical element in the struggle against destabilization plots and to push the revolution forward. He was speaking against the background of an announcement that nine people had been identified by the security forces as being responsible for a recent spate of organized rumour mongering. (Radio Free Grenada, n.d.)

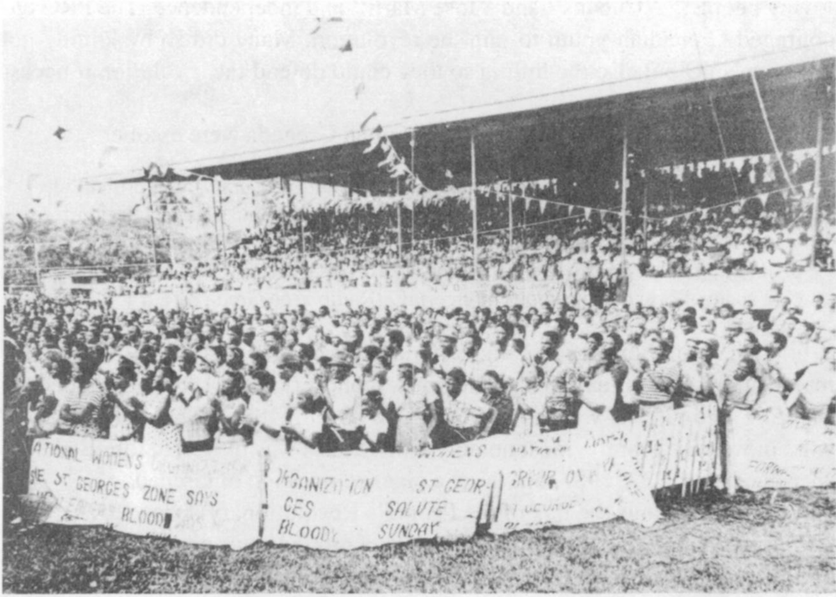
While the revolution was in danger of such rumours as early as 1980 (Anonymous 1980:4), the situation became much more serious in 1983, no doubt contributing to divisions within the PRG (Lewis 1987:48ff.). Grenada's national anthem was used rarely, most notably when music was played before Bishop's speech of March 23, 1983, outlining a planned invasion of Grenada.[15]

At some meetings the flag of the People's Revolutionary Army (PRA), consisting of a single red circle on a white background, was displayed, but most often streamers of triangular flags were hung (see Figure 3). Grenada's national flag, red, green and gold with diagonal triangles, was shown less often, perhaps because of its association with the widely opposed independence scheme of Gairy.[16] At one militia exercise in early March of 1983 in Victoria the flag was prominently flown near Selwyn Strachan, Minister of National Mobilization. He also stood on a small raised platform painted red, green and gold, putting him slightly above the militia men and women standing in formation on the field. Not only was Strachan's stature literally raised, he was associated with the national flag/rasta colours. Since many members of the militia were youths who identified themselves with the Rastafarian movement, it was likely that the PRG was trying to associate the revolution with rasta ideology.

A semblance of rasta language was also used as in the following example. At the end of the Jeremiah Richardson Defense of the Homeland Manoeuvre,[17] Bernard Coard gave a long speech condemning the United States' lies about Grenada's airport and relationships with Cuba and Russia. Rousing the soldiers and militia he said:

> The manoeuvre which we have just had over the last three days, comrades, this tremendous work which has been done, this tremendous *creativity* and energy which you have put into your work in the last several days and weeks, we must not fall back, we must not lose that, we must use that momentum to *go forward*, to *go forward* to higher things. Several hundred comrades have joined the militia over the last few weeks for the first time ever in addition to all those that

Figure 3
Bloody Sunday Rally, Seamoon's, Grenada, November 21, 1982



Source: Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.

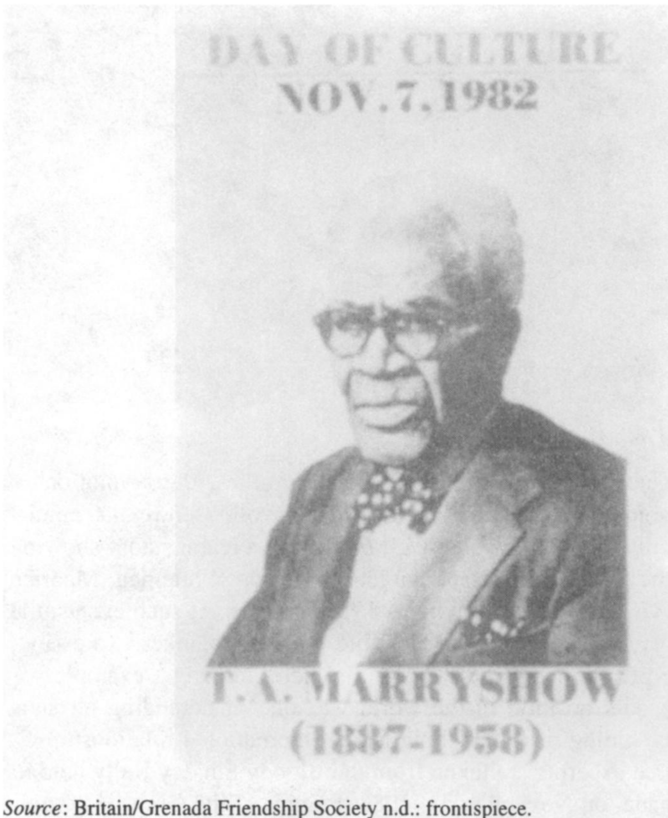
> were already there before. That is a tremendous development and I want you to give a round of applause for all those comrades who have joined the militia for the first time. It means that *the struggle is going forward*, it means that *we are deepening our roots*, it means that our purpose is becoming more and more consolidated and more and more invincible. And so, comrades, the important thing is this: let us continue to build to *higher heights*, let us continue to *go forward*, let us continue not to fall back, but forward to higher things. . . . Are you going to take your militia training seriously? [Yes!] I can't hear you. Are you going to take it seriously? [Yes!] Are we going to move forward ever? [Yes!] Are we going to get to a higher level of preparation? [Yes!] Are we going to make the next manoeuvre bigger and better? [Yes!] Long live the people and [?] Prime Minister of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the working class of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the farmers of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the women and youth of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live all the working people of free Grenada! [Long live!] Long live the Commander-in-Chief Comrade Maurice Bishop! [Long live!] Forward ever! [Backward never!] Forward ever! [Backward never!] Thank you sisters and brothers. (Radio Free Grenada, April 24, 1983)

I have italicized those parts of the speech that were commonly used among the rasta-oriented youth of Grenada. To rastas, higher heights (or Irie heights) was a euphemism for smoking ganja or more generally having a good time. The

principal slogan of the revolution "Forward ever, backward never!" was used extensively by the PRG.[18]

Speeches often were formalized affairs with the leadership at a head table, with banners proclaiming "international solidarity," or "celebrating" First National Day of Culture, with a photo of journalist T.A. Marryshow, Grenadian nationalist and father of the West Indies Federation, 1958-62 (see Figure 4). New groups such as the National Women's Organization, the National Youth Organization, the Productive Farmers Union "saluted" "heroes," such as Butler, a Grenadian-born labour leader who led Trinidad oilfield workers in the 1930s. Speeches contained ritualized expressions, nearly always ending with people raising their fists forward and repeatedly calling out "long live" and "Forward ever, backward never!"

Figure 4
Poster for First National Day of Culture Featuring T.A. Marryshow



Source: Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.: frontispiece.

In contrast, parish and zonal council meetings, set up to discuss local issues as a form of grass-roots democracy, were more informal (see Figure 5). Such councils were an old local institution based in the several parishes of Grenada and on C.L.R. James' idea of people's assemblies (Pryor 1986:30, 174). At one I attended in 1982 no flags or other ritualized forms were considered appropriate. Instead, the local people responsible answered questions from members of the audience about repairing the roads, lack of garbage collection and other services. Grass-roots democracy seemed to be informal but increasingly disconnected with national decision-making. Council decisions were not binding and attendance fell off (Ferguson 1990:109).[19]

Figure 5
Cde. La Corbiniere Leads a Workshop at Victoria Zonal Council, February 16, 1982

Source: Anonymous 1982c:41.

At national events such as the Bloody Sunday rallies, the revolutionary leadership was sometimes included in the honour roll. Before the annual Bloody Sunday rally in 1982 *The Free West Indian* ran a feature story showing photographs of the victims of Gairy's violence, Unison Whiteman, Maurice Bishop and Selwyn Strachan (Anonymous 1982d:16-17). At such events, the leadership sought alliances wherever possible with the blanket expression, "freedom loving people everywhere." We find here numerous examples of metonymy. Grenada's position in the world was one of defending all anti-hegemonic forces, hiding or diminishing actual international relationships.[20] The following three excerpts are taken from the Bloody Sunday Rally held in Seamoon's, Grenada, on November 21, 1982. Friends of the Grenada revolution, such as Harry Belafonte, brought "greetings" from various people, those who stood for freedom. Of Grenada's failure to hold elections he said:

> I bring you greetings from 27 million black people in the United States of America who are supposedly given the right to vote. In a society which boasts of free elections, all we have to show for our efforts is the despicable racist monster by the name of Ronald Reagan [applause]. I am sure that I speak for most of the black citizens of my country when I tell you that we would gladly surrender our right to vote if we could replace Ronald Reagan with Maurice Bishop [cheers and applause]. (Radio Free Grenada, November 21, 1982)

George Lamming then told a story about elections in a characteristic Caribbean style:

> Every four or five years, there is a national cockfight. You have the blue cocks, the red cocks, yellow cocks and you have cocks with spurs, and ones without spurs. And these cocks assemble in this arena and bloody each other up.... They [the people] have absolutely no power of recall.... (Radio Free Grenada, November 21, 1982)

"Comrade" Maurice Bishop spoke at length of the struggle for regional unity. Bishop finished his speech by referring to Grenadian heroes:

> Our duty is to continue to struggle to have our Caribbean Sea declared a zone of peace, independence and development in practice. Our duty is to continue to struggle against imperialism, and development in practice. Our duty is to continue to struggle against imperialism, to continue to build our Grenadian revolution, to continue to walk in the shadow and the footsteps of Fédon, of Marryshow, of Butler, and ensure that we as one Grenadian people, small as we are, will forge that meaningful link to ensure the unity of our people.
> Long live the struggling people of the Caribbean!
> Long live the struggle for Caribbean integration and unity!
> Long live the struggle for Caribbean co-operation!
> Long live the people of Latin America!
> ....
> Long live the Grenada revolution!
> All power and glory to our people!
> Forward ever, backward never![21]

When Bishop visited the United States in June of 1983 he gave a dynamic two-hour speech at Hunter College in New York. In the following excerpt he is building bridges to Black Americans while making a point about U.S. hostility toward Grenada. Bishop's reference to the language of the U.S. State Department is mirrored by Bishop's use of Grenadian/African-American language:

> They give all kinds of reasons and excuses [for disliking the Grenada revolution], some of them credible, some utter rubbish. The interesting one that we saw very recently in a secret report to the State Department, I want to tell you about that one, so that you can reflect on that one. That secret report made this point: that Grenada is different to Cuba and Nicaragua, and the Grenada revolution is in one sense even worse—I'm using their language—than the Cuban and

> Nicaraguan revolutions because the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada speaks English, and therefore can communicate directly to the people of the United States [cheers and applause]. I can see from your applause, sisters and brothers, that you agree with the report. And I want to tell you what that same report also said, and said that also made us very dangerous. And that is that the people of Grenada and the leadership of Grenada are predominantly black [applause]. They said that 95% of our population is black, and they are the correct statistics, and if we have 95% of predominantly African origin in our country, then we can have a dangerous appeal to 30 million black people in the United States [wild applause]. [Several people shout "Long live!"] Now that aspect of the report, clearly is one of the more sensible ones.... (Radio Free Grenada, June 5, 1983; an edited text is in Bishop 1983b:299)

Bishop had been invited by TransAfrica (facilitated by the Congressional Black Caucus), and said he had no quarrel with the people of the United States. To confirm this he ended with: "Long live the people of the United States!" (Bishop 1983b:311).

It is not sufficient to call for unity in the text of his speech and the "long live's" and raised fists are not only for media consumption. A ritualized version gives unquestioned authority to a statement. I would argue that charismatic speech, in the service of culture, is reconfirmed by ritual symbolism when the leader is trying to change culture into an ideology (Aronoff 1983; Hegland 1983). Portis has also made the important point that

> the most important personal consequences of politics are thoroughly symbolic, and the symbolic rewards of "cultural democracy" are likely to be more meaningful than the tangible rewards of distributive policies. Although popular control of these meaningful symbolic rewards is possible, such control could occur only through the mediation of charismatic leaders. (1987:221)

However important these symbols are, charismatic leadership has limits and no government can live by symbolic rewards (see Noguera 1992 for an excellent analysis of the uses of charisma in Grenada before and after 1979).

Bishop himself recognized the power of culture and referred to Gairy and Butler, idols of the hegemonic and counter-hegemonic respectively:

> We have produced here in Grenada perhaps the greatest, the most brilliant and audacious of pioneer Caribbean trade unionists. I am referred of course, to Tubal Uriah "Buzz" Butler, that huge monumental igniter of the spirit of the Caribbean masses, who, born in Grenada, moved to Trinidad to accomplish his great deeds of leadership of the burgeoning Caribbean working class. His volcanic influence there sent our entire region throbbing with a new will and resistance, which soon broke out through all the islands. But let it also be said that we produced Eric Matthew Gairy, perhaps the most degenerate and decadent manipulator and corruptor of the trade union movement that our islands have ever spawned.
>
> *Butler vs Gairy:* To say them with the same breath makes one gasp! But we have seen both their traditions and disciples alive in our Caribbean. Our duty

> now is to strive to emulate the one and make certain that the other will never be created! (Bishop 1983c:227-228)

Bishop noted that Marryshow was a "symbol and dynamo of unity," who died shortly after the West Indian Federation came into being. Bishop said of the federation's failure four years later:

> Suddenly there was no Marryshow to heal these wounds and bind the parts of the whole together once more. And so, comrades, we have to continue his unfinished work, to bring together again everything that was lost. That is not a mere sentimental or nostalgic gesture for us in Grenada, it is a part of our blood, ours mixed with Fedon's, mixed with Butler's, mixed with Marryshow's. It is a part of the responsibility; of the tradition handed down to us, part of the task passed to us from the giants of our history who have laid the foundations for us and our progress. (Britain/Grenada Friendship Society n.d.:6)

Bishop even used Marryshow's words:

> "Africa! it is Africa's direct turn. Sons of New Ethiopia scattered all over the world, should determine that there should be new systems of the distributions of opportunities, privileges and rights, so that Africa shall rid herself of many of the murderous highwaymen of Europe who have plundered her, raped her and left her hungry and naked in the broad light of the boasted European civilization. Africa would then be free again to rise her head among the races of the earth and enrich humanity as she has done before. . . ." (T.A. Marryshow, quoted by Bishop in ibid.:5).

Bishop added: "Comrades, thus spoke Grenada in 1917. Thus speaks Grenada in 1982" (ibid.).

Post-Revolutionary Culture

Once the Grenada revolution had been derailed, the hegemonic and the counter-hegemonic revolved once more. The Maurice Bishop Patriotic Movement, while obtaining little post-revolutionary electoral support, still attracts many Grenadians to rallies. The blame for the demise of the revolution is often placed on Austin and the Coards, as suggested by the Mighty Sparrow's calypso, *I want to go back to Grenada*:[22]

> I wan' to go back to Grenada,
> to teach the Cubans how to fight.
> They let America take over,
> complainin' about Reagan's might.
> Lord I hear, everywhere,
> is only bombs, in the towns.
> People runnin' helter skelter,
> lookin' for place to shelter.

Refrain:
Señor, Por favor
La manera que tengo mi corazón
Viva, viva, viva la revolución
For if Cuba had arrested Coard and Austin
America wouldn't have had excuse to come in.
Llevame a Granada, llevame,
Llevame a Granada, llevame.
Judas, Lucifer, and Jezebel mustn't get away.

Where those psychomaniacs come from,
to create so much a bacchanal?
Who ought to be insane asylum,
and make a lunatic general
Dusk to dawn, curfew on,
Wrong or right shoot on sight.
Supported by construction workers,
and machines guns and rocket launchers.

Refrain:
Señor, por favor . . .
. . . Austin, Bernard and Phyllis Coard mustn't get away.

Gairy squander all the money,
and the mongoose treat people like geese.
Then Bishop take over the country
through party traitors he's deceased.
Bajan come, John come join
Eugenia and Seaga
Had to import Yankee soldiers
to stop the Grenada massacre

Refrain:
Cuba, que pasa?
. . . The two Lucifer and Jezebel, mustn't get away.

In these refrains Judas = General Hudson Austin = betrayer, Lucifer = Bernard Coard = the devil, and Jezebel = Phyllis Coard = unbeliever.[23] Still many Grenadians felt that prison was sufficient punishment for the "traitors" and that capital punishment was too great a price for their actions, despite an enduring love for Bishop. Living on a small island and frequently in small communities leads most Grenadians to protect themselves against such reversals in social and political domains. One Grenadian explained to me: "The people are like bats. When there is war between the animals and the birds, Grenadians fly in the air when the birds are winning. But when the animals are winning Grenadians fold up their wings and crawl around on the ground." Grenadians felt that while the "traitors" had gone too far, they could see themselves in such positions and were sympathetic to Austin and the Coards.

Despite the control exercised by the U.S. after its invasion in 1983, feelings of continued support for the revolution are frequently voiced. Many millions of U.S. dollars were actually put into "reconstructing" Grenada. The vast majority went into completing the airport and paying consultants' fees (McAfee 1990:28-29). As a rural development worker said:

> We hear over the radio all the time that the United States is giving us so many thousands of dollars for this project or that. But by the time the experts and bureaucrats take their share, we don't see any of it. That's why when people hear these announcements they say, "here comes more of that radio money," because that's all it is—radio money. (McAfee 1990:29)

With high unemployment and the promises of American aid dashed (McAfee 1990:32), the pride of person which Grenadians had in the revolution is replaced by a government which they think is not looking out for them. As one Grenadian remarked in 1984 "The U.S. owns us now." Lyden Rhamdhanny, a minister of the PRG, put it this way:

> What the United States has brought to Grenada is window-dressing, not real development. Real development has to involve people directly in planning projects and setting priorities. We can't just sit back and wait for money. People need to learn and think about the problems involved in things like, for instance, how water is treated and supplied, instead of taking that sort of thing for granted or looking to foreign so-called experts. One legacy of the revolution is that now people understand things like that much better. (Quoted by McAfee 1990:32)

Respect for what the PRG accomplished remains in a widely held view of the U.S.-supported government: "This government's still running off the steam generated by the revo" (quoted by McAfee 1990:29). One has to ask, if words were hiding reality during the revolution, what are they doing now? Is it better to believe in yourself and be threatened by the world's foremost power, or to be poor and not believe in yourself?

Conclusions

The Grenada revolution was certainly a complex interplay of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic tendencies. However, there is no mistaking the fundamental shift in ideology, which was based on Grenadian culture. The feeling of belonging to a new society was a constant source of strength for Grenadians, as indicated in this post-invasion comment:

> People in Grenada are . . . very willing to take action. We have a tradition of rural cooperatives and grassroots credit unions . . . you don't see as much of this kind of cooperation as during the PRG. . . . The PRG didn't have much time or much money, but we had our own government. Everyone had a sense of belonging, so there was more willingness to come out, on Sundays if necessary, to get things done. (Anonymous, quoted by McAfee 1990:32)

Before the revolution, traditional language was something to suppress. Revolutionary language and other cultural roots had to come not only from the leaders but also from the people. In Grenada the leadership saw this potential, and used it well in communicating a new ideology.

In short, there are two principal cultures in Grenada, one based on metropolitan forms of thought representing the hegemonic, and the other rooted in the reality of making a living in Grenada, i.e., the counter-hegemonic tendency. Out of one develops the other. One can view them as a clash of symbol systems, but that would be to oversimplify the case. These tendencies are rather in complementary opposition.

We should not forget the real role of capital, cultural and economic, in serving the needs of people either. During the revolution major strides were made in delivering health care and improved living standards in housing, piped water and in other areas.[24] More important, individuals felt they had a role to play in Grenada. After the revolution, the people saw little of the money pumped into Grenada, but that did not really matter because they had really lost much more. Many individuals committed strongly to the revolution replaced their revolutionary thinking with its opposite: they migrated to the U.S. or Canada to seek their fortune as Grenadians had done for much of this century.

Radical social change in the Caribbean has often been based on counter-hegemonic culture, but it is rarely successful. When the educational system is based on hegemonic models—the institutions of imperialism at Oxford, Harvard and the like—most participants, including leadership, can see only that view. One can argue that the revolution was led by an élite, or as Devonish (1992) has put it, a "priesthood," but where did the PRG get these ideas? As people educated abroad their ideas were in part based in hegemonic U.S. culture and its dominant institutions. Radical changes are rooted in the everyday experiences of oppression. Caribbean people who worked outside their country even for a short time, such as Buchanan in Cuba, fought for a new kind of Caribbean that would benefit the workers and producers. Had the Grenada revolution been based *fundamentally* on working-class and peasant culture, where would it have gone?

This article has examined revolutionary ideology and the Grenadian culture from which it sprang. We need to analyze situations like Grenada with a new eye, not the functional models that assume one culture = one society = one cognition. As Maurice Bloch has argued, the "presence of the past in the present is . . . one of the components of that *other system* of cognition which is characteristic of ritual communication . . . (1989:14). With ritual communication we can grasp the key of the relationship between culture, ritual and leadership in much the same way that we have examined shamanism. With many Third World societies undergoing national liberation and revolutionary transformations, our tasks go beyond kinship, myth and religious ritual.

In the Grenada revolution the PRG used culture and history, re-creating a new identity and an ethos of co-operation. Non-indigenous forms of culture such as the "Long Lives!," the "comrades" or the PRA flag were ritualized. Ritualized communication was one technique in promoting a revolutionary ideology, but ritual is limited if it fails to comprehend the counter-hegemonic culture of the people. While strides were made in serving Grenadians and little of what they *saw* as real achievement was contradicted by what they *heard*, the revolution was not adequately based on counter-hegemonic forms of culture. We are faced with a contradiction: how to develop *new* forms based on the old. If the Grenadian revolution tells us anything, it is that effective structures *and* cultural symbols must be based on counter-hegemonic culture (the structuring structures of Bourdieu or the common sense of Gramsci). To do otherwise may lead to dead ends.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1. There is an enormous literature on Grenada's revolution over the past 10 years which cannot be cited here for reasons of space. Audine C. Wilkinson's excellent bibliography (1988) contains nearly 400 citations on Grenadian government and politics, most of which refer to the revolution and aftermath.
2. See Chris Searle's scathing attack on V.S. Naipaul's *Sunday Times Colour Magazine* article on Grenada. Searle writes: "So what was Naipaul's mission? Not only to accompany an imperialist violation and the destruction of the sovereignty of a tiny state by the world's most formidable military power: but also to show to the world . . . that the Grenada Revolution was fraudulent: 'a revolution built on words, ideas and slogans, with no reality on the ground' " (1984b:46).
3. An *Economist* article on Grenada shows a photograph of a reclining youth on the pier of St. George's harbour with the caption "It doesn't look ripe for revolution" (Anonymous 1989:44). Can we really tell?
4. In a revolutionary context we should recall what Marx meant by *praxis*, namely, "the free, universal, *creative and self creative activity* through which . . ." people create and change their "historical, human world" (Petrović 1971:384; emphasis added). In other words, "Men make their own history, but they do make it just as they please; they do not make it under circumstances chosen by themselves, but under circumstances directly encountered, given and transmitted from the past" (Marx 1963:15).

5. See Brackette Williams' use of both Bourdieu and Gramsci in his analysis of Guyanese ethnic and power relations (1991).
6. Political integration in the English-speaking Caribbean was the subject of a study by the West Indian Commission headed by Sir Shridath Ramphal. Completed in late 1992, the 600-page report was roundly criticized by the Caricom heads of Government (John 1992-93:6). Windward Islands' unity, which includes Grenada, has also been discussed in recent years (Bousquet 1992, 1992-93).
7. Rippy was described in the book jacket as "the foremost American authority on Latin American diplomacy," and in his preface the author took pains to explain: "Whatever the conclusions finally reached by Latin Americans regarding some of the subjects discussed in the present work, they should not forget that neither the capitalists nor the government escaped from the widespread criticism of the people of the United States. Only rarely has their mood been other than one of vigorous opposition to imperialism" (Rippy 1940:viii). An incredible statement for an American to make!
8. From French, *sauter*, to jump, leap.
9. A Grenadian term for being a good talker, with the implication of stretching the truth.
10. Also, a special issue of the *Free West Indian* was put out November 17, 1982, to mark the anniversary.
11. All three parties suffered overwhelming defeats in subsequent elections, which might be traced in part to the power of calypso.
12. I was told by a woman in her 60s that as a child she was beaten at home and in school for speaking *patois*. While she understood and spoke *patois* I never heard her speak more than a few lines despite seeing her daily.
13. Of course many Caribbean intellectuals have questioned the imperial education system at least as far back in the British Caribbean as J.J. Thomas in his marvellous book *Froudacity*, written in the 1880s (1969).
14. *Struggle* was sung by the Tamarina Folk Company and produced by the Committee for the Festival of the Revolution under the label "Liberation." Transcribed from a record in the author's possession.
15. Taken from a live broadcast on Radio Free Grenada, March 23, 1983, in the author's possession. Also published in Bishop (1983a:279-286). A special issue of the *Free West Indian* outlined the speech with the headlines "Attack will come in days or weeks" (Anonymous 1983).
16. At independence the flag was changed from blue, green and yellow bars with a central nutmeg pod. Independence was feared because Gairy would not have any foreign power to back up his persecution of opposition parties. Canadian and British warships were sent to Grenada "ostensibly to participate in the 'independence celebrations,' but in reality serving as a subtle warning of imperialist support for the Gairy government" (EPICA Task Force 1982:47).
17. Jeremiah Richardson was a young militant killed by the police in 1973, which led to a protest demonstration of some 5000 people who surrounded the police station and closed the airport for three days (Marable 1987:209).
18. "I" is the last letter in Rastafari (Haile Selassie's common name). Also meaning the number one and only, the letter "I" is strewn throughout their speech. I is included in other words to glorify them. Rastas would avoid using back, under or any negative prefix or suffix. The words "power" becomes "I-ower" and "total" becomes "I-tal." A powerful word is thus "Irie" (pronounced eye-ree). "Evert'in' Irie" means nothing could be better. To take the "herb" ganja (*Cannabis sativa*) is to reach "Irie 'ights," the ultimate in spiritual uplifting.
19. The meeting on November 10, 1982, was attended by 25 people and was the only parish council I attended during my fieldwork. Apparently no other meetings were called during the period I was in Victoria.
20. I do not doubt the sincerity of the following speakers but question only whether they unwittingly were following a line.

21. These speeches are transcribed from a live broadcast on Radio Free Grenada on November 21, 1982. Bishop's speech was published by the Britain/Grenada Friendship Society (n.d.).
22. Sparrow, usually associated with Trinidad, was born in Grenada and contributed to the Grenada revolution by giving free concerts (Searle 1984b:49).
23. While Judas is obvious, the reference to Lucifer comes from Isaiah 14:2 "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning! How are thou cut down to the ground, which did weaken the nations!" Jezebel introduced the fertility worship of Baal into Ahab's court (1 Kings 16:31-34).
24. Even the most sceptical analysis of the economic performance of the Grenada revolution by Frederic Pryor (1986) cannot hide the accomplishments of the revolution.

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

Whitefella Comin': Aboriginal Responses to Colonialism in Northern Australia
David S. Trigger
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. xi + 250 pp. $59.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Peter Carstens
University of Toronto

David Trigger has made a significant contribution to modern social science, particularly the study of the complex nature of colonialism. This is a scholarly case study of Doomagee, an Aboriginal reserve settlement and mission station (with an unspecified number of missionaries, White officials and others) in northern Australia. We are introduced to Doomagee and the surrounding region through its early pre-colonial history, the frontier years of Aboriginal-White interaction, the history of state control, and the multiplex influences of Christian missionary endeavour. Various other major themes are developed. These include power relations between different socio-cultural domains, status and political identity among Aborigines, hegemony and resistance, the general inequality between Aboriginals and Whites, etc.

Nowhere does the author focus on any idea of community, real or imagined, and we assume that he does not find the concept useful. Readers must therefore be prepared to construct it themselves from the text and the excellent photographs and illustrations. But the avoidance of community paradigms may well have its virtue in works of this kind because it prevents sterile analyses of artificially isolated socio-cultural entities. Trigger is more concerned with the operation of "power relations and social action" between Aboriginals and Whites in a wide spatio-temporal arena.

This is a study of reaction *in* conquest which aims at sorting out the variables of *coercion, resistance, hegemony* and *accommodation*. Trigger is a careful field worker who did not allow himself to conclude that all Aboriginals were completely powerless and compliant to White domination. His detailed analysis of the two major domains of social life in Doomagee elaborates and clarifies this conclusion. The *Blackfella* and *Whitefella* domains, as they are referred to locally, are distinguished by their respective material, intellectual and social activity arenas—arenas that produce *inter alia* high degrees of social distance. In Doomagee the cleavage between Blackfellas and Whitefellas is most evident in the mission reserve settlement where there is de facto residential segregation. But there are more crucial factors that determine social distance ranging from the fact that there is no intermarriage to Aboriginal perception that the *mission* (where the Whites live), as opposed to the *village*, is the locale of both White and Christian values. (Often it is difficult to decide what is cause and what is effect.) Closely related to this theme is the position of *Yellafellas* (mixed race) in the community. There it emerges that the philosophy behind this classification in the White or Aboriginal domains is based more on social and cultural factors than on race. Hence, Yellafellas tend to be judged by Blackfellas according to their personal and social identities: "He don't class himself as Yellafella" implies that a particular mixed-race person might be regarded as an Aboriginal if he meets appropriate social requirements. Thus, although Aborigines do make distinctions between Black, Yellow and White people, they do so in situationally constructed terms. Trigger concludes his discussion

of two domains with an analysis of social closure as a manifestation of resistance to the White world. "The Aboriginal domain," he writes, "can be regarded as at least in part an arena of resistance to the colonial imperative of assimilating the colonised to the beliefs and practices of the colonising society" (p. 101). But clearly this does not deal with the whole picture because so much of the conception of the Blackfella domain is derived from Aboriginal tradition.

This question of the continuation of certain features of Aboriginal culture in the context of the modern state introduces a new dimension to Trigger's work. Of special importance is the discussion of identity within the Aboriginal domain (chap. 6). What emerges is a diversity of *identities* at the local level. The complex manner in which conflicting allegiances are sorted out produces a semblance of harmony, if not political unity, in the community. Thus, while each of the many language and dialects carries with it a status of its own reflecting a particular social position, the mere fact that many people still speak a native tongue provides a measure of "Aboriginalness" in general. Similarly, claiming traditional knowledge of land-related matters produces hierarchies with their inherent tensions to be solved at the community level. The manner in which the use of traditional kinship terms by individuals in the modern world is evaluated by the community provides a further example of the potential for conflict and its resolution. The picture is, moreover, complicated by the senior age category (elders) to whom special high status is afforded—a status which is capable of cross-cutting other claims to status and honour. Unfortunately, this intriguing material on the contradictions between conflict and consensus is not fully analyzed and the author passes up the opportunity of introducing Gluckman's and Simmel's ideas in his ethnography. In a similar vein, one might hope for a second volume from Trigger at some future date to satisfy the comparativists in social science. The appropriate parallels in the Canadian and Southern African literature with the Doomagee material are theoretically too significant to ignore.

Visayan Vignettes: Ethnographic Traces of a Philippine Island
Jean-Paul Dumont
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. xix + 226 pp. $39.95 (cloth), $16.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Catherine (Rineke) Coumans
Cornell University

Dumont's title signals the reader that here one may find an example of the widely discussed, but still rarely written, "new" ethnography. By "crossing over" and drawing on a term traditionally associated with impressionistic tales in the humanities, "vignettes," and emphasizing the partial nature of his work by referring to its ethnographic accounts as "traces," Dumont clearly breaks with the boldly definitive and unself-consciously positivistic titles of most modernist ethnographies. Dumont maintains that his title presents a more accurate reflection of the contents of his book, the stories he heard and now relates, and of the ethnographic process by which anthropological insights are acquired (p. 1).

Dumont's misgivings about the conventional ethnographic format are epitomized by traditional introductions. Introductions inevitably pre(fix) a text in which ethnographic

information is overly organized and "packaged" (p. 7), in which "localized, situated, partial" (p. 2) and emerging truths are sacrificed on the altar of a coherent and closed discourse and a structural organization and theoretical framework which is associated with traditional scholarship. Dumont, reluctantly, premises his own work by informing the reader of his intention to address these concerns through the medium of a new rhetorical style.

At root, Dumont's concerns are political and ethical in nature. Dumont contends that ethnographers do "violence" to "others" (p. 5) by hiding the confusions and contradictions that accompany the field-work experience, sometimes by not discussing these at all, but always by writing in a manner that implies these hurdles have been successfully overcome. "Others" become reified and are shaped by intellectual debates that are current in the West and by "publishing strategies and academic politics" (p. 5). Because Dumont insists that "the form of a text is itself constitutive of its content and thus . . . a political tool" (p. 7), he suggests that the problem of misrepresentation may perhaps be remedied by writing in such a way that the experience of reading the ethnography becomes more analogous to the fragmented, intercultural and frequently incoherent experiences of field work (p. 6).

As one may expect from a text which grants the writing process itself a central epistemological place, Dumont's book is well written and, barring moments where the text feels too self-conscious and overly crafted, the book is compelling reading. A feature of Dumont's work is its structural organization. The reader receives information on established topics, such as subsistence practices, in a fragmented manner. This clearly emulates the way a field worker receives information, embedded in disparate occurrences and stories, that is later determined to belong together. A drawback to Dumont's organizational choices is that he is sometimes forced to repeat previously presented information.

In a primarily descriptive manner, believing in the "embeddedness of anthropological theory in mere ethnographic prose" (p. 8), Dumont provides information on a wide range of topics including: how the Siquihodnon construct identity and are defined, in turn, by outsiders. He discusses practical, economic and demographic aspects of subsistence practices on the island with references to the effects thereon of external economic and political factors. Dumont ponders the significance of love and of mythical beliefs for the Natives, he extensively details kinship relationships and genealogical memory and he provides scattered nuggets of ethnographic information on socioeconomic relations between members of different classes on the island. Dumont, however, does not consider explicitly or systematically the significance of his data for broader analytical issues that have been raised in the academic literature on the Philippines or the region.

Throughout, Dumont blends the presentation of information and analysis with a discussion of his personal involvement in the research. The reader learns about Siquijor islanders *through* learning about Dumont as a field worker; his romantic notions of island research, the obstacles he encountered and how he responded to these experiences emotionally. Dumont illuminates how coincidences, practical considerations and serendipity aided in his accumulation of sought-after data or led him to explore unanticipated areas. While this candid and personalized style of presentation is understandable in light of Dumont's theoretical concerns, it at times (chap. 3) verges on self-indulgence and may distract the reader from the ethnographic topics under discussion.

Given the general style of the book it is surprising to find extended sections in chapters 4, 12 and 13 in which Dumont suddenly reverts to the more conventional tone of

the all-knowing author. Here Dumont discloses to the reader what his informants' motivations are and the dialogue with people's own statements becomes all but nonexistent. This more traditional style is also noticeable in chapters 15 and 16 in which Dumont compares people's recollections and understandings of genealogical relationships with the "objective truth" of parish records.

While decrying the fact that fashionable theories or personal ideological convictions (mis)shape the presentation of ethnographic data (pp. 3-4), Dumont cannot escape the fact that his book is itself a product of, and a contribution to, an ongoing intellectual dialogue that Western scholars are presently conducting amongst themselves as they reflect, critically or defensively, upon the rational traditions of their own intellectual history and the ways in which these traditions have shaped the pursuit and presentation of "knowledge."

Between Culture and Fantasy: A New Guinea Highlands Mythology
Gillian Gillison
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993. xxi + 392 pp. $60.00 (cloth), $22.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Dorothy Ayers Counts
University of Waterloo

This is a complex and sophisticated analysis of the relationship between myth, ritual, world view and gender relations among the Gimi of New Guinea's Eastern Highlands. Gillison says: "One of the main aims of the book is to show how men's myths and fantasies play into a different female fantasy based on the female Oedipus complex in which the primary attachment to the father needs to be addressed or resolved before a woman can marry" (footnote, p. 167).

Gillison's discussion of her field work illustrates the vital role of the anthropologist's family, and the serendipitous nature of anthropological research. The presence of her daughter Samantha was critical in Gillison's understanding of Gimi culture. Women's stories are essential to Gillison's interpretation of Gimi exchange and social relations, for they interpret the mythic past in ways that differ from and complement the stories told by men. During her early field work, Gillison was not aware of the existence of a body of women's narratives. Samantha overheard the bedtime songs and stories told by Gimi mothers to her playmates and alerted Gillison to the presence of these myths.

Gillison cites Malinowski's observation that myths refer to life's "unpleasant or negative truths" such as the inevitability of illness, aging and death. She argues that male and female myths engage in a dialogue with each other about the origins and meaning of some of these "negative truths," particularly death and its indissoluble tie to sex and reproduction. Gillison analyzes several Gimi myths, including male and female versions of the origins of marriage exchange, childprice, rites of mortuary cannibalism and the origin and theft by men of the sacred flutes. The flutes are a "core symbol" that combines "relations among generations, parricide and filicide, copulation and death, gestation and birth . . . as if they were instantaneous and the same" (p. 349). Gimi mythic dialogue illuminates the assumptions that underlie Gimi gender and kinship relations and their rituals of exchange. These assumptions constitute "the deepest

structure of Gimi social life" (p. xv). The primary organizing principle of Gimi society is that "exchange has a profoundly sexual origin and meaning; and, conversely, that the sexual relation is a *transaction* of which one party . . . is symbolically unaware . . . and, therefore, innocent of the disastrous outcome" (p. xv). The disastrous outcome is the invention of death. Death is not part of the natural order but a consequence of human action in the mythic past. Gimi ritual and exchange are organized around the assumption that death could be delayed or even overcome if only they could determine which sex invented it. By placing the blame for death on women, men's myths attempt to triumph over death. Furthermore, the rules of exchange, which bar women from initiating ritual exchanges or from acting as donor in exchange transactions, validate these assumptions and legitimize Gimi social structure and gender relations.

The tone of Gillison's volume is psychoanalytical. Much of her discussion focuses on the symbolism of blood and semen, male and female genitalia, intra-uterine homosexual links between father and child, incest and cannibalism. The volume is well written, thoroughly documented, carefully argued and contains fascinating descriptions of performances of ritual theatre. It will be a useful addition to the research library of Pacific scholars, especially those interested in the interplay of myth and ritual and whose theoretical inclination is Freudian.

Brain, Symbol and Experience: Toward a Neurophenomenology of Human Consciousness
Charles D. Laughlin, Jr., John McManus and Eugene G. d'Aquili
New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. xi + 403 pp. $20.00 (paper)
New Directions in Psychological Anthropology
Theodore Schwartz, Geoffrey M. White and Catherine A. Lutz, eds.
New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992. vii + 352 pp. $54.95 (cloth), $17.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Jutta B. Dayle
Mount Saint Vincent University

Laughlin et al. show that ongoing experience is mediated by the brain and that competing neural networks are constantly entrained and re-entrained, thereby providing inexact models of ourselves and the world. Phases of "neural entrainments . . . punctuated by . . . rapid periods of reentrainments . . . organized about some object" are the structure of consciousness (neurological factors), while behavioural expressions of consciousness involve manipulation of symbols because society must assure that "proper associations are entrained" (cultural factors). Experiences of consciousness consist of sensations that penetrate neural entrainments thereby reaching consciousness (internal factors, such as altered states and dreams). Rituals and cosmology are "penetration devices" that "stimulate . . . a . . . theatre of mind" and provide meaning for individuals (p. 335). Our being, therefore, is "a community of cells" (pp. 34, 334) and we are "symbols to each other" (p. 232).

This brief summary does not do justice to complex ideas. Laudable is the holistic approach the authors advocate and try to achieve. Nevertheless, women's work, experiences, symbols and bodies are consistently ignored and, when gender is discussed, it is from a male perspective. For example, the authors claim that there was no field work

before Malinowski (p. 23), but Alice Fletcher and Harriet Martineau were early ethnographers urging field work (S. Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* [Oxford University Press, 1992], pp. 49-50). Patriarchal systems, ideologies and male practitioners are used to illustrate arguments. For instance, male shamans during their magical flight are said to experience a female "psychopomp" (p. 273), but female shamanistic knowledge is left unexplored. Cross-cultural examples mention only one female yogi (p. 311) and the only Western female considered subscribed to a patriarchal framework (p. 307). Discussion of Tibetan Buddhism is also strictly from a male perspective since Tibetan women's views of their wombs, energies and consciousness are not contemplated (pp. 206-210, 351). Male bias is also expressed in interpretations of Tibetan Buddhist art in that the woman is viewed as having intuitive knowledge, as dangerous, as having raw energy and as vulnerable and submissive, while the man is portrayed as having conceptual knowledge, as grounded, non-attached and dependent on her energy (pp. 208, 209). She is said to come from nothingness, to give men energy and to return to nothingness (p. 351). All cosmologies are seen by the authors as somatocentric (p. 225) and through relationships within the body the entire cosmos is supposed to be known (p. 226). If metaphors are based on male bodies only, then the nature of the entire cosmos is now known. Claims to universality are on shaky grounds when women's experiences are ignored, while male knowledge is used to buttress arguments and gender-inappropriate language is employed throughout (pp. 226-341). Although the authors strongly criticize positivism (pp. 338-346) and call for a holistic and experiential science, feminist scholarship that criticizes positivism and supports experiential science is nowhere acknowledged.

While Laughlin et al. attend to culture neurologically, some authors in Schwartz et al. approach the brain culturally. White explores ethnopsychology while D'Andrade, Keller and Holland discuss simplified knowledge structures (schemata) that, according to D'Andrade, provide direct access to psychological processes. As he calls for descriptions of "a people" (p. 56), it seems that schema theory is again an attempt to reduce human complexities to one denominator while re-labelling national character studies. Keller also appears to favour simpler levels, while Holland illustrates that schema theory cannot deal with multiple interpretations, negotiation, conflict, power and cognitive self-censorship. Holland's question, how multiple interpretations are negotiated and how schemata are put together (p. 72), may be answered by Laughlin et al. who say that dissonance among models is eventually resolved and that models are entrained on many different neural levels.

While Miller and Hoogstra concentrate on language acquisition, Harkness develops new clothing for functionalist ideas (p. 117). Worthman's excellent article calls for inclusion of biology, which Laughlin et al. have done in great detail. They agree with Worthman (pp. 151, 153-154) that understanding processes of social construction must depend on integrating brain and body as substructures of experience, that individuals simultaneously construct biological and social reality and that pluralities of consciousness exist. Chisholm laudably calls for "putting people in biology," but discusses infanticide as reproductive success (p. 129), without noticing that dead infants cannot reproduce. It is not clear when considering "focus of selection" whether natural selection is meant or parental decisions on infanticide. If it is natural selection, then goals, motives and intent are attributed to a theoretical construct (p. 129). Consideration then moves to antagonism between the sexes and how father-absence impacts on Western females. They are said to suffer precocious interest in sex, becoming anorgasmic, lacking attraction in relationships with just one man and may not learn adap-

tive traits (pp. 137-138). Cultural factors, such as women's oppression and their economic disadvantage worldwide, could explain antagonism between the sexes. Are Western boys not "precociously" interested in sex? Why should Western women limit themselves to just one man? Do mothers teach their daughters only non-adaptive traits and do men as lovers have nothing to do with women achieving orgasms? Reducing biological factors to reproductive aspects still seems to be an obsession in biological anthropology.

Good's excellent paper envisions the new psychiatry as a stimulating site for ethnographic research. Levy disagrees and calls for comparative studies of people in communities. Scheper-Hughes' excellent paper tries to correct the "formalistic, a-political and disembodied" stance of psychological anthropology (p. 221) by illustrating how medicalization domesticates hunger. Ewing and Cohler both find psychoanalysis still relevant. Ewing concentrates on conflict, using gender-inappropriate language (pp. 260-263), while Cohler assumes that "in every known society, the mother is the principal caretaker" and that "her physical ministration have consequences" (p. 277). These are strange assumptions when fosterage and adoption are common in many societies and mothers surely administer more than physical care. Gender-inappropriate language (pp. 294, 297, 300) distracts from Crapanzano's otherwise excellent article in which he criticizes prevalent text metaphors as promoting complacency. Stocking explores the psychological Boas while Schwartz laments that psychological disciplines have ignored culture and consequently cannot fully understand human nature. When he calls for psychological testing because otherwise "we are left to interpretive methods" (p. 339), he seems to assume that tests need no interpretation.

It appears that psychological anthropology has come full circle again, from Boas' individual to whole systems and back to the individual, all within the framework of territorial struggles. In a short review it is impossible to do justice to such stimulating books. Both tackle challenging issues, are important contributions to anthropology and are recommended for graduate courses.

Immigrants and Refugees in Canada: A National Perspective on Ethnicity, Multiculturalism, and Cross-Cultural Adjustment

Satya P. Sharma, Alexander M. Ervin and Deirdre Meintel, eds.
Saskatoon, SK: Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, University of Saskatchewan, 1991. viii + 316 pp. $20.00 (paper)

Reviewer: Will. C. van den Hoonaard
University of New Brunswick

Many will remember the 1988 Canadian Ethnology Society's meetings in Saskatoon. *Immigrants and Refugees in Canada* owes many of its chapters to papers presented there. Its 25 chapters are spread across three vital areas of ethnic research, namely, ethnicity of immigrant groups, the refugee experience of relocation and the immigrant and refugee experience in Quebec.

Part 1, "Cultural Dimensions of Ethnicity among Immigrant Groups in Canada," deals with both theoretical and substantive issues. Sharma's introduction provides one of the most succinct overviews of ethnic research in Canada, drawing on the contributions of various disciplines and anthropology in particular.

Anderson summons the reader to consider a dynamic model of ethnicity, namely, the response of minorities to "dominant social control mechanisms." The usual emphasis on cultural vitality and institutional completeness is too static a view, according to him. Anderson's search for new research dimensions is laudable, although it may be a matter of disappointment to him (and to us) that gaps and biases beyond the control of researchers will continue to frustrate many researchers. Vital statistic bureaus do not record ethnic background of marrieds, and research-fund gatekeepers are still more likely to reject applications for qualitative research on aged widows than the more quantifiable sort of research on the non-aged. Anderson pinpoints both the traditions and weaknesses of nine academic fields that have an interest in doing ethnic research, and urges us to move to a higher theoretical plane of greater value to current issues and policies.

The articles by Parin Dossa and George Kurian, on old Ismailis and South Asian youth, respectively, make it possible for us to see the relative position of the old and the young among new Canadians. The old try to sustain meaning in their life by drawing on the whole community, while the young see more meaning in drawing away from the community that emphasized arranged marriages.

A less satisfactory article by Samuel and Jansson on immigration levels and the economic and demographic environment misses an important point in their analysis of dependency ratios. Surely, the economic relationship between those under 65 and those over 65 years of age expresses a cultural ethos. How does the prevailing gentler attitudes of immigrants towards those over 65 enter into their equation? Surely, even the term "dependency ratio" is a statistical artifact, not one that denotes cultural and social variables.

Ather Akbari's all-too-short article on the question of whether immigrants contribute more to the public treasury than they receive offers empirical evidence that immigrants make a positive contribution to the overall economy.

Part 2, "Cross-Cultural Adjustment: The Refugee Experience of Relocation," takes a more practical bent, focussing on refugee settlement policy, application and practice. Groups under consideration are Vietnamese refugees and Southeast Asian women. Articles on E.S.L. tutoring and cross-cultural misunderstandings between refugees and social-service agencies explore the practical applications of refugee work.

Ervin's introduction sets the tone in this section and aims to bring a practical application of anthropology. Donald D. Taylor's discussion of Vietnamese refugee adaptation offers a strikingly different image from Linda Fuchs' study of Southeast Asian refugee women in the same city. Taylor's article underscores the positive dimensions of resettlement, while Fuchs hones in on less-than-satisfactory levels of happiness among refugees. Family networks are key. Other articles in this section of the book make valuable points about the need to be culturally sensitive, but this reviewer found it difficult to find concrete indications where anthropologists can make any better difference than sensitive workers who assist refugees. Virtually all of the articles are case studies of refugee work in Saskatoon. All of these articles stress the need for more research (and underscore the impact of Saskatoon winters both as an element of anticipatory socialization and as an actual experience among refugees). Many programs in Saskatoon have a larger effect than intended, providing valuable friendships with refugees. All in all, the articles provide tips, such as how to say "no," intuiting problems and dealing with ambiguities in behaviour and language.

Part 3, "the Immigrant/Refugee Experience in Quebec: Methodological and Substantive Issues," provides an altogether different orientation of the subject matter. It is

gratifying to see that life-history analysis and native anthropology receives much attention. Meintel, in her opening article describes the Montreal research project on youth of immigrant parentage, on which many of the articles in part 3 are based.

Students will find Rebecca B. Aiken's article, "Sources and Techniques for Research on Ethnic Groups in Canada," of particular use. Mauro Peressini makes an interesting exploration of multiple identities of Italian immigrants and pinpoints comparative contexts by which identities are constructed by both outsiders and insiders. Fernanda Claudio's examination of her own motivations and stances while using "native anthropology" to explore her own people takes so-called objectivity to task and convincingly shows how her approach provides "a fresh viewpoint within anthropology as a discipline" (p. 263). Ok-Kyung Park provides an honest assessment of the emotional difficulties that create an ambiguous position for the researcher studying his or her own ethnic community. Ultimately, a native researcher has to face questions about his or her own personal growth and maturity. When the researcher's stance mediates between the host community (Canada) and his or her own ethnic community, nothing can be taken for granted.

The very modest cover of *Immigrants and Refugees in Canada* hides the broad coverage of topics. For this reviewer, used to Batavian love for brevity, it is a pleasure to read so many of the articles which do not belabour the point beyond exhaustion. The authors come to the point, and within the space of just over 300 pages offer a variety of interests and perspectives. Part 3, on ethnicity in Quebec, left me with the greatest impression; it reaffirmed that the life-history approach and frankness in matters of research seem to be alive and well. The first part of the book provided a most useful state-of-the-art of the study of ethnicity from a variety of perspectives. While the second part lacked theoretical and methodological insights, it nevertheless has a place in this volume by opening our eyes to the practical difficulties faced by both refugees and workers as the former are adapting to Canada, and the latter are adapting to the former.

This book deserves a place in university courses on ethnicity in Canada. It provides many helpful points of departure for lecturers to expand the theoretical, practical and methodological issues that attend to Canada's multicultural garden, involving the whole range of "visible" and "silent" ethnics.

Custom and Confrontation: The Kwaio Struggle for Cultural Autonomy
Roger Keesing
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992. x + 254 pp. $49.95 (cloth), $17.95 (paper)

Reviewer: William Rodman
McMaster University

Roger Keesing was a giant in contemporary Pacific ethnology and, when he died at age 58 last year, he left behind a giant legacy of books and papers, most of which concerned the Pacific people he had studied for 30 years, the Kwaio of Malaita in the Solomon Islands. During his lifetime, he published 5 books and over 25 articles on the Kwaio. Much of this work relates directly or indirectly to Kwaio resistance, their struggle to maintain their cultural identity and the integrity of their cultural core. One reason why Keesing's last book is valuable is because it represents his final statement

on the Kwaio history of confrontation with Europeans: it summarizes and weaves together narrative strands found in much of his other work. I would recommend this book over others that Keesing wrote to a student seeking to understand the totality of the Kwaio experience since contact, their historical trajectory, the reasons for their stand against Europeans, their resilience and the reasons why they occupy an important place in the anthropology of contemporary Pacific societies.

In many theoretically oriented articles published during his final decade, Keesing warned fellow anthropologists of the dangers of oversimplification and overgeneralization, of exoticizing the ordinary and romanticizing the Other. He issues these same warning here, but with regard to anthropological studies of resistance. Keesing argues that resistance has become a diluted concept in anthropology. Since the publication of James Scott's influential *Weapons of the Weak* (1984), scholars have found it too easy to interpret the behaviour of subordinated peoples as resistance. What range of behaviour can legitimately counted as resistance? Need resistance imply conscious agency? Keesing's answer is that efforts to refine the concept of resistance are futile; "resistance" is not "precisely definable" (p. 224). Rather than look for the locus of resistance in particular kinds of acts, anthropologists would be better advised to embrace the "flexibility and metaphorical richness" (p. 6) of the concept.

Be that as it may, Keesing leaves no doubt that the Kwaio have resisted Europeans for over 100 years, no matter how one defines the term. From his rich historical data on Kwaio resistance, he draws a hypothesis, that "in resisting domination, subaltern peoples invoke and reproduce the categorical and institutional structures of their domination" (p. 8). Stripped to its theoretical basics, this book is a study of the conceptual structures of anticolonial discourse.

Custom and Confrontation is filled with examples that illustrate and support Keesing's argument concerning the inherently oppositional nature of counterhegemonic discourse. He makes a point of telling as much as possible of the story of Kwaio resistance in the Kwaio's own words. Again, he warns of the dangers of oversimplification—he informs the reader that Kwaio voices are "multi-stranded, multivocal and perspectival." These words point the reader in the direction of one of the book's weaknesses. Keesing quotes his friend and main informant Jonathan Fifi'i so extensively that I began to wonder about other perspectives on the issues at hand, about voices that were silenced so that Fifi'i's could emerge as strong. Most of the quoted passages have been published before, in Fifi'i's autobiography, which Keesing edited. Keesing insists on the dangers of oversimplification, yet his book has clear heroes and villains and an uncluttered sense of right and wrong. Anthropologists and students of anthropology may read this book because it is a superior ethnography, detailed and enriched by theoretical insights. But at the heart of this book is a moral take, a simple but powerful story about an indigenous people who were wronged, who resisted for more than 100 years and who may yet prevail. This message, ultimately, lends the book its true meaning and value.

Tangled Webs of History: Indians and the Law in Canada's Pacific Coast Fisheries
Dianne Newell
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993. xiii + 303 pp. $40.00 (cloth), $18.95 (paper)
Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada
Noel Dyck and James Waldram, eds.
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993. viii + 362 pp. $44.95 (cloth), $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Robin Ridington
University of British Columbia

When British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871, First Nations people (referred to then and in Newell's book as Indians) constituted a majority, yet were not consulted in negotiating the terms of union. Nowhere in the process of confederation were the institutions, governments and economies of the First Nations given serious consideration as founding principles of the new Dominion. The Fathers of Confederation thought that, with the implementation of a paternalistic *Indian Act*, Aboriginal people would eventually disappear or assimilate. They were wrong. The legacy of First Nations exclusion is very much a part of Canada's fundamental character today. Belatedly, the 1982 *Constitution Act* entrenched (but did not define) "existing aboriginal and treaty rights" (p. 9), many of which had by then been substantially eroded by more than a century of federal and provincial regulations through which governments extended their "exercise of complete dominion."

The books under review discuss the complex history of Aboriginal peoples' relations to the law and public policy. Both make it clear that Aboriginal rights will only become a reality through the continued and determined efforts of the First Nations themselves. Both explore the roles of academics (in particular, historians and anthropologists) as stewards of information relevant to the process. Newell's book is a sharply focussed account of how Canadian institutions transformed an Aboriginally managed fishery into one managed for the benefit of industrial special interests. Dyck and Waldram have assembled a collection of papers by people directly involved in "the land question," as it has been studied by anthropologists and come before the courts.

Tangled Webs is a powerful and richly documented history of fishing on the west coast of Canada. Newell's comparison of Aboriginal fishery management to that of the Canadian government reveals key differences between a system that evolved with the resource and one that has been suddenly imposed upon it. The perspective she develops is distinctively anthropological. Aboriginal people, she points out, evolved energy-efficient and sustainable techniques for taking and distributing anadromous fish from inland locations. Their social relations of production and distribution are unlike either individual private property systems or the common property that underlies the philosophy of government regulation. The Canadian government, by contrast, has encouraged a more and more costly technology in pursuit of a diminishing and ultimately endangered resource. Government policies and regulations of the fisheries resource, Newell says, "usually are responses to pressure from industry to reduce competition and frequently are not in the best interests of other user groups" (p. 6). Aboriginal

groups, in contrast, "developed highly successful fishing and fish preservation technologies and regionally based systems of resource management and distribution" (p. 45). The struggle today is a direct consequence of a conflict between these two very different historical relationships to the resource.

Newell's book succeeds in unravelling the "tangled webs of history" that have caught both the salmon and the First Nations fishers of British Columbia. At a time when Aboriginal fishers are sometimes blamed for losses caused by government mismanagement, Newell provides a carefully documented analysis of what has actually happened to the resource and its users. In particular, she points out how the 1968 Davis Plan and its successors effectively excluded most Aboriginal people from commercial fishing and Aboriginal communities from their traditional employment in the canning industry. These events shifted "the battle zone" (p. 171) to the food fishery and ultimately to the Supreme Court.

Anthropology, Public Policy and Native Peoples in Canada is national, rather than regional, in scope, and is more closely focussed on the perspective of a single discipline. The book's table of contents reads like a Who's Who of applied anthropologists in Canada. Many of the contributors to this volume initiated the post-White Paper anthropology of public policy regarding Aboriginal issues. However, there are some notable absences (such as Joan Ryan and Harvey Feit), and there are also no papers by anthropologists who were directly involved as expert witnesses in court actions.

Papers by Peter Douglas Elias, Joe Sawchuk and Peter Usher provide ethnographic views from the inside of work sponsored by Aboriginal or government agencies, rather than academic research institutions. In the chapter entitled "Native Perspectives on Anthropology and Public Policy," Dyck presents transcribed interviews with Ron Ignace, George Speck and Renée Taylor, First Nations people with experience in academic anthropology. Speck sees anthropology's role as "going into communities and being the observer and trying to understand a way of life that's essentially different from that of the anthropologist" (p. 184). Taylor points out that anthropologists still generalize the "Indian point of view" from encounters with a few individuals. Ignace says that real experts are important: "We need them because they know the court system or the bureaucracy or whatever it is that we have to confront in order to make our points known" (p. 167). Anthropologists, he says, "have to teach other disciplines" (pp. 171-172).

Derek Smith describes the emergences of Eskimos as a subject population, and the late Sally Weaver examines the role of the Hawthorn Report in making Canadian Indian policy. Papers by Julie Cruikshank and Colin Scott talk about the politics of ethnography and the ethnography of politics, respectively. The book should be required reading for anyone contemplating work relevant to Aboriginal public policy in Canada.

The Body Social: Symbolism, Self and Society
Anthony Synnott
London: Routledge, 1993. x + 309 pp. N.p.

Reviewer: Penny Van Esterik
York University

Synnott's book joins a growing corpus of works on the body and on the senses, drawing together these two, often disparate, literatures. Following an introduction on the embodied self, Synnott locates the study of the body and the senses within other sociological concerns. The book's greatest strength is its clarity of language and argument, combined with excellent reviews of historical and philosophical literature for each topic discussed. Its weakness, from the perspective of anthropology, is its failure to come to grips with significant theoretical controversies thrown up by the exploration of such a wide range of topics. Nevertheless, it is ideally suited as a text for sociology courses related to the body.

The first chapter reviews dominant metaphors of the body as tomb, temple, machine, self and bionic structure, with particular emphasis on classical and early Christian writings. Feminist scholars may find the second chapter, on gender, an oversimplification of very significant and complex questions that are not well integrated with the book's central concerns. Reflecting personal interests, I found the third chapter, on beauty and the face, the most interesting and provocative, and the following chapter, on hair, the least challenging.

The second half of the book concentrates on the senses, with three chapters detailing touch, smell and sight. The final chapter, on bodies and senses, purports to integrate the literatures on these two respective topics. A useful bibliography and indices complete the book.

"Liking the face and not liking the hair" captures for me the dilemma of this book: the body is cut up into its component parts, which are revealed through historical, literary and social-science texts. Bodies and senses are made so accessible that they become transparent. But the reader misses the problematizing of the body as a concept, the deconstruction of the political contexts that shape bodies literally and figuratively. Some readers may have the experience to fill these gaps with work by other authors; and students may appreciate the absence of undue complexity. However, there are many assumptions about bodies and their study that can be questioned. Neither the contradictions existing between the works of different authors, nor the perspectives of different time periods or disciplines, are highlighted or commented upon. Certainly, many of them cannot be resolved. But to refer to the "egalitarian tradition in Christianity," on page 38, and "Christian patriarchalism and even misogyny, male dominance and the subjection of women," on the next, calls for comment.

Those not familiar with anthropology could well be confused as to the discipline's contribution to the study of bodies. While Douglas is discussed, Leach's analysis of hair is dismissed in a sentence (p. 124). Instead, attention is directed to the measurement debates of early physical anthropologists (pp. 241-244) whose work has hardly contributed to the current resurgence of interest in this topic. Among the many "bodies created by anthropologists" (p. 250) are those that can be found in the rich tradition of ethnographic literature composed over the last 200 years. Here bodily practices are perhaps more easily visible.

The book concludes that we are "a long way from developing some simple grand theory of *the* body" (p. 262), but calls for an approach to the body that studies the "self as embodied." This book is an important contribution to this ongoing search for a sociology of the body.

For an Amerindian Autohistory: An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic
Georges Sioui
Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992. xxv + 125 pp. $29.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Karen Szala-Meneok
Wilfrid Laurier University

Georges Sioui offers us a probing and wonderfully provocative exploration of Amerindian history and world view. Sioui sees Amerindian autohistory as an "ethical approach to history" (p. 21) which "studies the correspondences between Amerindian and non-Amerindian sources" (p. xxii). He argues that Amerindian history is best written by Native people and others who understand Amerindian cultural values. This book's purpose is to show how these values are reflected in Euroamerican thinking and how they may play a role in helping world populations deal with global environmental issues.

Sioui begins by discussing the impact of epidemics on the new world, and examines how these epidemics impeded the ability of Native peoples to "absorb the ideological and political shock" (p. 3) of European culture and hindered their ability to share their world view with Europeans and colonists. Amerindian world view focusses on "the sacred circle of life, wherein all beings, material and immaterial, are equal and interdependent" (p. 8) and the complementarity of the earth as mother and sky or universe as father or grandfather. Sioui explores the clashes that occurred between European androcentrism and paternalism and the animism and the "gynocentrism" of many Amerindian traditions.

In addition he addresses the assumptions of cultural evolution that excluded indigenous peoples from the traditions that are now characterized by technological hyperinnovation. Using the autohistory approach, Sioui tries to reconstruct 16th-century Huron culture. He discusses epidemics, war and social upheaval, examining how Amerindians were viewed by colonists and European intellectuals of the Enlightenment. Sioui examines how the ethnographically rich yet controversial 17th-century accounts of Amerindian culture by the French Baron de Lahontan were influenced by indigenous philosophers. Sioui powerfully argues that Lahontan's work (he cast Amerindians in a favourable light) was reflected in the ideas of Enlightenment writers such as Rousseau, Voltaire and Diderot. Lahontan served as an agent for the "Americization" of European thought. He concludes by employing the techniques of autohistory to document the conditions precipitating the dispersal of his Wendat (Huron) forebearers in the hopes of empowering them and other Amerindian peoples to determine their history and their future.

This book may raise concerns among ethnographers and historians, who could take exception to his sometimes-sweeping assertions regarding a Pan-Indian philosophy. These assertions need greater substantiation. Given this book's brevity and its man-

date—laid out in its subtitle "An Essay on the Foundations of a Social Ethic"—I believe it is the author's purpose to paint, in broad strokes, some general ideas and provoke more detailed research and dialogue from his readers. His most convincing arguments are situated within his own Wendat heritage.

The book's central strengths arise from Sioui's (a Wendat historian from Quebec) artful addressing of a constellation of issues ranging from Aboriginal influences on the Enlightenment, insights about the cultural values of Amerindians during the time of contact and Amerindian notions of gender and ecological interdependency and responsibility. He moves with enviable grace between standard academic and Amerindian materials. This book is many things. It is history, anthropology, philosophy and "poetry." It is also an epistle or open letter to other Amerindians in which he declares confidently and quietly that writing their own history is possible. In the hands of a different writer this topic could easily have become a strident and bitter condemnation of the behaviour of Europeans since 1492. Rather this book is a model of reasoned reflection and rational discourse. Sioui has written in clear, concise and virtually jargon-free prose that, like poetry, powerfully evokes images and ideas and propels the reader by the power of the message and by the momentum of its stylistic form. In this regard, Sheila Fischman's translation of *Pour un autohistoire amerindienne* into English should be commended for its careful rendering of Sioui's arguments and for retaining the flavour of his distinctive literary style. Sioui offers a unique perspective on Amerindian history. He argues cogently within the confines of academic discourse while conveying the spirit of his Amerindian beliefs with power and conviction. This book is a pleasure to read and is a valuable source for students of Amerindian culture.

[*Managing Editor's note:* This review was accepted for publication before its author became a member of *Anthropologica's* editorial team.]

The Lance and the Shield: The Life and Times of Sitting Bull
Robert M. Utley
New York: Henry Holt, 1993. xvii + 413 pp. $25.00 (cloth); Camp Hill, PA: Quality Paperback Book Club, 1994. $14.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Lawrence F. Van Horn
National Park Service, Denver, Colorado
United States Department of the Interior

The author organizes his material into 24 chapters with additional sections serving as preface, prologue and epilogue. Sitting Bull (*Tatanka Iyotaka*) lived from about 1831 to 1890. Utley characterizes him as a brave, outstanding Lakota leader and a man of great generosity to his family, friends and colleagues. Utley generally succeeds in portraying Sitting Bull as an individual dealing with enormous problems during a sad but dynamic period in the history of the North American continent, characterized by cultural and physical conflict between peoples and rapid change on the frontier.

Utley is at his best in this book describing Sitting Bull's four years in Canada, 1877-81 (pp. 183-233). We are told about the essential decency and honesty of Major John M. Walsh of the North-West Mounted Police—traits that are contrasted with the intrigue at higher levels of government, involving diplomacy between Canada and the United States over the presence and status of Sitting Bull and his followers in Canada.

Sitting Bull literally witnessed the demise of the buffalo herds that supported the nomadic way of life of the 19th-century Lakota people. Utley writes persuasively about the combination of forces that drove Sitting Bull south, indicating that hunger ultimately caused him to lead what remained of his group back to the United States.

For the context of his story, Utley sketches a picture of how Lakota groups lived and moved about on the High Plains. He provides some ethnographic details such as the organization of the seven traditional tribal divisions of the Lakota people. Utley's epilogue hints at, but does not fully explain, the linkage between the shooting and killing of Sitting Bull by Indian police of the Standing Rock Reservation at his home near Grand River, South Dakota, on December 15, 1890, and the massacre 14 days later by the United States Seventh Cavalry at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, of over 250 Lakota people under the leadership of Big Foot (*Si Tanka*).

Overall, the narrative that Utley presents of Sitting Bull's life reveals a certain detachment that in my opinion makes his description and analysis of events appear somewhat dry, given his exciting subject. He might have depicted in more lively human terms the efforts of Sitting Bull to protect his people from Euro-American encroachment, to preserve Lakota culture and, finally, to muster some semblance of continued leadership on the reservation by sanctioning the Ghost Dance. We are not genuinely brought to feel the ongoing anguish for his people that Sitting Bull must certainly have experienced. To Utley's credit, however, we are brought to understand and appreciate the untenable situations in which Sitting Bull found himself.

Approaching the Past: Historical Anthropology through Irish Case Studies
Marilyn Silverman and P.H. Gulliver, eds.
New York: Columbia University Press, 1992. vi + 428 pp. $52.00 (cloth), $19.50 (paper)

Reviewer: Thomas M. Wilson
The Queen's University of Belfast

Few edited volumes in the social anthropology of Ireland can match the breadth and depth that this collection has achieved. It combines six historical case studies of local Irish society and culture with three theoretically informed overviews of the many overlapping interests and concerns of the anthropologists, geographers, sociologists and historians of Ireland. All chapters address the book's themes, which are laid out by the editors in an intelligent, comprehensive and provocative style in the volume's introduction. This introduction, written in a refreshingly personal and reflexive manner, uses the editors' experiences as ethnographers and historians in rural Ireland as an introduction to the difficulties of situating localities in Ireland within the wider contexts of regional and national history and historiography. An equally important goal of the editors, however, and perhaps a more interesting one to scholars beyond Ireland, is to use these Irish cases to explore the ways all localities have a past and a history, and the ways these histories both affect the present and are meaningful in local people's contemporary lives. In fact this volume's introduction is as clear a review of the development and present state of the art of anglophone historical anthropology as exists anywhere in the literature. It also stands as a baseline review of the value of history and ethnography in locality studies in Europe, and the benefits of historical anthropology

for comparative interdisciplinary approaches to local societies and cultures. In so doing, the editors do not shrink from either pointing out the difficulties and tensions inherent in doing research which crosses disciplinary boundaries nor do they avoid highlighting some of the weaknesses in their own, often difficult, approaches to historical ethnography (for example, when the chapters by Marilyn Silverman and Joan Vincent threatened to become overwhelming due to the insistence on adherence to chronology and holism, or when the editors reflexively wonder about the role of "power" in anthropological views of history and society).

Unlike so many other edited volumes, this meaningful introduction is followed by nine chapters which all address the themes of the volume. As editors and readers know, this is no mean feat. Although all the chapters are worthy of individual note, I choose here to single out the case studies. Joan Vincent examines the culture of dearth in a Northern Irish county during the famine year of 1847. Marilyn Silverman investigates the impact of the privatization of property on a number of levels of Irish society in the 19th century. Lawrence Taylor's overview of religious discourse in Donegal in the last century has clear relevance to contemporary religious beliefs in Ireland. P.H. Gulliver's account of the relations between shopkeepers and farmers over the last century is an important addition to our understanding of class in rural Ireland. Donna Birdwell-Pheasant also adds to debates on modern Irish society through her historical analysis of the stem family in Kerry. The geographer William Smyth examines the limits to documentary research in locality studies, as well as the need for interdisciplinary collaboration.

I do not wish to suggest that these cases, and the more general chapters by Joseph Ruane, Nicholas Rogers and Samuel Clark, have no omissions or weaknesses. One, for instance, is the rather arbitrary and unclear distinction between historical ethnography and the anthropology of history which the editors posit in their introduction. But the overall high quality of the volume may reduce such cautions to quibbling. At the least, this book provides a clever, provocative and important beginning in a more integrated approach to the study of locality, history, culture and power in Ireland. At the most, it may serve as a model for local historical and anthropological studies elsewhere in Europe, if not the world.

CONTRIBUTORS/COLLABORATEURS

Ginette Coté

Ginette Coté holds an M.A. from Laval University. She is a researcher at the Centre de Recherches sur les Services Communitaires at Laval.

Gary Granzberg

Gary Granzberg took his B.A. at the University of Minnesota and his Ph.D. at Harvard. He has conducted field research among the Hopi and the Cree of Norway House, Manitoba. He has published several articles, including, "From Ritual to Theatre in a Northern Manitoba Community," *Anthropologica* 31(1):103-120. He is currently completing a monograph on mythology and shamanism among the Norway House Cree. He was co-editor of the volume, *Television and the Canadian Indian* (University of Winnipeg Press, 1980). He is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Winnipeg.

Luc Lafrenière

Luc Lafrenière received his M.A. from Laval University. He is a Junior Program Officer with the Food and Agriculture Organization, and works in West Africa.

Pierre Maranda

Pierre Maranda received his Ph.D. from Harvard University. He is Professor of Anthropology at Laval University. He has made fieldwork trips to Malaita. The many volumes he has written and edited include the following: *Échanges et communications: Mélanges offerts à Claude Lévi-Strauss* (co-edited with Jean Pouillon [Mouton, 1970]); *The Structural Analysis of Oral Traditions* (with Elli Kongas-Maranda [University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971]); *Mythology* (Penguin Books, 1972); and *French Kinship: Structure and History* (Mouton, 1974).

Jean Michaud

Jean Michaud completed his Ph.D. at Laval. His thesis dealt with the anthropology of tourism in the context of development. Currently, he is a postdoctoral researcher at the International Development Research Centre in Ottawa and the Institute for Development Studies at the University of Sussex in England. His current research concerns social change among highland minorities in Southeast Asia. He has published articles in *The Annals of Tourism Research*, *The International Journal of Comparative Studies on Asia and Africa* and the *Internationalisch Asienforum*.

Bruce Miller

Bruce Miller received his B.A. from Brown University and his Ph.D. from Arizona State. He has conducted research on gender roles and on political and legal systems among First Nations peoples. He has done fieldwork with the Coast Salish peoples of British Columbia and Washington State. He is currently Assistant Professor of Anthro-

pology at the University of British Columbia. In the spring of 1995 he will become anglophone editor of *Culture*.

Gail Pool

Gail Pool received his B.A. from the University of California at Berkeley and his Ph.D. from McGill. He has conducted fieldwork in Grenada and New Brunswick. His monograph, *Workers' Control on the Railroad*, is published by the Canadian Committee on Labour History. Dr. Pool is Professor and Chair of the Department of Anthropology at the University of New Brunswick.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Anthropologica accepts manuscripts in French or English and requires three copies of all articles for review purposes.

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Articles accepted for publication must be revised to conform to the editorial standards of the journal, including details specified in *The Canadian Style: A Guide to Writing and Editing.* Footnotes are not normally used and should be incorporated into the text. If deemed absolutely necessary, footnotes must be placed at the end of the text in a section entitled Notes which appears before References Cited. Acknowledgements are placed at the beginning of Notes. All referencing must be meticulous. References in the text are placed in parentheses and include appropriate combinations of the author's last name, the year of publication, and page number(s); as for example: (Smith 1985), (cf. Lewis 1965), (Rouleau 1964:206), (e.g., Scheffler 1975:230), (Roy et al. 1980), or (Marshall, Simon, and Williams 1985:110-115). Plural references in the same year are distinguished by letters, while original dates of publication are distinguished by square brackets; as for example: (Trottier and LeVine 1977a, 1978b:110-115, 1979b:45,323-325) or Kroeber 1952 [1909]). Multiple references are separated by semicolons; as for example: (Desjardins 1975; Desforges 1980, 1985a; Roy 1895:42-44; see also Smith et al. 1980). If an au-

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References Cited

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1962 La pensée sauvage. Paris: Plon.
1964 Le cru et le cuit. Paris: Plon.
1967 Les structures élémentaires de la parenté. Paris: Mouton. Publication originale en 1949.

Lévy-Bruhl, Lucien
1985 How Natives Think [1910], translated by Lillian A. Clare. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Paine, Robert, ed.
1977 The White Arctic: Anthropological Essays on Tutelage and Ethnicity. Newfoundland Social and Economic Papers Number Seven. St. John's, Newfoundland: Memorial University of Newfoundland Institute of Social and Economic Research.

Radcliffe-Brown, A.R.
1950 Introduction. *In* African Systems of Kinship and Marriage, edited by A.R. Radcliffe-Brown and D. Forde, pp. 1-85. London: Oxford University Press.

Salisbury, Richard F.
1966 Structuring Ignorance: The Genesis of a Myth in New Guinea. Anthropologica 8:315-328.

Soustelle, Jacques
1955 La vie quotidienne au temps des Aztèques. Paris: Hachette.

Turner, David H., and Gavin A. Smith, eds.
1979 Challenging Anthropology: A Critical Introduction to Social and Cultural Anthropology. Toronto, Ontario: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Limited.

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