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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

HOW HEALTH CARE REALLY WORKS: THE CASE OF AN ANDEAN COMMUNITY IN SOUTHERN CUSCO, PERU

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Abstract: The author of this paper examines the type of health care delivered in Capacmarca—a peasant community of the southern Peruvian Andes. The study shows that the health-care system fails to serve the peasant population. Because of the political and cultural marginalization of the region, health professionals play an important role in the reproduction of structures of *gamonal* domination.

Résumé: L'auteure de cet article examine le genre de soins médicaux qui se pratiquent à Capacmarca, une communauté paysanne du sud andin Péruvien. L'étude démontre que le système de distribution des soins médicaux ne sert pas la population paysanne. À cause de la marginalisation politique et culturelle de la région, les travailleurs médicaux jouent un rôle important dans la reproduction des structures de domination *gamonale*.

Introduction[1]

Peru is a developing country burdened by poverty and extreme socio-economic inequalities. In recent years, these conditions have been exacerbated by the crippling political turmoil of the 1980s (Poole and Rénique 1992, Strong 1992). Infectious diseases, malnutrition, high rates of infant mortality and premature deaths are serious issues for Andean peasants who are among the poorest in Latin America.[2] Starting in the 1960s, Peruvian governments have attempted to bring public health-care services to rural communities. However, their state agencies have failed to bring substantial delivery benefits to the highland population (Caballero 1980).

In this paper, I would like to address the question of health-care delivery in the Andean region of Peru in terms of: (1) the political economy of health within the context of changing agricultural relations, and (2) the relationship between peasants and higher levels of local society—including the landed

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élite (*gamonales*, Sp.) and the formal authorities. By contextualizing the health-care system within structures of unequal distribution of power and privileges, I intend to demonstrate that the socio-political environment of agrarian transformations can negatively affect peasant health issues (Dewey 1989; Leatherman 1994; Luerssen 1994).

Special attention will be given to the residents of the upland district of Capacmarca in the province of Chumbivilcas, Department of Cusco. This province belongs to the *provincias altas* (Sp.) or "high provinces" of southern Peru. Since consensus exists among scholars that the *provincias altas* represent an identifiable cultural and historical region, all parts of which face similar economic and ethnic obstacles (see Poole 1994), it is my hope that the argument presented here can provide a basis for understanding some of the challenges faced by other Andean communities in southern Peru. The data for this paper were collected during several periods of field work which I undertook in 1983, 1984 and 1986.

Ethnographic Profile of Capacmarca

The district of Capacmarca is made up of five recognized communities[3] and various settlements or *anexos* (Sp.).[4] It lies in a *quebrada* (Sp., Andean valley) at some 3000 metres above sea level and is surrounded by bleak and cold semi-desert punas. The district itself is thinly peopled with no more than 4350 inhabitants (OREC 1984:30). Although Capacmarca benefits from a mild climate and is considered by local residents to be among the most fertile valleys of the province, it is one of the least developed and most isolated districts of southern Peru (Boza Ricalde 1955; Monje 1985).

In the southern Andes, survival is precarious and highly dependent on preserving the ecosystem. This vast and rugged territory of mountain ranges and upland plateaus, interspersed with fertile valleys, represents a formidable challenge to human occupation. For centuries, agropastoralism has been the Andean response to a set of environmental constraints (Alberti and Mayer 1974; Brush 1977; Guillet 1983; Watters 1994, among others). In Pre-Colombian times, when food security was a core principle of social organization, the Andes and their rich flora provided a more than adequate diet to their inhabitants. Some remnants of biodiversification could still be found in Capacmarca.[5] However, the current trend shows a loss of this abundant genetic diversity in the area.

Environmental problems are symptomatic of the bleak economic and political situation of the district. First, the region is geographically isolated from provincial centres. Access to it is difficult and the environment inhospitable. As a consequence, infrastructural development has been less than adequate. Transportation is particularly trying. Landslides, rains or mechanical breakdowns make travel hazardous and cause lengthy delays. No motorized trans-

portation goes to Capacmarca during the rainy season when all local roads are impassable. This isolation prevents physicians from serving the district; it also hampers patients' access to hospital treatment facilities.

Second, remoteness is not only physical but also political. During Viceroy Toledo's colonial rule in the 1570s, *reducción* (Sp.) villages were created as encampments of Indians but not as potential urban centres (Gade 1994). Population dispersion became another reason for isolation. Because of the poor location of many *reducciones*, people tended to settle outside of these Toledan villages. This pattern is evident in the district of Capacmarca where the nucleated settlement is located at 3565 metres above sea level, but the majority of the population is dispersed outside the central village in a number of smaller groupings including Cochapata, Chancaymarca, Moccojahua, Cotoña and Chiripa.

Isolation was exacerbated in the 19th century when Chumbivilcas was excluded from the international wool trade market. Consequently, the railroad line between Arequipa and Cusco never crossed the province. Excluded from the world trade, Chumbivilcas oriented its economy toward regional markets with a focus on cattle rearing for beef production to feed coastal cities.[6] At the end of the 19th century, increased cattle ranching encouraged the further entrenchment of the *hacienda* (Sp.) system. While colonial *haciendas* found in the area date back to the 1600s and 1700s when Spain, together with the Catholic Church, granted land to a small number of Spanish families, the republican *haciendas* emerged as a regional response to domestic demands for foodstuff. Their expansion was at the expense of local native communities. These private estates undermined the traditional subsistence economy and subjugated communities to the commercial sector of the regional economy.

Hacienda expansion, political isolation and the uneven penetration of peripheral capitalism, due to the exclusion of the province from the international trade market, gave rise to *gamonalismo* (Sp.). *Gamonalismo* is a notoriously violent form of "*misti*" (or *mestizo*, Sp.) domination in the *provincias altas*[7] which, in Chumbivilcas, gave rise to a culture of violence based on ethnic and class differences (Poole 1988, 1994). This cultural expression of class domination has functioned as an effective means of sealing off the region from outside influence since its social reproduction depends on the extra-legal use of violence and the monopoly of local state office (Gose 1994; Paponnet-Cantat 1994).

As a remnant of the *hacienda* agro-economic system, Capacmarca's land ownership is now disproportionately distributed along class and ethnic lines. Subsistence peasants or *campesinos* (Sp.) are landless or landpoor; they make a living from farming tiny parcels of overworked land or from grazing small herds on exhausted pasture. Scarce household resources and limited cash flow force many of them to seek seasonal work in cities such as Arequipa or Cusco.

Poverty prevents peasants from investing in the infrastructure of their productive system. The cutting of wood for cooking has denuded the land; the shortening of the fallow period on marginal lands has depleted the soil of its basic nutrients; overgrazing by non-Andean herds has led to desertification; the lack of hygienic facilities has contaminated ground waters. In other words, the environment of Capacmarca has reached its limits, which means that agricultural output is very low and conducive to malnutrition.

In spite of the 1969 land reform, *gamonales* continue to own relatively large estates. Their access to vast expenses of prime land is typical of this hacienda-dominated southern region where they have responded to state intervention by escalating their criminal activities to maintain their political dominance (Paponnet-Cantat 1994).

In 1984—a decade and a half after the land reform—a re-peasantization process was underway in the district (Paponnet-Cantat 1990). Peasants had received some land but neither capital nor technical assistance services. State credits had not been made available to them to overcome the decapitalization occurring on many estates before expropriation (Powelson and Stock 1987). In addition, early in the 1970s the state centralized its planning operation and controlled domestic food pricing through the establishment of Empresa Publica de Servicios Agropecuarios (EPSA). The government-imposed consumer prices for food crops such as maize, potatoes and wheat were insufficient to cover the costs of food production and transport. As a result, Andean subsistence farming became increasingly subordinate to the industrial sector. Low food prices meant low wages and a consequent depreciation of the value of rural labour (García Sayán and Eguren 1980; Gonzáles de Olarte 1979; Maletta 1979; Montoya 1971). This situation has led some observers to comment that "peasants were released from being serfs of the *hacienda*-owners only to become serfs of the state" (Powelson and Stock 1987:202). The case study discussed below reflects what I encountered in the mid-1980s among agrarian reform beneficiaries involved in subsistence cultivation.

Health Conditions

High morbidity and mortality rates are always significant indicators of poverty. In Capacmarca, the average life expectancy for peasants was only 40 years in the mid-1980s and more than one quarter of the deaths occurred before the age of two. Infant mortality, which is one of the indices most sensitive to conditions of hunger and poverty, was reported to constitute 67 percent of the deaths in 1984. A very high mortality rate among children has been a common pattern in the Andes as other studies suggest (Mitchell 1991). Thus, the small family size (five members), which tended to characterize *campesino* households, should not be wrongly interpreted as implying a low fertility rate. Rather, it is more accurate to interpret it as a result of high infant mortality.

In the district, death in the first year of life could have been attributable to a number of causes. Low birth weight was common. Newborns suffered from a frequent incidence of diarrhoea attacks. Typhoid fever, whooping cough and pneumonia were widespread childhood illnesses. In the mid-1980s, communicable diseases such as tuberculosis were yet to be eradicated.[8] In fact, the incidence of tuberculosis was alarming among Peruvian children nationwide. For instance, in 1985 the town of Huarí in Ancash lost some 250 children from that disease (SUR 1985:67).

The causes of poor health and short life expectancy were varied. Insufficient land combined with a cold and humid climate led to low agricultural production. The dumping of garbage and human wastes into the fields contaminated the water supply of the community, causing severe intestinal parasitic diseases.

Because of the difficulty of obtaining sufficient fuel, women did not boil the water used for making *chicha* (Qu.)—an Andean brew of potato and maize which contains essential vitamins and minerals (Bejarano 1950; Super 1988:77).[9] As a result, *chicha* frequently caused diarrhoea and stomach ailments that could be fatal. *Watia* (Qu.)—the baking of potatoes in the ground without any container in order to save fuel—was also dangerous. The death of a young man after drinking *chicha* and eating *watia* during my field work in 1984 gave evidence of this fact.

Malnutrition was widespread. Protein deficiency was particularly severe among the peasant class. *Campesinos* tended to survive on maize, potatoes and beans. Eggs were sold to *mestizos*. Cattle and sheep were raised but often lost to rustlers who roamed the countryside and terrorized the peasantry (Paponnet-Cantat 1994; Poole 1994). Beef and mutton were rarely consumed apart from special occasions. Guinea pigs were the main source of animal protein since they were prolific and easy to feed.[10] Dairy products were only for the richest peasants who owned enough milch cows. The soil that supported the vegetation consumed by their milk and meat yields were extremely low. Protein deficiency was probably responsible for the failure of peasant children to achieve physical stature as well as for their reduced resistance to infection.[11]

Although respiratory infections such as pneumonia tended to affect young children most, they also killed elderly people. Other physical ailments likely to affect the adult population were rheumatism, goitre and cirrhosis of the liver. Goitre or thyroid enlargement was of some significance among South American natives and seemed related to a defective iodine metabolism (Paolucci et al. 1971). Cirrhosis was common due to the excessive consumption of *chicha* and *aguardiente* (Sp.)—a sugar-cane alcoholic beverage. Diseases in Capacmarca were related to poverty and expressed the pathology of a social system characterized by glaring class and ethnic differences.

Recent Agrarian Transformations

The military government of General Juan Velasco Alvarado (1968-75), which ousted the Belaunde civilian government from power in 1968, brought profound structural changes in Peruvian society. An agrarian reform with extensive expropriation was the main thrust of its radical program.[12] This sweeping reform represented an effort by the military more fully to integrate rural communities into Peruvian society, to weaken rural *gamonalismo* and, in the process, to strengthen economic growth and the role of the state over the totality of Peruvian territory.[13]

The agrarian reform was followed by an educational reform and the continuation of the national health plan which had started in the early 1960s. Both programs were extended to the far reaches of the highlands where previous periodic attempts to improve health and education had been traditionally negligible. Together these initiatives demonstrated a political will to promote rural community-development programs in the poorest regions of the country.

At the end of the 1970s, however, national resources were shrinking considerably. Peru remained heavily dependent on external aid and on imports of food to feed its people. As a result, the government became the largest borrower among developing countries (Clinton 1986).[14] A deep socio-economic recession affected Peru in the mid-1970s. It intensified in 1982 and was followed by increased political turmoil. All these factors further impoverished the highlands (Reid 1985). Hence, a serious lack of funds prevented adequate infrastructural development. Staff training for newly built rural health centres also suffered from insufficient funding. Furthermore, Peruvian professionals were reluctant to work in isolated villages where wages were meagre and living conditions extremely challenging.

Not only did the downturn in Peru's economy hinder the delivery of health care,[15] but the type of model chosen by the government was prejudicial to the peasantry. For instance, it requested that peasants pay cash for health-care services which encouraged further monetization of the local economy. This showed how unaware politicians were of the realities of frontier areas where cash was scarce and the lack of it could seriously hamper peasants' access to biomedical remedies (Oths 1994).[16]

Role of the Health-Care Worker

The dispensary of Capacmarca was built in the late 1970s with free peasant labour. No financial resources were made available to rural communities for such facilities and no licensed doctors ever paid a visit to the district. Only two Belgian nuns from Sicuani (Canchis Province) made monthly rounds to Chumbivilcas over a period of two years. Once they stopped coming, the government sent a trained health practitioner, called a *sanitario* (Sp.), to work at the centre.

Examining the behaviour of the *sanitario* in his daily interactions with peasants provides some insight on how the heath-care system operates at the micro-level. The assumption here is that the ways in which this agent of the state allocates resources and delivers health care mask ethnic and class attitudes that not only prevent effective medical care delivery to the peasantry but also maintain socio-political differences.

In 1984, the *sanitario* (whom I refer to as Juan) was a newcomer to the area. He was employed by the government to work as a full-time paramedical at the clinic. I was told that his salary was high by local standards. His monthy earnings apparently amounted to 470 000 *soles* which would have made him among the highest paid individuals in the village. This *mestizo* was approximately 30 years of age, married with two children. His formal education included completion of grade 5 and one month of practical training in the city of Arequipa.

One of his main functions was to promote medical consumerism through the selling of drugs, the giving of injections (usually penicillin that he had in large supply) and the dispensing of birth and death certificates. The use of money was essential. Biomedical treatment would not have been available to those without the means to pay for the visit. A bribe in goods was regularly added to any peasant fees. Mandatory gifts could be one-year-old guinea pigs (once he requested a contribution of three), chickens or a fat pig. Although illegal, these "gifts" were within the bounds of local patronage practices. One Sunday morning, a woman showed up at the dispensary after her husband had severely beaten her—abuse which had been going on in that family for at least five years. The *sanitario* charged her a costly fee for the consultation. The next morning, she came to his home to deliver maize as an expression of "gratitude."

In a socially differentiated environment where clientelism is influential in the acquisition of scarce resources, gifts regulate the receiving of medical services which otherwise would have been blocked out. The following is a first-person account by Juan of an event which took place during one of his journeys throughout the countryside:

> I was riding to Capacmarca when I noticed that peasants were making cheese in their home. I wanted one for free but they refused. At first, I thought "they must be thinking that I am a teacher." But even after I told them that I was their *sanitario*, they still refused, insisting that they would exchange their cheese in return for maize only. Before leaving the farm I noticed that the wife was pregnant. I thought that sooner rather than later they would have to come and see me. Then, I would find a way to be repaid; they would have to beg me for my services (*suplicar,* Sp.). Without fail, shortly afterwards, the husband came to my house for a birth certificate. He had not brought the baby with him. I forced him to go back all the way to his house and fetch the child. When they arrived hours later, the baby was crying and sick. I was pleased that I had my revenge. (Translation mine)

Health-care expenditures represented a heavy burden for peasant families whose resources were extremely limited. Fees were pricey and well beyond the means of the peasantry. For instance, a young girl was brought to the medical office after having been bitten severely on the cheek by a horse. To change her dressing, the *sanitario* charged the sum of 5500 *soles* one day and 8300 *soles* another time. To put these fees in perspective, it must be stressed that in 1984 the average wage for day agricultural laborers was approximately 1500 *soles* for a man and 1000 *soles* for a woman.

The *sanitario* was untrained to treat acute diseases. As noted previously, his training time had been extremely short due most likely to an emphasis on quantity rather than quality of paramedics on the part of the government. Not only was Juan's practical training limited but his knowledge of germ theory non-existent. This inability to understand asepsis is best illustrated by the following observations. In 1984, he launched a vaccination campaign and gave vaccines to 40 children, using one single syringe. Then he organized another campaign to collect sputa for tuberculosis in the local schools. After spending days collecting three specimens per school child to send to the hospital in Sicuani, he piled them up on the window sill in his office, left them exposed to the sun and, a month later, took them to Sicuani for culture.

Juan's medical services were not only questionable but dangerous. For instance, most of the drugs he used had surpassed their stipulated shelf life including recently arrived medicines from Sicuani which had been "dumped" in the countryside. Despite limited medical training, Juan prescribed medicines as a doctor would and, even worse, used tablets as change. For instance, he usually charged 300 *soles* for a birth certificate. I witnessed the father of a baby giving him a 500 *soles* bill, and receiving in return two tablets. Juan always cited the shortage of small bills in the community as an excuse for keeping the change. On another occasion, a peasant came to the dispensary with his baby who was running a high fever. The *sanitario* squarely refused to examine the child, stating that he had no injection which otherwise he would have routinely given. He then prescribed two tablets and charged the father 200 *soles* for them.

Juan liked to be blunt and boastful about his pilfering. For instance, he told me that he had kept for himself five of the ten food aid packages that nurses from Santo Tómas had left to assist children suffering from malnutrition. I heard repeated complaints from peasants over his constant "borrowing" of their horses to go to Sicuani in spite of the fact that he was well aware that horses were crucial to peasants for cropping, threshing and transport. Tension over this matter developed after the *sanitario* lost a couple of mounts and did not bother repaying their owners. This, they felt, added insult to their injury.

One area of incompatibility between Juan and his *campesino* patients was that each party relied on different ethnic values toward illness and medical

treatment. Juan showed only disdain for traditional healing practices, denigrating their contribution and discarding them on the grounds of deep-seated ethnic prejudices, i.e., they were too "*indio*" (Sp.). For Juan, to rely on traditional Andean knowledge was considered a statement of personal identification with being Indian. In Capacmarca, his wife resented her time in the community and made it public that her husband was seeking a post in Sicuani because they were not "*campesinos*" but "city dwellers." This attitude was reflected in Juan's high regard for biomedications symbolizing "progress" and "development." Thus, he constantly pushed for their consumption although local peasants lacked any background knowledge of the workings of Western drugs.

Campesinos, on the other hand, were not ready to abandon traditional practices for modern medicine. Although it appeared increasingly difficult to find a "good" *curandero* (Sp., curer), people expressed to me their wish to have access to Andean healers whose cultural models for treatment were derived from a common understanding of the world.

In the Andes, healing used to be part of a cultural complex well integrated into a spiritual system of beliefs (Bastien 1978, 1987; Rowe 1946; Simmons 1971). Good health referred to both the moral and the physical constitution of a person.[17] Andean medicine emphasized harmony. Health depended on an equilibrium between body and spirit: between the symbolic and the material aspects of life. Sickness derived from humoral imbalance whose constituting elements were air, blood and fat. These combined improperly could cause an excess of hot or cold in the body.

There was a strong connection between physical and moral principles that encouraged people to re-establish a healthy relationship with the land, the community and the earth shrines (Bastien 1987:12). At the core of this ideological system was the notion that the natural environment was inseparable from the social and spiritual orders: well-being required a healthy balance between the self and the natural as well as the supernatural worlds.

Medicine and magic were interdependent. Treatment included the reading of coca leaves, guinea-pig dissecting and the use of herbal remedies. All medicinal plants held magical power and local people, in particular the *kallawayas* (Qu., Andean travelling herbalists), were the custodians of crucial knowledge about their plants.[18]

These traditional ideas began to decline with the advent of modern medicine in the Andes. After 1930, improved transportation in the area enabled medical doctors and missionaries to make their way into the remotest regions of the highlands. Through their work, they started to inculcate doubts into peasants' minds about the powers of traditional practitioners (Bastien 1978:9, 1987:11). At the national levels, governments also supported a model of health-care delivery which favoured biomedicine at the expense of culturally

adapted remedies more familiar to local populations. Governing élites rejected medical pluralism in the rural sector on the assumption that traditional healing methods would be incompatible with economic progress (Gesler 1986:57).

The situation in Capacmarca is not unusual; other observers have reported similar cases in the highlands. Luerssen (1994), who conducted her research in the neighbouring department of Puno, is worth quoting here:

> Most of the professional staff are in their first year out of medical school. Having been trained in major urban centres, they are often unprepared for and unenthusiastic about working in rural sites. Serious cultural and class differences frequently impede proper provision of care. . . . Serious discrimination often affects medical treatment as well as the way staff personally deal with and talk about their poorer patients. (Ibid.:382)

Simmons (1971:58) also reports that in Tiraque, Bolivia, "individuals and groups who purport to help the peasants are cheating them; the peasants are not blind to this, and attitudes of suspicion and withdrawal are reinforced." He adds, "This is highly evident in the field of health."[19]

Andean environments that can accommodate changes such as the one described by Crandon-Malamud (1991) enable medical pluralism to offer political alternatives for the negotiation of identities. A similar situation does not exist in Capacmarca where social relations are rigidly established. Medicine in such a context is one powerful mechanism for maintaining political hegemony and social differences.

Gamonalismo and Health Care

In a country like Peru, inequality in the distribution of health-care resources reflects the hierarchical nature of social relations at the grass-roots level. Power relations in Capacmarca have remained profoundly shaped by a regional breed of violent latifundism/minifundism constructed around the ideological and economic interests of the *gamonal* elite (see Poole 1994:97-132). I would argue that the two-tiered health system found in the community was constructed around the *gamonal* power structure of local society.

In the 1980s, after the implementation of the land reform, Chumbivilcano *gamonales* fought back to retain their hold on political and social power. In nearby Colquemarca, Poole (1994:110) mentions the case of one powerful *gamonal* rumoured to have been responsible for a mass grave uncovered on the *hacienda* after its appropriation in the agrarian reform. In Capacmarca, many sold off their animals—a decapitalization that would have a long-term impact on local herds; others held back their best land but most became more than ever involved in livestock theft—a criminal activity which was carried out with the complete support from local authorities. Furthermore, in their search for new strategies and identities, *gamonal* families took up posts in the police force and the educational system (Gose 1994; Paponnet-Cantat 1990,

1994). Such positions enabled the landed élite to maintain their dominance over the peasantry and to preserve the foundation of the cultural identity that had supported this class since the end of the last century.

The way the rural élite exercised their raw power in the educational system was a deeply wounding experience for their pupils: absenteeism was overlooked; student labour was used by the teachers for personal matters; sex was extorted by male teachers from female students. The death of a 10-year-old peasant boy tragically exemplifies their coercive superiority.

It happened in 1983. Three schoolteachers (two were from *gamonal* families; the third was the son of a police officer) were going to Cusco through the town of Accha. They were Clara, her husband, their five-year-old daughter and one of their colleagues. To reach Accha from Capacmarca one has to walk for nine to ten steady hours under a harsh sun as the journey is a long and arduous trek across the puna and there are no trees to provide shade.

A 10-year-old boy, native of Capacmarca and the pupil of one of them, met with the group on the way to selling his chickens at the weekly market in Accha. Right away the youngster was told by the teachers to carry the little girl on his back. The midday heat was suffocating as it always is in the *altiplano* (Sp.) The boy who was carrying the girl was desperately tired. He lost his chickens and repeatedly complained of exhaustion, but to no avail. Finally, he fell to the ground and was left behind by the teachers who continued their journey to Cusco. A rider from Capacmarca found the boy and carried him on his horse to Accha. Upon arrival, the young boy was in shock, sweating and with a high fever. In Accha, he was taken to the police station to receive medical attention. That night, the policeman on duty paid no attention to him and went drinking with his friends. When he came back to the station at 3:00 a.m., the child was dead. The Chief of Police in Capacmarca, siding with his *compadres* (Sp.)—the teachers—asked the police in Accha to state on the death certificate that the child had died of pneumonia. The following week a general assembly was held in the community during which *comuneros* (Sp.) accused schoolteachers of abusing children. An agreement was reached to settle the case by paying the youngster's parents the sum of 150 000 *soles* (US$100.00).

When it came to health-care issues, the local élite considered them to be a class privilege, and thus welcomed the coming of a modern practitioner which would enable them to gain access to scarce health-care resources. On the other hand, the *sanitario*, as a newcomer to the district, depended upon them for support as he wished to belong to their social circle. For instance, he succeeded in obtaining a teaching post for his wife in Chancaymarca despite the fact that she was not a qualified teacher and had no previous experience in education. During my stay in the village, I saw Juan spending most of his afternoons socializing with the police and teachers. Seeking social recognition and acceptance among the élite seemed to have been one of his greatest concerns.

Health-care practitioners like Juan, in the end, are caught up in a grim situation: geographical remoteness, lack of sufficient training and little or no funding to run their practices. Amid an atmosphere of insecurity and inequality, they look out for themselves as many others do around them in such a harsh socio-political environment.

Although independent from *gamonalismo*, health-care delivery in Capacmarca becomes an integral part of this system because power holders such as regional *gamonales* increasingly control the agencies of the state apparatus at the local level. Thus this case study demonstrates that medicine reconstructs, within the medical context, those social relations that pertain elsewhere.

To sum up, the study of health-care delivery in peasant communities of the Southern Peruvian Andes benefits from an ethnographic perspective which delineates structures of power at the local level. This ethnographic approach allows one both to rethink the impact of social classes, ethnic groups and, as Butt (1994) mentions, gender relations on the operations of state institutions and to understand how health care can feed upon and reproduce social inequalities.

Conclusion

Given Peru's current domestic situation, it is difficult to foresee any rapid health-care improvement. The national economy is in an alarming state of decline. There is a heavy foreign debt, hyperinflation, shrinking salaries, unemployment and a widening gap between rich and poor. The political scene is even worse. After 16 years of Sendero Luminoso's (Communist Party of Peru, Shining Path or PCP-SL) violence together with that of the military, Peru is faced with a counter-insurgency state headed by President Fujimori. Alberto Fujimori's authoritarian "democracy," combined with his radical economic "shock" program along the lines favoured by the International Monetary Fund, have had a direct impact on the health of the Peruvian poor. Poole and Rénique (1992:23-24) observe: "Between 1970 and 1990, cases of chronic malnutrition jumped from 985 700 to 5 753 600 out of a total population of 22 million." According to them, 75 percent of highland children under five are malnourished. Recently, many diseases have reappeared, among them cholera with 344 564 cases being reported in May 1992 to the World Health Organization. In 1992, Strong made the following statement, "Cholera symbolized Peru's social, economic, and even psychological malaise. The disease bred on the country's hunger and rottenness. And like the war it partnered, cholera victimized mostly those whom the state had long ago abandoned" (ibid.:191). Although grass-roots organizations have emerged and NGOs have tried to respond to some of the most urgent needs, all are threatened by Peru's economic crisis and political violence. Hardship for millions of poor Peruvians is likely to continue for a very long time.

Notes

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the VIII International Conference on Traditional Medicine held in St. John's, Newfoundland, from August 18-21, 1994.
2. According to the Population Reference Bureau, in the early 1980s Peru was fourth on the short-life expectancies list for the hemisphere behind Bolivia (50), Haiti (52) and Nicaragua (56).
3. Andean peasant communities are corporate entities made up of families who share a tradition of communal rights to cultivation and pasturage in exchange for the fulfillment of a number of obligations.
4. Throughout this paper I will use (Sp.) meaning Spanish word and (Qu.) meaning Quechua word.
5. In the district, one encounters at least nine varieties of maize (*Zea mays*) which was the major cereal, five types of barley (*Herdeum vulgare*), several of wheat (*Triticum spp.*), fourteen different types of potatoes (*Solanum tuberosum*) which was the most important of the tubers, six of oca (*Oxalis tuberosa*), eight types of bean (*Phaseolus vulgaris*)—a nitrogen-fixing legume, and four of *tarwi* (*Lupinus mutabilis*) and *añu* (*Tropaelum tuberosum*). Such a gamut of local cultivars per species indicates biodiversification which also functions as an Andean farming strategy to reduce the impact of weather fluctuation damages on yield production (Brush 1977; Gade 1975).
6. Statistical data confirm that in 1947 Chumbivilcas was the leading cattle producing region of the department of Cusco with production being at 18 percent (54 700 head of cattle) and was third for sheep with 12 percent (145 600) after Espinar (25 percent) and Canas (13 percent) (Murillo Valencia, 1968:33).
7. For an excellent discussion on the elements that constitute *gamonalismo* in southern Peru, see Poole (1988)
8. It should be mentioned that this disease was not widespread among the native population prior to conquest (Salzano and Callegari-Jacques 1988). However, some studies suggest that it occurred in southern Peru before the Spaniards' arrival (Allison et al. 1973).
9. *Chicha* drinking has always played a crucial role in Andean social and ceremonial gatherings. The religious role of *chicha* has been noted by many scholars such as Murra 1960; Rostworowski de Diez Canseco 1977; Rowe 1946.
10. Apparently, Peruvians eat an estimated 70 million guinea pigs each year (Vietmeyer 1985:28).
11. Andean people are of short stature. They average from five feet six to five feet ten (Markham 1973:203).
12. The Cuban revolution in 1959 and the resulting Alliance for Progress in 1961 provided the impetus for agrarian reform programs throughout Latin America in the 1960s and 1970s. However, the kinds of reform programs promoted by the Alliance for Progress did not challenge the political and economic structures in place and thus were far less radical than the Peruvian Agrarian reform of 1969.
13. A large body of literature exists on the social and economic reforms of General Velasco Alvarado. Among the most comprehensive we find Booth and Sorj (1983); Figueroa (1984). Fitzgerald (1979); Lowenthal (1975).
14. Peru's foreign debt was $U.S.737 millions in 1968 but had reached $U.S.8032 millions in 1979 (Clinton 1986:35).
15. Watters (1994:179) observes that by the late 1970s the health situation in Peru had worsened. Per capita calorie consumption of low- and middle-income families declined and the incidence of typhoid, malaria and dysentery associated with poverty increased during this period.
16. Andean researchers have indicated that the lack of financial resources can seriously constrain peasants' use of biomedical treatment (Bastien 1987; Kroeger 1982). Interestingly, Oths (1994) argues that critical economic times may inhibit but not prohibit the use of biomedicine among Andean peasants.

17. For a discussion of Inca conceptions of illness and death, see Classen 1993:chap. 6.
18. For a listing of Andean plants and their use, see Cobo 1964 [1653].
19. Although I would not like to create the impression that all Peruvian *sanitarios* are unethical, I wish to point out that, from my own experience in the area, this is a widespread phenomenon in the highlands.

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THE *RE*-INVENTION OF TRADITION AND THE MARKETING OF CULTURAL VALUES[1]

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Abstract: The concept of the invention of tradition has gained widespread acceptance and innumerable applications. However, consideration of the re-invention of tradition, particularly in the scope of material studies, has received minimal coverage. Increased production and marketing of Native-made "dream catchers" provides an excellent example. Derived from traditional baby charms no longer made to protect the developing infant, as a re-invented tradition this form is now rendered as earrings and ornamental items for car and home. For Natives, dream catchers serve a dual purpose in providing a cash return while simultaneously "marketing" Native values and spirituality.

Résumé: Inventer la tradition, ce concept est de plus en plus reconnu et a de nombreuses applications. Cependant, toute considération portant sur la ré-invention de la tradition, et en particulier dans l'optique des études sur les objets fabriqués, n'a reçu qu'une faible publicité. Un très bon exemple de cela est la production et la diffusion des «attrape-rêves» (dream catchers) créés par les populations indigènes. Inspirés des amulettes traditionnelles destinées à protéger les nouveaux-nés, ces objets connaissent une nouvelle existence sous forme de boucles d'oreilles et d'ornements destinés à la voiture ou à la maison. Pour les amérindiens, ces «dream catchers» ont une double utilité, ils fournissent une source de revenus tout en faisant la promotion de la spiritualité et des valeurs indigènes.

In their 1983 edited volume, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger present the concept of inventing tradition. According to Hobsbawm in his introductory article in that volume, " 'Traditions' which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983:1). Furthermore, he remarks that in a broad sense invented tradition "includes both 'traditions' actually invented,

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constructed and formally instituted and those emerging in a less traceable manner within a brief and datable period—a matter of a few years perhaps—and establishing themselves with great rapidity" (ibid.). Significant, too, is the deliberate inculcation of certain norms and values with an implied historic past. While this concept has gained widespread acceptance and innumerable applications within anthropological circles, consideration of the *re*-invention—that is, a re-introduction and expansive adoption of an actual historic and ethnographically documented tradition, particularly in the scope of material culture studies—has received minimal coverage.

I became intrigued with this concept when I perceived the ubiquity of dream catchers that were being offered for sale from coast to coast in Canada and the United States, from as far north as Attiwapiskat on James Bay and at least as far south as Denver, Colorado, in the United States (Brasser 1994). These circular objects filled with a spider-web-like netting are being produced in various sizes and from a range of materials in Victoria, British Columbia,[2] in the west and Halifax, Nova Scotia, in the east, with countless other locations in between. Dream catchers are being made by Native artisans and marketed through mail-order catalogues,[3] sold in airports, souvenir stands, commercially run museum shops and Native craft stores.[4] On a more personal level, individual artists vend their products at powwows,[5] craft fairs and tourist outlets. More recently, specialized craft kits have been made available to "crafters" in general, irrespective of their heritage.[6] Marketing strategies are targeted—intentionally or unintentionally—so that any person, anywhere, in any income bracket, whether traveller, art collector or at-home shopper, has ready access to dream catchers.

Fashioned as pairs of earrings or single ornamental items, dream catchers range in size from less than an inch to about a foot in diameter.[7] Variation in size correlates with their intended purpose: whether they are to be worn, hung from the rear-view mirror of a vehicle or displayed in homes, offices or collections. Materials vary from the more traditional indigenous ones that use willow for the circular frame and sinew for the netting to contemporary substitutes of plastic and synthetic sinew. Items intended as jewellery are wrought from sterling silver and silver-coloured metals. Decorative elements on larger ones may include a single feather attached to the centre, hide wrappings and/or fringes, tassels of beads and feathers suspended from the frame or tiny beads caught into the netting, reminiscent of the dewdrops caught in a spider's web. A singular example has a bear carved from bone, polished and then suspended on the netted surface. Furthermore, regionally associated materials are incorporated into items crafted in specific locales, as, for example, sterling silver and turquoise featured in the jewellery forms originating from the American Southwest.[8] In all instances the netted infill presents a uniformity which suggests a formulaic mathematical precision for easy replication.

As a marketable item, dream catchers meet the accepted requirements of souvenir art: small, portable and non-perishable, as well as being hand-crafted and sold at reasonable prices (cf. Graburn 1976; Hail 1991; Krech 1991). In addition, they are considered functional, for they can be worn, used as ornaments or serve as a potential source of well-being;[9] protect a vehicle operator; shield computers from viruses; filter messages; and validate a traveller's trip. Their exoticism as material reminders of "the other" renders them desirable as gifts; moreover, dream catchers tangibly signify and project—at least to the non-Native audience—the collector's empathy and a presumed understanding of Native culture. Larger-scale art pieces, created as the consequence of dreams experienced by the artist, and thus manifesting a further significance of creativity and mystical experience, reiterate the purchaser's knowledge and appreciation of art, especially Native art.

Most significantly, each dream catcher is presented with a "story," "legend" or "myth"—either in printed form or given orally by the vendor. The legends are essentially similar in meaning with only minor differences in content. A sample reads as follows:

> The legend of the Dream Catcher originated when the child of a Woodland chief fell ill and could not sleep due to bad dreams and fever. The Medicine woman of the tribe formed a circle from a willow branch and with sinew, borrowed the pattern from our brother the spider who weaves a web. The dream catcher was hung over the bed of the child and soon the fever broke and the child slept peacefully. It is said that at night, when dreams visit, they are caught in the web and only the good dreams find their way and filter down through the feather. When the morning sun comes, the bad dreams that are caught in the web are burnt away. The good dreams, now knowing the path, visit again on other nights.

At the conclusion of this particular version we are transported back from a simulated and atemporal mythical past to the present,[10] and an intimacy between producer and purchaser is invoked by this statement: "With our warm hearts, we at the Pine Tree Native Centre of Brant, made this especially for you. May your dream catcher bring everything it is supposed to."

Furthermore, an Ojibwa variant of the legend stresses a Native belief that "dreams have magical qualities [with] the ability to change or direct their path in Life." Another rendition acknowledges that "Dreams are the messengers between the spirit world and everyday life. Bad dreams are caught in the dreamcatcher's web and good dreams escape through the centre to become reality." Yet another version demonstrates an awareness of current marketing ethics and environmental issues with the inclusion of the following message which states, "These reproductions are made of willow, imitation sinew, and feathers of assorted *non-endangered birds*." Thus, the message tells us that renewable resources are utilized, implicitly reassures animal rights activists that

no animal suffered to provide sinew and addresses the concerns of naturalists and environmentalists against the wanton killing or mutilation of scarce avian breeding populations. Concomitantly, the list of materials also intimates these as the customary (that is, "traditional") choices used generation after generation.

Together these objects and legends conjure up romanticized images of cultural ideals and traditions; of a people intimately in tune with nature; of a communication between the spirit world and the human world; of a simpler past when the world was suffused with universal love and concern for one other; and the implied promise that this will again become a reality. I sense that the stereotypical image of the "Noble Savage" (cf. Berkhofer 1979:73-80, 86-91) presented by this contemporary advocacy is being marketed by Native artists and entrepreneurs as a means to educate the non-Native public of the strengths of Native spirituality and values. For the Native makers and consumers, dream catchers also exemplify and tangibly acknowledge their cultural values, their beliefs in the revelations and efficacious nature of dreams and, ultimately, their personal identity.

It is through this conscious marketing that the layered messages contained in these "traditional" items are disseminated to Natives and non-Natives alike. As a consequence, these objects have become icons of Native beliefs and spirituality[11] and, as such, have been appropriated both by white artists to project a romantic mysticism of shamanism and by individuals who wish to project a newly discovered awareness of their Native heritage. Non-Native and self-acclaimed "metaphysical artist" Susan Seddon Boulet, for example, incorporates the dream catcher as a conspicuous image in her shamanic art reproduced on art calendars.[12] The latter group is represented here by Jerry Evans, a printmaker whose recent work has centred on exploring Native culture and iconography. The basis for the five lithographs displayed in the exhibit *But, Enough About Me: Artists Talk About Identity* (Johnson 1993) is found in Evans' discovery several years ago that part of his heritage included Micmac ancestry. This exhibition documents his first efforts at developing a visual language which addresses his need to bridge the expanse existing between the two cultures. His strategy in these initial prints was to select and reinterpret symbols and imagery widely regarded as Native. Significantly, in addition to feathers and traditional quillwork patterns, Evans has appropriated and reused dream catchers to look into the past, as someone who is neither an insider nor completely an outsider, to determine what it means to say, "Part of me shares in this Native culture" (ibid.).

Critical to this discussion is the speed with which dream catchers have become entrenched as "traditional items," representative of Native values. Although firm dates are somewhat tenuous at this point, it appears that the proliferation of these items has taken place over the past 10 years or so. Certainly,

this rapidity in establishing dream catchers as "traditional" items concurs with Hobsbawm's second consideration as a criterion for the invention of a tradition. However, if we explore the symbolic referents encapsulated in these icons and then examine them against the archaeological and ethnographic evidence, another picture emerges.

The concept of nets in general, and spider webs in particular, as metaphors of protection (by ensnaring undesirable and malevolent forces) has a long and extensive history in the Americas.[13] Material evidence for this occurs as early as A.D. 100 in Peru with the archaeological uncovering of the undisturbed remains of a Moche lord, buried wearing a necklace comprised of several circular gold spider webs complete with spiders (Alva 1990:4). Somewhat later in pre-hispanic Mesoamerica, spiders, webs and Grandmother Spider (also known as Spider Woman) were rendered as pictorial images on artifacts and paintings as well as incorporated into glyphs. Such visual imagery in the Mayan murals and Aztec codices was closely associated with creation, women and water (see Taube 1983 for a detailed analysis). In a similar vein, depictions of nets have been interpreted as an Aztec means for social control that effectively removed undesirable miscreants from that society and thus provided protection for the general populace (Burkhart 1989; Franco 1954; Klein 1990:81-103). Cecilia Klein (1983) has also demonstrated that the netted circular abdomens of insects depicted in Aztec iconography served to catch and remove illness, an interpretation more closely linked to the level of analysis here.

Within the last century, the ethnohistoric and ethnographic records for certain areas of Mexico and North America document the use of small netted hoops imbued with inherent symbolic protection. One form, considered to be a miniature netted shield, has been recorded for the Huichol of Mexico, the Pueblo groups of the southwest and among the tribes of the Plains (Culin 1907; Cushing 1896; Dumarest 1905; Lowie 1922; Lumholtz 1900; Parsons 1918, 1939; Taube 1983:129-135; Toor 1947; White 1932). In his discussion of the protective powers of all circular shields of the Southwest and Great Plains, Ronald McCoy (1988) suggests that with the advent of the white man's weapons, the shield became useless as a defensive weapon. However, the shield's protective powers were retained in the miniature shields, about six inches in diameter, which were worn in a "man's scalp lock or around his neck—ample testimony that a shield's importance was not confined to its actual ability for offering physical protection but in its inherent power to invoke supernatural aid" (McCoy 1988:25). Earlier, Stewart Culin (1907) had first recognized the inherent mystical and protective powers of both shields and spider webs in the small netted hoops worn by Sioux and Cheyenne warriors. Culin went on to suggest that this type of (netted) shield symbolized a spider web, the protective mantle created by Spider Woman. Indeed, a "Zuni myth

describes Spider People weaving a shield known, appropriately enough, as a 'spider-web shield' " (McCoy 1988:29).

Moving into the Northeastern Woodlands, a visually similar form was used among the Algonquian peoples.[14] In these societies the older women made circular netted charms of willow and sinew to be dangled from the hoop of a *tikanagan* (cradle board) or attached to a moss bag to protect the baby by ensnaring—as Frances Densmore (1929:52) recorded for the Ojibwa—"everything evil as a spider's web catches and holds everything that comes in contact with it." Analogous usage was noted by Regina Flannery for the East Cree of the James Bay region (1962:477; 1992). Evil in this context refers to colds, illness, bad spirits and malevolent powers. Because the infant was protected from these invisible and negative forces, it was able to grow into a competent, productive adult capable of providing for him- or herself and for the group in general. Thus, as an efficacious defence mechanism these netted baby charms serve as a tangible metaphor of protection and provision. On a deeper level, the tiny circular cobweb-like nets make reference to the mythic arrival of the first people on earth who descend from the upper world on a line spun by the "Great Net-Maker" or "Spider" (Ellis 1989:5-8). Implicit in this spider thread is a secondary theme of connectedness inherent in the lines linking the spiritual world with the physical world.

However, in the Woodlands area, museum documentation, ethnographic accounts and recent field work all suggest that no extant examples or evidence for the use of these netted charms exists throughout the past 30 or 40 years.[15] My own field work revealed that among the Cree on the west coast of James Bay only one of the elders was able to recall charms such as these. However, on the lower east coast, a few of the older women had actually used these *hiibii* (nets) to protect their own babies from illness. Nonetheless, the practice even at that time was no longer common (for further details see Oberholtzer 1993). Moving further east, preliminary research of Micmac ethnography and mythology reveals no mention of these charms (see, for example, Rand 1894; Wallis and Wallis 1955, 1957; Whitehead 1988). And among the Iroquois, there are no examples of these infant charms, and references to spiders and their webs appear only in their mythology (Engler 1995; Parker 1923, 1926; Speck 1945; Spence 1932; Tooker 1994; Trigger 1978).

Based on the scope of this material evidence, we can argue that on one level the metaphor of protection expressed in this tangible spider-web form is indeed pan-cultural,[16] supported by great historical depth. From this same evidence I would also argue that an awareness of this layer of symbolic meaning, if it was realized, had become forgotten or deliberately submerged for a period of time. Currently, the Cree, Ojibwa (Chippewa), Lakota,[17] Navajo,[18] Huron, Mohawk, Iroquois[19] and Micmac each claim these objects and legends as being traditional to their respective cultures, despite more recent ethnographic

evidence to the contrary. Rather, the evidence suggests that this singular form with its deeper meaning was retrieved first as a revived tradition by the Ojibwa (see also Engler 1995:18). Receiving an overwhelmingly positive response, the newly created "Dream Catcher" rapidly acquired a widespread adoption by other First Nations. Thus, in an effort to achieve the ideological solidarity offered by the prevailing pan-Indian movement, this object became *re*-invented to serve as a symbol and an icon for that solidarity. In doing so the dream catcher serves a multilayered purpose, functioning foremost to establish and reinforce Native identity. At the same time, production and sales provide a cash return while concomitantly "marketing" Native values and spirituality.

This marketing of dream catchers—and with them the allusions of buying and selling of dreams—brings into focus the divergent concepts about dreams and dreaming held by Natives and non-Natives. Antithetic to the Western belief that dreams originate within the brain (Caldwell 1995:202-220), Natives perceive that dreams and dream visitors are external entities entering the mind during sleep or trance-like episodes. A similar correspondence offered by A. Irving Hallowell (1991:85) reveals that

> The Ojibwa (in short) interpret the manifest content of dreams as experiences of the self, continuous in time and space with those of waking life. For them, the vital, enduring part of a human being can undergo all sorts of experiences while the body—the outer shell—lies quiet and inert in sleep. For us dream images are recognized as self-related when their content is recalled, but they are not integrated with our personal experiences when awake. Our world of dreams is usually considered to be a world of unreality and fantasy that contrasts with perceptually sensed experience when awake.

Turning to evidence provided by Cree collaborators, ethnologist Regina Flannery documents further that dreams were the vehicle for communication with the spirits, and that, in the guise of dream visitors, the spirit(s) made visual and aural contact with the dreamer (Flannery and Chambers 1985:2). Through this communication with dream visitors, spiritual strength, guidance, protection and a glimpse of the future are imparted to the dreamer. The Native dreamer is thus subject to external guidance (cf. Brown and Brightman 1988; Speck 1935:187-190; Tanner 1979:125-128). Conversely, the non-Native dreamer for the most part does not believe scientifically that dreams predict the future as the mind is merely manipulating known facts (cf. Caldwell 1995:210-211). Metaphorically, however, Western thought also encompasses the notion of dreams and dreaming—particularly in the pursuit of future goals or accomplishments—as a conscious wakeful act generated by the "dreamer." Such marketing ploys as the advertising of "dream homes," "dream vacations," "the dream of a life-time" and other desires imply that individuals' dreams can be obtained through the exchange of money or personal labour. Here the

acquisition of a dream catcher, as the tangible nexus of Native and non-Native perceptions of dreams, grants the possessor another avenue of protection. Certainly the symbolic meanings of spirituality and strengths of past traditions embedded within this object are grasped as a means for ameliorating the ills of the times.

While this marketing of dream catchers, with its reciprocal buying of dreams, has been instrumental in developing an awareness of Native cultural heritage, it also evokes questions concerning authenticity, souvenirs and tourist art. Who is making dream catchers and for what reasons: Native or non-Native, as a means of cultural identity, spiritual fulfilment, creative urges, financial gain or self-satisfaction? Who is buying dream catchers and why: Native or non-Native; men, women or children; as personal items or gifts; as mementos of spiritual and/or cultural experiences or places visited? Can dream catchers be considered tourist art when they are both made and purchased by more than one cultural group?[20] Even partial answers to these questions require an accumulation of documented exchanges between artist-vendors and buyers, complemented by extensive interviews. Perhaps then we will be able to gain insight into the identities, aspirations and expectations of both groups.

Further to this discussion, a subsequent interview with artist Nick Huard provides additional information which contributes important considerations to both the specific study of dream catchers and to a broader anthropological analysis of material culture, with particular respect to the diffusion and incorporation of visual and ideological concepts. In March of 1995, Huard was invited by the Canadian Embassy to travel to Caracas, Venezuela, as a visiting artist from Quebec. While there, he gave a workshop in making dream catchers, recounting the myth, detailing the symbolic significance of each material and element used, and teaching, first by demonstrating and then by overseeing, the techniques of construction. Since returning from Caracas, he has given workshops sponsored by the McCord Museum of Canadian History (Montreal) to non-Native children. Although actively and willingly participating in this cross-cultural sharing of skills and ideology, Huard asserts that his own dream catchers, as art forms, are created in response to dreams. As documented evidence for the dissemination of material forms with their embodied symbolism, this knowledge also holds fascinating ramifications for future research in material culture studies.

Happy Dreams.

Notes

1. This paper was originally presented at the Northeastern Anthropological Association Conference in Geneseo, New York, in April 1994. Further research facilitated by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council is gratefully acknowledged. I would also like to thank Nick Huard for sharing the results of his dreams, with further thanks extended to Joan Lester

and to the anonymous reviewers who added insightful comments. All errors, omissions and misinterpretations are my own.

2. One of two examples collected from British Columbia, while identifying the source as Ojibwa, documents that these dream catchers were "made by the Monague Native Crafts Ltd., British Columbia, Canada."
3. See, for example, Nova Scotia Characters which advertises two sizes of dream catchers: Small 3" (104) and Large 5" (105). The description reads: "This magical creation by Mi'Kmaq *Eileen Brooks* catches bad dreams and turns them to good. Features a feather and a precious stone inside a spider-like webbing. A fine gift for the troubled sleeper, child or adult. Makes a soothing window decoration." All other items are non-Native. A second mail-order catalogue, offering a mix of Native and non-Native "Gifts of Distinction from Canada's Cultural Centres," features the Glenbow Museum's "Dream a Little Dream" (B007) and from Wanuskewin Heritage Park the "Traditional dreamcatchers" in elk (Y001) and doe (Y002) as well as "Dreamcatcher earrings" (1" Y003; 5/8" Y004). Both cultural centres are in western Canada. A third example from an all-Native catalogue, The Southwest Indian Foundation, for Christmas 1994 has a cover illustration of an infant laced into a cradle bag with a "dreamcatcher" suspended at its foot. This same illustration is used for a "delightful Christmas Card" (#774). As well, "Sterling Silver and Turquoise Dream Catcher Earrings (#141) and Pendant (#400)" and a rawhide and feathers Dream Catcher Ornament (#474) and Dream Catcher Hanging (6"D #761, 10"D #762) are offered for sale.
4. This widespread availability questions the authenticity of the items produced. Advertisements, such as those of the Indian Arts & Crafts Association (Albuquerque, New Mexico), proclaim their integrity and dedication to protecting, preserving and ethically promoting "honest representations of American Indian arts and crafts" (see specifically *American Indian Art Magazine* 19[1]:108-109). In diametric opposition, the gift shop of the McCord Museum of Canadian History in Montreal has, until very recently, sold "Native" dream catchers but which were, however, made by two non-Native women (Huard 1995).
5. Another line for further exploration takes into consideration the aspect of powwows as movable sacred sites and performances and thus establishes followers as pilgrims. The acquisition of dream catchers becomes comparable to the procurement of religious souvenirs (icons) during a pilgrimage
6. See, for example, sales catalogues produced by Mary Maxim in 1994 and 1995 which offer kits for "Indian Summer Dream Catcher" (80576), "Black Thunder Dream Catcher" (80576), "Dream Catchers" (small, 1 pink, 1 brown: 38433; large: 38432), "Dream Catcher Jewellery" (necklace and pierced earrings: 38437; NOTE: a reduced price is applicable with orders over a specified sum). These kits are advertised as "Exciting Stitchery for Your Home." Significantly, the actual kits include "Instructions printed in English and Spanish" (but not in a Native language) and thus targeting a perceived consumer market. Tandy Leathers also offer kits. I recently purchased four pattern books (produced by non-Native craftspeople) devoted entirely to the making of dream catchers in a variety of forms and materials.
7. Nick Huard, a Montreal-based artist of Micmac ancestry, creates much larger dream catchers as installation pieces but only in response to his dreams. These pieces incorporate "found" items such as animal skulls, feathers, special stones and bones.
8. The inclusion of ostrich feather "eyes" on an Ojibwa example raises further issues regarding trade goods, incorporation of exotic elements and authenticity.
9. A non-Native colleague recently purchased a dream catcher for her father who had been tormented by bad dreams and restless sleep. The remedial effect was immediate and credited entirely to the dream catcher. A newspaper story featured a photograph of a young woman in a hospital bed with a dream catcher conspicuously placed in the forefront of the picture. The headline reads "Saved! Brenda's leg—and her dream of sailing" (*Toronto Star*, March 17, 1995).

10. The allochronicity proposed here through the contrastive use of myth time and/or dream time with atemporality reflects a Western tendency to employ a temporal metaphor for distancing "the other" (who are otherwise historically contemporaneous) and hence objectifying them as "primitive" (cf. Fabian 1983). Empirically, however, there appears to be an ironic twist here for the Native vendors demonstrate an awareness of these temporal metaphors by capitalizing on the mystique of this projected "primitiveness" as an aspect of marketability.
11. According to Huron artist Anne Marin, during the making and marketing of dream catchers at powwows, she "focusses on their spirituality" (Marin 1993). However, nothing further was elicited about her concepts of spirituality nor how she felt it was encapsulated in the physical form of the dream catcher.
12. Such as those printed by Pomegranate Calendars and Books (see especially 1992)
13. The Dream Catcher Art Center, recently constructed by the Seneca Nation at Irving, New York, is a concrete manifestation of this metaphor of protection. As a physical repository which functions to protect and preserve Iroquois culture, it simultaneously serves as a centre for the dissemination of cultural knowledge to both Natives and non-Natives.
14. Earliest evidence of a circular netted "shield" occurs on a fragment of birchbark eroded from the riverbank at York Factory. The figure depicted on it is a thunderbird with a netted gorget on its chest (Adams 1982:40).
15. The most recently collected example from the eastern James Bay area is one made from a plastic ring netted with coloured knitting yarn. Collected in the early 1960s, it was noted at that time as being "still in use" (Canadian Museum of Civilization III-D-108). Only a few of these baby net charms are housed in museums.
16. That this pan-cultural belief extends as far as New Guinea is exemplified by a photograph of a Dani youngster wearing a cap ingeniously woven of spider webs, which are said to protect him (Morrow and Morrow 1985:38).
17. In a special report on dream catchers in the October 1995 issue of *The Indian Trader* Mark Engler provides the Lakota Sioux version for the origin of dream catchers.
18. In this same article, an interviewee claims that the first dream catcher he had seen many years ago was one made by a Navajo woman. This was, however, an isolated incident until the 1990s when dream catchers "caught on as popular consumer items" (Engler 1995:16).
19. The term Iroquois is used here to encompass both the composite Iroquois League in general as well as the occasional reference to one or another of the Iroquois nations which has not been named specifically.
20. Although a great deal has been written about commercially derived tourist art—that is, art "made for the external, dominant world" (Graburn 1976:4) which "is now a thing, an object, no longer an act, a ritual . . ." (Carpenter 1971:166) and which lacks "the power of belief" (Rainey 1959:13)—dream catchers do not entirely fit into such definitions of tourist art (see also Grant 1986; Hatcher 1985; Nicks 1990; and numerous other authors). The complexity of their origin, history, distribution, function and meaning affords a unique opportunity for further research.

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"ALL HANDS BE TOGETHER": NEWFOUNDLAND GARDENING

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Abstract: Vegetable gardening persists in rural Newfoundland settlements as they undergo rapid technological, political and economic changes because gardening displays and perpetuates old values such as self-reliance, subsistence skills and family co-operation. Long-term research in northern Newfoundland has shown that it is not the poorest who garden but the proudest, especially the flag-bearers of a traditionalist vision of rural life.

Résumé: Faire un potager existe toujours dans les villages de la Terre Neuve rurale bien que ces villages soient en passe à de rapides changements technologiques, politiques et économiques. Faire un potager démontre et perpétue les anciennes valeurs de l'auto suffisance, de la capacité de pouvoir se nourrir et de la coopération familiale. Les recherches à long terme dans la Terre-Neuve septentrionale ont montré que ce ne sont pas les plus pauvres qui font un jardin mais bien les plus fiers, c'est-à-dire ceux qui portent l'étendard de la vision traditionnelle de la vie pastorale.

Introduction

Just outside the small town of Main Brook, northern Newfoundland, where the gravel highway turns down into town, a branch road turns inland to "the Pit." The Pit was dug for gravel, but it serves as well for planting gardens, picking raspberries and storing pulpwood logs. Like Camp Four Pit on the cross-country road, the active part of "the Pit" is now marked by a sign, "Gardens are not permitted in the Town Gravel Pit/By Order of the Main Brook Town Council." Potatoes and frontloaders compete for ground not covered by forest. At the edge of the Pit on about a tenth of an acre which she has been planting for 15 years, Aunt Bess, two adult sons and a granddaughter by another son are setting potatoes. The June fishery is keeping the men up until late at night hauling caplin traps, so her sons have little time to help, but "you make time," Bess says. "Your garden is your livelihood too." The men begin by

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raking the ground smooth and "lining out" the "lazy beds" with string and stakes. The beds are a yard wide and 30 feet long. They then toss down some seaweed or stable manure where the beds will be. Bess and her niece follow behind, placing the potato seed, cut into egg-size wedges, each with a sprouted eye, in tight, neat rows of four across the defined rectangles. The potatoes are "long blues," an old variety, "reds," which came along in the 1960s, and "canker-proof whites," a variety Canada Agriculture has been promoting lately. The men then lever up the tan sand from the strips of ground between the beds and pitch it over the seed, simultaneously forming the trenches and raising the beds.

The gardening season began in April when Bess and some of her neighbours started cabbage seedlings in pots on their window sills. The sacks of potatoes saved for seed were brought into the house from the root cellar in May and allowed to sprout before being cut into chunks, one eye apiece. As soon as the ground thaws in late May or early June the planting begins. Planting and trenching potatoes usually involves a crowd of workers of both genders and all ages, sometimes representing several related nuclear families which share the harvest. Men and women perform identical tasks in potato gardens, while women usually set the "small seed" for cabbage and other vegetables in their kitchen gardens behind the house. Kitchen gardens might also contain beet, carrot, onion and rhubarb or a currant bush—any fruit or vegetable the housewife needs to protect or cultivate frequently. Cabbage seedlings started in the house are set into the kitchen garden's lazy beds in June. Cabbage and turnip seed may also be broadcast at that time over 10-foot-square, raised nursery beds for the first three or four weeks of growth before being transplanted into nearby lazy beds.

In early July the gardens are "trenched" by spreading more fish or seaweed fertilizer over the beds and banking up soil from the trenches around the emerging potato plants. "Set 'em in kelp, trench 'em in caplin," the gardeners recite. The annual caplin run is well timed to provide barrels full of fertilizer for the trenching step. Since people moved their gardens out into the country in the 1960s, bears and crows have been rooting up the fish, so commercial fertilizer has become more common.

Bess straightens up from laying potato seed. "Potatoes are easy, really. They're only three days' work: a day to set them, a day to trench them and a day to haul them." In fact, gardens are somewhat more than three days' work. Gardeners do return again to their lazy beds to weed in June and July, and to repair the beds where the moose have stepped. A well-nourished garden is like a magnet to the sting nettles and chickweed, and the manure has always added crabgrass. So while the men fish, the women and children weed.[1]

Later, riding to the garden with Bess in her pickup truck, I asked her why she bothered to set a garden now that all her boys are grown and life is much

easier. "Garden work is easy to do if all hands go at it together. You just make up your mind to get the work done and it goes fast."

This is an opinion I have frequently heard gardeners express. On another occasion, Bess elaborated. She was complaining about what she saw as a decline in charity among townspeople.

> I worked my whole life and never got paid. My husband and my father never got any UI (unemployment insurance), and I got no child support for my eight children. But we survived—we made things for ourselves and people took care of one another. Now if one person gets something, the other person has got to get one better. I'd like for all hands to be as one again.

This article examines Newfoundland vegetable gardening as an expression of the value of "all hands be as one," as well as other values that have had immense survival value in the past and became beleaguered in recent times, but now have undergone something of a renaissance. This report supplements my recent book, *Rough Food: Seasons of Subsistence in Northern Newfoundland* (1994), which takes an ecological, adaptationist approach to Newfoundlanders' subsistence activities. My orientation in the book, and here, is historical, social, organizational and ecological. I began my 14 years of field work in rural Newfoundland in the potato gardens, and from there acquired a holistic understanding of northern life because gardening was thickly intertwined with the rest of the culture in rural Newfoundland. From the gardens I was led inexorably to the family and household economy, to other subsistence activities like foraging, to nutrition, land tenure, rural development projects, world view and many other topics.

This paper begins with a review of the elements of the Newfoundland gardening tradition and its changes since Newfoundland joined Canada. Next the connection of gardening to rural social organization will be examined. The main point to be made is that as rural Newfoundland settlements undergo rapid technological, political and economic changes, vegetable gardening persists because it displays and perpetuates old values concerning self-reliance, subsistence skills and extended family reciprocity. Those who garden are not the poorest but the proudest, that is, the flag-bearers of a traditionalist vision of rural life.[2]

The Tradition and Its Modern Fate

Besides Bess, about two fifths of the other Main Brook households will be planting this month, either in the Pit with her, or along logging roads, or beside their houses, or in the meadows at the mouth of Western Brook, reached by boat across the bay, or in several of these places. Gardening is not as widespread as it was 50 years ago, but a distinct gardening tradition persists in Main Brook and throughout Newfoundland.

Following this tradition Newfoundlanders grow cold weather crops of potatoes, turnips, cabbage and carrots in lazy beds, which they make with a few hand tools and fertilize with fish and seaweed.[3] The history of outport agriculture from the 17th to the 19th centuries (Omohundro 1994) reveals that Newfoundlanders successfully adapted Old World practices to the special rigours of the New World climate, soils and occupations. In the process agriculture devolved, or simplified, from its European antecedents to become the tradition which today remains largely intact, though diminished, in the "outports," as the rural settlements are called. Even within the productive limits set by the mercantile truck system and the physical conditions, outport vegetable production was efficient, reliable and made a valuable supplement to diet.

Newfoundland's gardening tradition is "old-fashioned" and rare now in North America, but it was once practised in other northeastern coastal settlements and mountainous areas where soil and weather conditions are similar to Newfoundland's (Omohundro 1987). Lazy bed gardens have been made in the Adirondack mountains, in New Brunswick (Mannion 1974), on St. Lawrence River islands (LeQuerrec 1978) and probably coastal Maine and Massachusetts (Russell 1976). Gardening in those places lost its distinctive features under the influence of commercial farming, and it lost its urgency when the inhabitants acquired steady sources of cash and local shops began selling food year-round. In Newfoundland, by contrast, the gardening methods the pioneers brought with them 200 years ago have been preserved because they still satisfactorily perform under the difficult natural and cultural conditions found there, and until very recently they contributed significantly to the security, variety and quality of the diet.

In the last 50 years, Newfoundlanders' home food production has responded to sweeping changes, including technological innovations, the spread of plant disease, the development of the labour market and island infrastructure and Confederation with Canada. The Second World War brought the beginning of the changes. There were no "victory gardens" in Newfoundland; after the Depression, people eagerly abandoned their subsistence gardens for the construction work stimulated by the war. The decline of subsistence agriculture accelerated when Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. The precariousness of life that had made gardening necessary began to diminish. Unemployment compensation, retirement benefits and welfare cheques became a significant part of household income. The new welfare floor under outport families eliminated the need for small gardens as necessary winter insurance (Dyke 1968:28) and so people "turned their spades into can openers" (Pottle 1979:74). The fishing and logging industries were revitalized for a time, and they paid well. Confederation with Canada eliminated many taxes and tariffs which had kept food prices high. Roads began to connect isolated communities to regular groceries, to wage work and health care and other conveniences

of civilization. Since these conveniences were declared essential, some isolated communities were completely evacuated and their residents moved to selected "resettlement centres."

Many factors combined in the 1960s to cause a decline in home food production. In Javanese agriculture, Clifford Geertz observed that "cultural, social, and psychological variables are at least as crucial as environmental ones in determining the stability of human modes of adaptation" (Geertz 1963:27), and that observation holds true in Newfoundland, too. The decline of self-sufficiency was brought about by internal, or cultural, changes as much as by external, or environmental, pressures. Gardening declined when roads were built and the merchants decided to sell vegetables—e.g., in Cat Harbour, on the northeast coast (Faris 1966:33). Garden decline has been attributed to the availability of cash, compulsory education, the roads, smaller families and a change in consumption with the breakdown of mercantile monopoly—e.g., in Notre Dame Bay (Wadel 1969:53) and on the Great Northern Peninsula (Firestone 1967:90). The provincial school curriculum in home economics throughout the 1970s avoided the subjects of home production in favour of teaching young women to be modern consumers of prepared foods like cake mixes and canned tuna. Vegetable gardens, along with "goats and berrypicking," became symbols of the poverty and backwardness of the Depression.

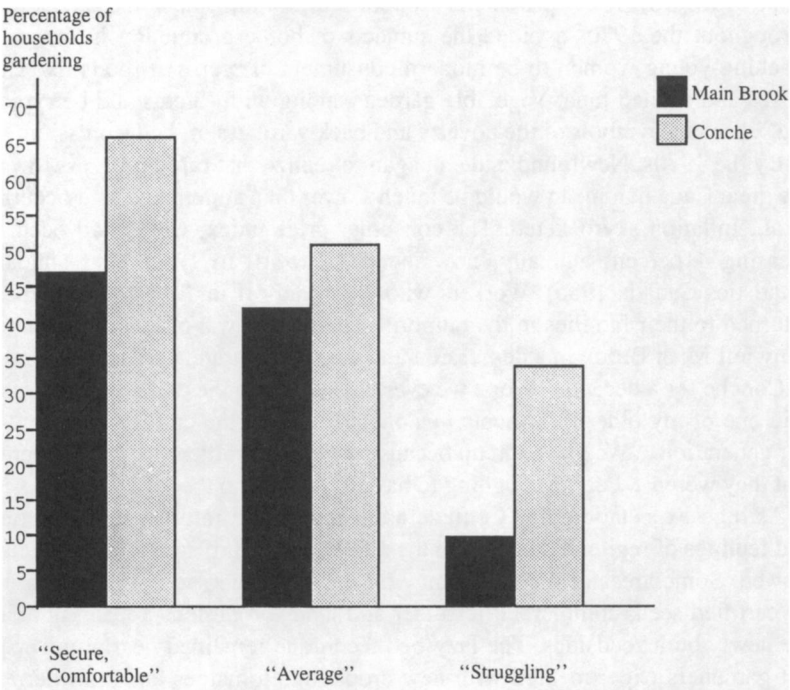
By the 1970s, Newfoundlanders began to realize that rapid progress toward the great Canadian mean would be much slower than anticipated, if it occurred at all. Inflation skyrocketed. The consumer price index, which had been increasing 4 percent annually, now increased to 10 to 12 percent annually (Statistics Canada 1985). Workers who were laid off in Toronto and Alberta returned to their families in the outports. The withdrawal of the logging company left Main Brook in a depression and the saltfish trade had been declining in Conche for a decade. "Worst we ever done, give up the cows, the gardens," said one of my older informants in Conche, echoing the current sentiment of her generation. "We gave 'em up because we thought times was getting better. But they weren't. People are going to have to go back to the ground again."

As high expectations for Confederation modulated into consumer anxiety and feelings of regional disparity in the 1970s, gardening's precipitous decline slowed. Some areas of the island may have even witnessed a recovery, aided by certified seed, commercial fertilizer and land for gardens appearing along the newly built roadsides. The lazy-bed technique remained nearly universal, but gardeners experimented with new crops, like tomatoes and strawberries, and new tools like greenhouses. In Main Brook in 1990, 40 percent of households are still gardening, which is about the same number as gardened 25 years ago. In Conche, the figure has slipped to about 22 percent, but in Plum Point, a small highway service centre on the west coast of the Peninsula, 65 to 80 percent of households are gardening.[4]

Non-economic Motives for Gardening

Why do northerners still do so much gardening? We investigated that question in Conche and Main Brook, a fishing and a logging community respectively, and therefore representative of settlements on the Great Northern Peninsula. We expected that a household's decision to garden would be related to economic need and the number of available workers. It was not. Home production on the Great Northern Peninsula is more than a safety net for those in the low and unstable income groups. About half the Main Brook and Conche households in the "comfortable" and "average" income categories (as locals define them) maintain gardens, compared to only one quarter of those in the "struggling" economic category (see Figure 1).

Figure 1
Percentage of Households Gardening, by Socio-economic Status, Main Brook and Conche, 1982

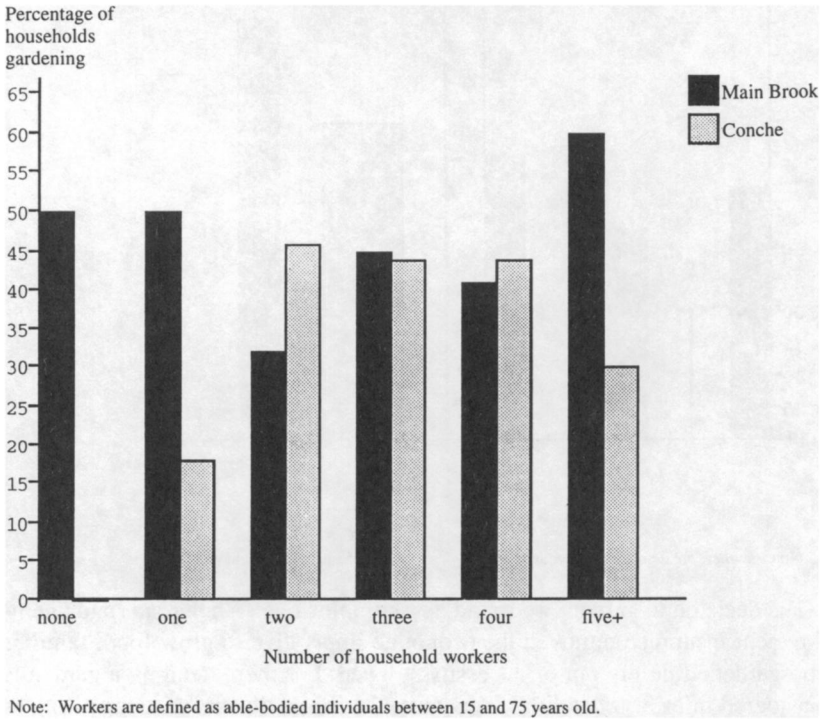


Note: Statuses defined and assigned by panels of judges from within the communities. Comprehensive survey of Conche households (N = 108) and Main Brook households (N = 120).

Further evidence that home production such as gardening is not associated any longer with poverty is the vigour with which it is conducted by postmasters, school principals and heads of large "crowds," or extended families.

Likewise, Hill's team found in their five community study (1983) that subsistence production was not simply a refuge for the unemployed. And it is not that gardening households in the north have significantly more able-bodied workers or fewer income-earners than non-gardeners (see Figures 2 and 3).

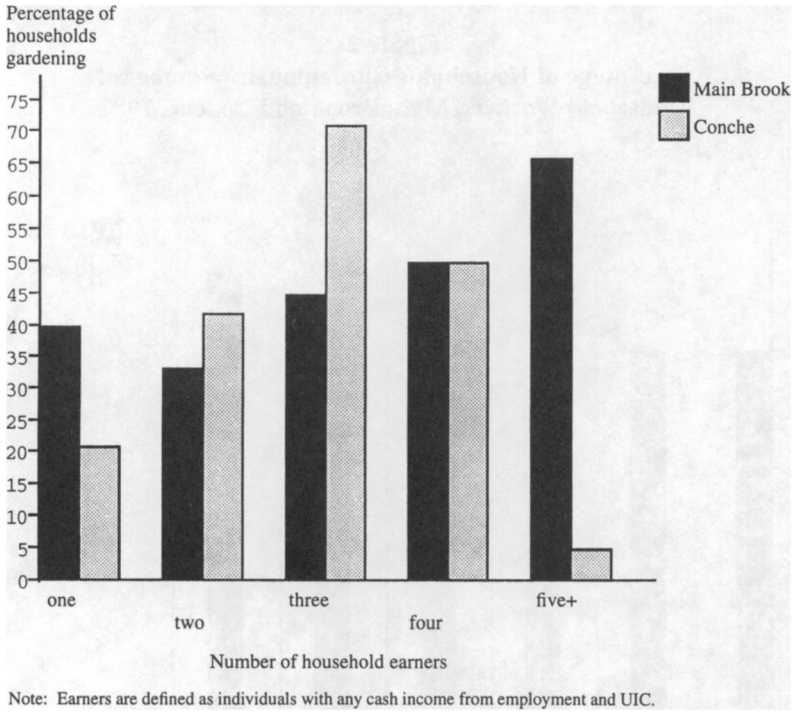
Figure 2
Percentage of Households Gardening, by Number of Household Workers, Main Brook and Conche, 1982



Note: Workers are defined as able-bodied individuals between 15 and 75 years old.

Lastly, although a paved road and proximity to shopping facilities are among the reasons given for gardening's decline, e.g., in the southeastern outport of Aquafort (Hill 1983), they do not necessarily produce a decline. Evidence for this claim comes from Plum Point. In 1965, 81 percent of its 40 families kept gardens. In the decade that followed, roads and a secure supply of merchandise reached the settlement, whereupon home production in general slumped. As in other northern settlements, Plum Point's domestic animals were almost gone by 1967, and in the 1980s even the chickens disappeared. But gardening's slump was mostly in acreage and crop variety rather than in number of participants. In 1982, a remarkable 85 percent were still gardening.[5]

Figure 3
Percentage of Households Gardening, by Number of Household Income Earners, Main Brook and Conche, 1982



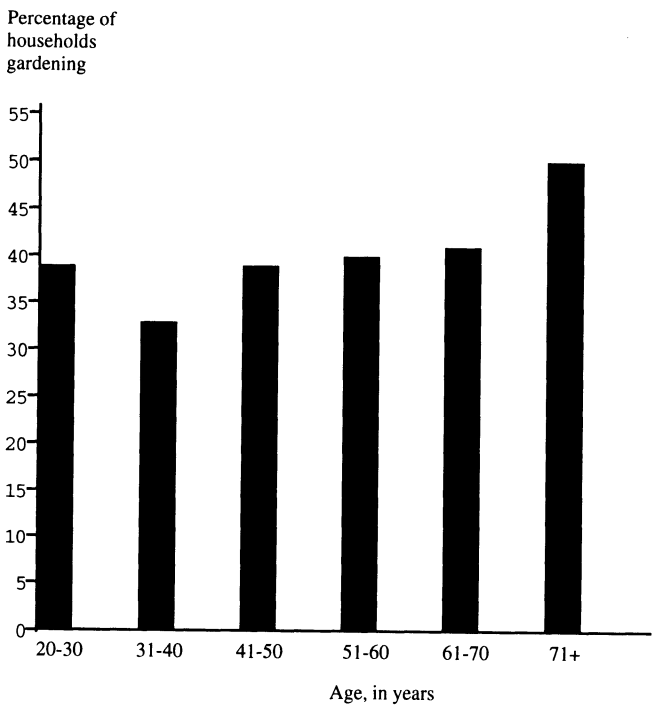
Note: Earners are defined as individuals with any cash income from employment and UIC.

The decision to garden, we found, is a complex one. When roads and unemployment insurance removed the economic imperative to grow food, families who gardened purely out of necessity stopped. For them, tending a garden is considered inferior to tending a decorative lawn and flowers or to travelling or to working for cash and buying vegetables with one's earnings. Men and women who were growing up in the 1960s and early 1970s when gardening was at its nadir are least likely to garden. Some say they never learned how. In all other age groups, including those in their twenties, about 40 percent are keeping gardens (Figure 4). In Main Brook in 1990, an active 4-H program, recently established and led by parents and teachers, includes classes in gardening and other outdoor skills, such as wild plant identification. These classes pass on certain knowledge useful for home food production which may not be transmitted any longer simply by enculturation in the family.

Our survey in Main Brook and other towns convinced us that most northerners do not depend upon vegetable gardens for income substitution but for upholding their quality of life in such areas as recreation and taste. They grow

potatoes for the same reasons other North American home gardeners grow its cousin, the tomato: the home-grown tastes incomparably better than the shop's. Many are as articulate about potato varieties as Asians are vocal about rice varieties. The imported white potatoes stocked in the shops are considered "right watery, slubby" when boiled compared to the floury texture of the old blue potatoes. Said one woman, "we like to save money, but we love to eat blue potatoes." She continued in a vein we heard frequently, "Shop potatoes don't taste like your own—what you grow. They got the taste of fertilizer, like they was drove [forced]." Other commercial vegetables are presumed to have also been grown with "chemicals" and to retain pesticide residues harmful to health.

Figure 4
Percentage of Households Gardening, by Age of Household Female Head, Main Brook and Conche, 1982



Those who garden offer many reasons, both practical and ideological. They save cash for other purposes. "We buy our winter's oil with what we save on potatoes," one woman claimed. Even after subtracting the costs of production, garden savings can amount to several hundred dollars. Some also earn cash by selling to non-gardeners. Memories of the hard years and a constant uncer-

tainty about next year's fish or wage work have made garden produce and the contents of one's cellar a trustworthy yardstick of security and comfort. A Main Brook woman said, "If you don't dig in and get something, you're gonna be out of it [unable to take care of yourself] in a few years." In the outport's egalitarian community, status differentials are slight, but gardening, among other home production tasks, is one area for skill competition. Gardeners recall and compare the size of their cabbage and the number of sacks of potatoes they grew each year. They remind each other about the time they grew potatoes "so long you could stack them on your arm like firewood." A gardener's prestige still depends upon the quality and quantity of potatoes, but merit is earned for growing the difficult vegetables, like marrows, or trying new crops like lettuce or strawberries. Inspired by mainland seed catalogues, the ambitious gardener will attempt (and usually lose) a tomato or a pumpkin.

When gardeners talk about why or how they conduct their work, they espouse a number of values inherited from the old days. As mentioned above, there is a strong sentiment of self-reliance and a pride in the skills required to produce vegetables under difficult conditions. Self-sufficiency in vegetables displays one's competence as a self-provider, even in an environment with high unemployment and a heavy dependence on government cheques. Some gardeners also take pride in making do with a limited kitbag of resources, like Lévi-Strauss's *bricoleur*, by reassigning uses to materials from other activity spheres. An old punt may be converted to a root cellar, a big iron grapnel hook may be used as a plough and fish salt may serve as a slug repellent.

Most gardeners enjoy the work and women like getting away from the house. "I glories in me garden," a retired man said. A woman told me, "I could be at the garden, or berrypicking, all day. The only thing I hate is housework." In fact, for some country gardens (those along roadsides as much as 40 km from the house) as well as for kitchen gardens, a kind of housekeeping aesthetic exists. One's reputation as a gardener depends partly on how neat one's garden is. Many Newfoundlanders perceive a beauty in a highly regular arrangement of square and rectangular raised beds, carefully "lined out" during planting with string and stakes. They poke fun at the more casual or idiosyncratic potato patches. Lastly, even though they have always lived mostly by extracting unmanaged resources from a wilderness, Newfoundlanders are carriers of a European cultural tradition that values the taming and domestication of the land. So they gain satisfaction in cultivating or nurturing something, as when they tend sheep, children and potatoes. "When I see things growing I get interested."

As the reality of hard-scrabble times became more remote in the 1970s, the opprobrium of the traditional self-sufficient lifestyle weakened somewhat. Amidst rapid socio-economic changes, Newfoundlanders began systematically to preserve the memory culture of their elders. Schools introduced a

course about Newfoundland culture, which assigned high school students to interview their elders. A spate of local cookbooks appeared, extolling the virtues of regional dishes like cods' tongues and blackberry pudding (Gray 1977:35). Local people became tolerant or even supportive of the folklore, dialect and survival skills of earlier times.[6] They began to worry that gardening and keeping animals were going the way of the hooked rug and Christmas mumming. The loss of these subsistence practices was not usually felt in economic terms, but rather they now evoked an era of community co-operation and self-reliance which contemporary Newfoundlanders feared was ending as the Canadian government introduced elaborate social support programs into the outports. Giving up the garden became more a source of guilt than of pride in modernizing. It was clearly an abandonment of one's parents' livelihood; it also opened one to suspicions of being "lazy" because one works less hard. As a woman who did not set a garden told me, "I feel guilty, like I haven't done my duty."

To sum up the history of gardening, for two centuries home gardening was an essential component of home food production in rural Newfoundland. Like other subsistence work, gardening was subordinate culturally and economically to fishing and logging, but it supplemented and complemented that commercial sphere. Today the gardening tradition is no longer economically essential and is widespread only in the more marginal settlements such as in the north. But throughout the province, home production has recovered somewhat in status if not in volume from its abandonment amidst the excessive expectations of Confederation. Small, relatively isolated places like Main Brook and Conche, where we have lived, have reconsidered the likelihood that they will catch up to Canadian mainland standards of living. A recurrent self-image has appeared in print that Newfoundland cannot achieve the same lifestyle as mainlanders, and that the island might succeed in developing only if its people "adjusted to a pattern of consumption somewhat different from that of the mainland" (Alexander 1980:37). In the face of continuing uncertainty and regional disparity, rural Newfoundlanders are preserving certain aspects of home production as one of the features of their old survival strategy which supported them by its resilience and diversity. Besides their practical value, gardening and other traditions of self-sufficiency have acquired a place in the new ideology of regionalism. Some Newfoundlanders are deciding they do not *want* to be like Ontarians, but to be close to the sea and forest, where they can own their own home, hunt and fish, share with family and neighbours and so on.

Gardens and Outport Social Organization

Elsewhere (Omohundro 1994) I stress the connection of values about self-reliance and survival skills with the persistence of home production like gar-

dening. Here I would like to elaborate on the theme of "all hands together" that emerged in Bess' ideals for gardening and, by implication, for outport society in general. Gardening is closely linked to extended families and to community egalitarianism and reciprocity, which have long constituted the fundamentals of outport social organization. Most outport residents consider these features the core of their identity and security and want to see them preserved.

Today in many outports such as Main Brook, some people are loggers while others are fishers or shopkeepers—occupations with differing work routines, social organization and vested interests—but everyone in town can be a gardener, so such work reinforces a beleaguered sense of egalitarianism.

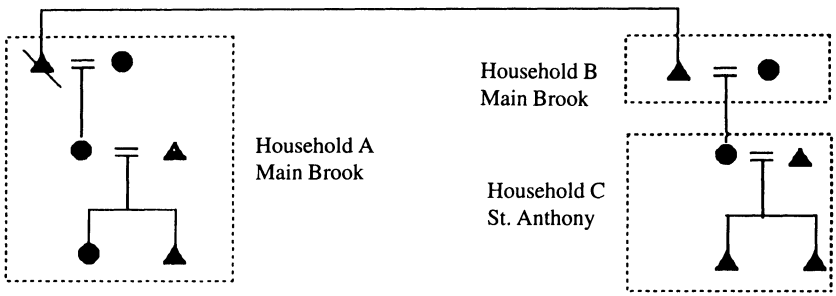
Garden produce, like all home produce, is a highly valued commodity in exchange among townspeople. The cash nexus is expanding, and northerners can now buy many more goods than before Confederation, but cash and commercial goods are still not widely exchanged among themselves for goods and services. A gardener might trade potatoes and cabbage for seal or moose from a hunter, or for salmon or salt cod from a fisherman. Sometimes home produce will win a favour that an offer of cash will not. Exchange and redistribution of the garden harvest around town follows and reinforces kin and friendship ties. Bess' vegetables, for example, will be collectively stored in the old family cellar, but shared among as many as five households: hers and her four resident married sons. She'll also send some sacks of potatoes on the coastal steamer to her daughters in Labrador. Whenever sons and daughters visit home from St. John's, Fort McMurray or Toronto, they'll often be given garden produce—perhaps a burlap sackful of early Jersey cabbage leaves—to carry back with them.

Bess is not typical any more, but her situation represents an enduring ideal of family co-residence and co-operation. Garden work parties often still comprise members of the "crowd," or extended family. Below is another example of a planting party, collected in Main Brook in 1981 (see Figure 5). It comprises three related households living in two different towns. The crowd is based on two neighbouring brothers and encompasses three generations. Note that because there are no sons, the daughters have brought their husbands into the work; ordinarily, a daughter resides with her husband, at first in and then beside the house of her parents-in-law, and so receives her kitchen garden from her father-in-law. The families in this crowd share garden work and produce, though they maintain separate root cellars. They sell some vegetables and give some to neighbours.

From the late 19th century until 1950, when Confederation and a technological change both altered the fishery, the basic social organization of the outport was the agnatic, patrilocal "crowd" of father and sons comprising a fishing crew. Crew members maintained separate households but lived in contiguous "gardens," referring to the fenced house plots beside the beach where

they shared fishing sheds, dried their fish and hauled out their boats. Until World War Two a traditional crowd in Conche, for example, shared work and ownership of many productive resources like boats and home production. The co-resident and neighbouring brothers shared sheep and cattle and they pooled their caribou kills. They collectively worked a potato patch on the rise behind their houses. Meanwhile, each female household head maintained a separate kitchen garden for other vegetables near her back door (Casey 1971).

Figure 5
Gardening and the Crowd, Main Brook, 1981



Gardening as a "crowd" celebrates that close-knit, hard-working family, the one that has not been dispersed by economic necessity or succumbed to the temptations of welfare (see also Murray 1979:19). Today most youths in the household do not do as much home production as previous generations of youths, who dropped out of school after five or six years to work with the family (Felt, Murphy and Sinclair 1995). But today some sons and daughters rejoin the home production community after they finish school, go away to work for awhile, get married, return to the outport and build a house. Home production becomes part of a lifestyle which a young man or woman may elect, or else young people may slip into home production by default when other options appear unattractive or unattainable (Richling 1985).

The church, often the most important community institution, also celebrates home production with its "garden party," a fund-raising banquet usually held in August and, in years past, by serving a "cooked dinner" of home-grown vegetables and home-raised lamb. Furthermore, "harvest home" services in the churches in October honoured home production. Parishioners placed before the altar selected exemplars of their fresh vegetables and home-canned jams, fish and other local produce. The only other important institution in the outports was the school, which was closely connected to the church because schools in Newfoundland have always been sectarian. The school also once acknowledged the importance of gardening. Until the 1950s children were let out of classes for a day or two in October to assist their families in harvesting the gardens.

An infectious excitement builds up in the neighbourhood to trigger crucial gardening tasks like planting and harvesting. When the weather or other clues like the caplin run signal a new season's onset, a wave of interest in a particular food or subsistence task sweeps through the town. Then "all hands go at it," talking themselves into agreement about when the weather and other work permit gardening. Garden tasks, like moose hunting and trout season, announce and celebrate spots on the annual cycle. Planting the garden in newly thawed ground, for example, signals the beginning of the fishing season in the way stringing up lights marks the Christmas holiday season.

To summarize, though gardens in rural Newfoundland retain economic value, the economic necessity to grow one's own is gone. Gardening today is for the flagbearers of the outport tradition: not the poor and dependent but the proud and traditional, the regional revivalist. The image adopted for this paper is a nautical one, of "all hands" pitching into some task together, united in purpose and sharing the product. The garden speaks to the Newfoundlander of a number of themes, all of which are undergoing threats from rapid changes. The garden is a domestic spot in the wilderness, a mirror of one's house and crowd. It is insurance against the vagaries of the economy. It is an exercise room for the self-reliant rural life. It provides prestige goods for exchange among neighbours and kin. It reinforces the egalitarian and mutual self-help ethic of the rural settlement. It celebrates the distinctly seasonal cycle of life and work. Main Brook, Conche and other northern settlements are not typical of the rest of Newfoundland in that more households cultivate gardens in these relatively remote places than elsewhere. But the revivalism, regionalism and values espoused by northern gardeners are widespread in the province and suggest that Newfoundlanders will be setting spuds in lazy beds for some time to come.

Notes

1. Practices once valuable for survival often retain cultural value (Bartlett 1980) and, indeed, Newfoundland women have taken garden weeding as a measure of their character. Laziness, sloppiness or poor knowledge are apparent from examining a person's garden (see also Murray 1979:19). Consistently good garden yields are also a mark of status as a good provider, and a full root cellar has been one measure that a family was "well off." Some men and women derive a sense of pleasure from driving out to look at neat and healthy beds of flowering potato plants in early August.
2. In some subsequent writings, I will review evidence for the claims that Newfoundlanders operate simultaneously in contrasting universes—the land and the sea, or the male and the female—and emphasize instead the dichotomy of the wilderness and the garden.
3. Though subsistence practices are constrained by the habitat, cultural tradition makes a difference. Take, for example, St. Pierre and Miquelon, islands off the southeast coast of Newfoundland and possessions of France for over two centuries. The St. Pierrais set gardens in Newfoundlandish climate and soil conditions, but because their island was a frequent port of call for French ships, they were never as isolated and self-reliant as the northern Newfoundlanders. Consequently, St. Pierrais grow their vegetables in lazy beds like Newfoundlanders but they

concentrate on luxury crops like leeks and lettuce. Basic carbohydrates like potatoes, never appreciated in French history, have none of the importance and central significance that they possess in Newfoundland.

4. During the 1960s, inshore fishing families like Conche's were more likely than families in other occupations to continue gardening (Dyke 1968), but now Conche has one of the lowest gardening participation rates in the region because most women are employed in a busy fish plant.
5. In 1990, gardening had declined to 61 percent of households, which was still a high number. Similarly, 57 percent of the households were gardening in the nearby fishing outports of Bird Cove and Anchor Point (House, White and Ripley 1989).
6. Since the 1970s a revival of numerous local traditions has paralleled the more prominent efforts at development. Wearing sealskin boots, considered in the 1950s to be a sign of poverty, has become fashionable. Recently in Conche, a brother-sister singing pair released a tape of songs in an effort to preserve the outport's heritage (Clarke 1991). Similarly, 25 years after sled dogs disappeared in Newfoundland, a white native of Labrador, now residing in the Northern Peninsula outport of Ship Cove, is training a team. A news article in the north's weekly paper praised him as "one of those rare individuals who are striving to keep the past alive" (Harding 1991). In general, the newspaper acts as a focal point for regional distinction and cultural preservation. Every year it publishes picture stories on planting gardens in spring and harvesting in fall.

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Mirror for the Other: Marijuana, Multivocality and the Media in an Eastern Caribbean Country

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Abstract: Cultural anthropology's "Mirror for Man" has always been a mirror mainly by and for the West. A corollary of the preoccupation with writing to ourselves about the Other in the specialized jargon and prose of the discipline is that little effort is made by First World anthropologists to write for and to the Third World Other in a manner that is accessible to them.

My aim is to illustrate how the discipline's mandate of cultural critique can be extended to incorporate and engage that Other by referring to my experience of anthropology as journalism in the Eastern Caribbean country of St. Vincent and the Grenadines where my critique consisted of a long series of newspaper articles questioning élite and middle-class societal beliefs about the causes and consequences of marijuana production, sale and consumption.

Résumé: «Le Miroir pour l'Homme» dans l'anthropologie culturelle a toujours été un miroir provenant de l'occident et destiné à l'occident. Un corollaire de la préoccupation que nous avons d'écrire à propos de l'autre, dans le jargon spécialisé ou la prose de la discipline, c'est que les anthropologues du monde Occidental font peu d'effort pour écrire pour et au Tiers Monde d'une manière qui leur est accessible. Le but de mon article est de montrer comment le mandat de critique culturel au sein de notre discipline, peut être étendu afin d'incorporer et de faire participer l'Autre. Je fais référence à mon expérience en anthropologie, en tant que journaliste à St-Vincent, un petit pays des Caraïbes orientales et dans les îles Grenadines où ma critique consistait en une longue série d'articles remettant en question les croyances de l'élite et de la classe moyenne en ce qui concerne la production, la vente et la consommation de la marijuana.

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> [A] fundamental change is required in the perception of the world in which and for which critical projects of ethnography are undertaken. This necessitates, in turn, transformations both in the way ethnography is written, and in the ethnographer's awareness of for whom it is written.
>
> — George E. Marcus and Michael J. Fischer, *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*

Cultural anthropology has always been an academic exchange mainly with and for the West about the Rest.[1] The observation that Western anthropologists write almost exclusively *to themselves about the Other* is as trite as it is axiomatic. Though it reflects the fact that our priority has always been to communicate to other anthropologists (Kuper 1994:551; cf. Scheper-Hughes 1995: 438), it also means that our *Mirror for Man* (Kluckhohn 1949) has also been one of First World academic self-reflection, self-criticism and self-narrative. Margaret Mead's *Coming of Age in Samoa* (1923), the most popular anthropological book ever written, was meant to teach Americans about their own society through the study of another way of life (Freeman 1983; Marcus and Fischer 1986). The second most widely read work in anthropology, Clyde Kluckhohn's *Mirror for Man*, was a mirror only for the West: "Studying primitives enables us to see ourselves better.... *Anthropology holds up a great mirror to* [Western] *man and lets him look at himself in his infinite variety*" (1949:11, emphasis in original). The crack in Jay Ruby's (1982:1) mirror is a fracture in ethnographic epistemology—"consciousness about being conscious"—in and for First World anthropology; so are the reflections in DeVita and Armstrong's *Distant Mirrors* (1993). Such academic "Westerncentrism" has an obvious corollary that has received little critical attention: hardly any effort is ever made by Western scholars to write *for and to* the Other *about themselves* using simple prose and popular local outlets.[2]

According to Marcus and Fischer: "Writing *single texts* with multiple voices exposed within them, as well as with multiple readerships explicitly in mind, is perhaps the sharpest spur to the contemporary experimental impulse in anthropological writing, both as ethnography and cultural critique" (1986:163, my emphasis). But this uncritically constrains such experimentation by ignoring the possibility of also writing *different texts* for different readerships when the single academic work is either unavailable or incomprehensible. Marcus and Fischer (1986:138) also argue from a traditional Westerncentric position when they claim, like Kluckhohn and many others before them, that "The challenge of serious cultural criticism is to bring the insights gained on the periphery back to the center to raise havoc with our settled ways of thinking and conceptualization." A truly global anthropology would also argue that insights from either domain should be employed to raise havoc in the

periphery, too, when the settled ways of thinking and conceptualization there are as intolerant or uncritical as their counterparts at the centre. Failure to accept this implication of cultural critique—to argue that the Other is either too backward to sustain such a critique (from the West or from within itself) or that the public questioning of belief and behaviour may threaten future field work (don't insult your hosts or they won't invite you back to feast on their culture)—would be as paternalistic as it is careerist.

For all its interest in the relation between text and reader, postmodern/reflexive/textualist/experimental ethnography (Atkinson 1990; Clifford 1988; Clifford and Marcus 1986; Keesing 1989; Marcus and Fischer 1986; Marcus 1992) also has surprisingly little to say about who writes the texts, why they write them and who they write them for (cf. Kuper 1994). This may be because it is assumed that the texts are written by professionally trained field workers (even though most researchers have had little or no formal training in doing or writing ethnography), that they are written to further the goals of the discipline (even though these goals are now being vigorously contested) and that, except for the minor subfield of "media anthropology" (Allen 1994), the intended readers are mainly other anthropologists (even though topical and theoretical overspecialization and journal proliferation have produced a fragmented and dwindling readership).

There are several obvious reasons why Western anthropologists have never paid much attention to writing for and to the *remote* Other about themselves, using straightforward discourse and accessible local outlets. Career advancement lies in the First World, not the Third. Moreover, as academics—members of an esoteric and privileged scholarly community—most anthropologists have little motivation to or interest in writing non-technical pieces for general audiences even in their own societies. This, of course, reflects a strong measure of intellectual conceit, an aversion to what is disdainfully dismissed as "popularization" (Allen 1994:xv). First World academic constraints are reinforced by barriers to Third World publication. Since the analysis and writing up of field material may take months or years and since the first priority is always with First World scholarly communication, the anthropologist who fails to keep up long-term contact with the Other society may find it difficult to get material published there. This is exacerbated by the one-shot nature of most ethnographic field work for, unless they intend to do long-term research there, many anthropologists turn their back on the Other after their single period of field work has been completed.[3] But even materials—journal articles, reports and monographs—remitted to those who have helped with the study do not reach the public since these are never widely distributed. Donating publications to local libraries or arranging for their sale in local bookstores does not solve this problem, because the specialized jargon of most such works makes them inaccessible even to college-trained people, a category that makes up a

tiny proportion of most Third World societies. Moreover, few members of the public buy or read such works in the First World, even when the subject matter bears on their own communities, and there is no reason to expect more readers or sales of comparable works in poor Third World countries where books are routinely sold for two or three times their developed-country price. More important still is the fact that the kinds of issues that would attract local attention are precisely those that most foreign anthropologists, especially those who want to return to conduct additional research, would avoid like the plague. For Third World newsrooms no less than First World ones, bad news is good news. Reports of misconduct by public figures, accusations of political corruption or police brutality and commentaries on criminal activity, especially if these are narrated by apparently knowledgeable and seemingly impartial outside experts, would be given prominent treatment in countries where the press is more or less free to print what it likes. Though they often given prominence to various kinds of exploitation in their scholarly First World publications (e.g., Scheper-Hughes 1992; Smith 1991; Trouillot 1988), most anthropologists—if they wish to keep their research permits or get new ones—would be loath to give them much treatment in popular Third World publications. Conversely, the kinds of issues that anthropologists might be keen to write about in public—the structural analysis of myth or the symbolism of national ritual—would attract as much media interest in the Third World as they do in the First.

But the interests of scientific anthropology and the interests of the Other are not always irreconcilable. There are many Third World countries where the obstacles to popular publication can be overcome if the researcher wants to reciprocate for the career and other personal rewards of the field experience with more than the token handful of journal offprints or couple of copies of monographs and/or do more than whine that her/his writings have been misread or sensationalized by an unscrupulous press (Brettell 1993). Indeed, the Other may also have reason to complain about the unprincipled appropriation, misinterpretation and transfer of ethnographic material from its natural milieu to some alien one (Brettell 1993). Both grievances can be answered partially by placing some priority on writing to and for the study population in an accessible local medium.

My cultural critique of and for the Other consisted of challenging the taken-for-granted position about the causes and consequences of marijuana production, sale and consumption in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (hereafter identified by its local acronym, SVG), a small (388 square km, 110 000 people), mountainous country located in the southeastern part of the Caribbean Sea.[4] A former sugar colony that gained its political independence from Great Britain only in 1989, the country is still economically dependent on the former motherland for the sale of all its bananas, the country's chief (legal) cash crop and main (legal) export. Though it has experienced some superficial economic

growth in recent years, SVG has long been one of the poorest countries with one of the highest un(der)employment rates in the region (Potter 1992; Rubenstein 1987). Together with its rugged terrain, poor road network, vast expanse of unsupervised Crown lands and inadequately patrolled coastal waters, this has helped propel SVG to the position of second highest marijuana producer in the entire Caribbean after Jamaica, a country where *ganja* (the common name given to the *Cannabis sativa* plant in the English-speaking Caribbean) has been produced and consumed for nearly 150 years (Rubin and Comitas 1975). Since SVG's land mass is one thirtieth of Jamaica's, the former may even be a much more intensive marijuana producer than the latter, a striking feature since large-scale cultivation there began no earlier than the mid-1970s (Rubenstein 1988).

My cultural critique consisted of writing 46 articles (nearly 53 000 words) that appeared between December 1992 and June 1994 under the heading, "The Drug Dilemma," in the tabloid-sized weekly *The Vincentian* (circulation 4500), the oldest newspaper in SVG (see Figure 1). Four articles overviewed marijuana production, sale and consumption in SVG; five described its origin and spread; five surveyed 24 years of its treatment in newspaper reports, editorials and letters to the editor; four summarized the results of a national questionnaire on drugs I administered in 1988; 23 detailed marijuana production, sale and consumption in the main study community, Leeward Village;[5] and five assessed the most recent scientific evidence about the drug's adverse effects.

Where Cannabis Is King

Though cannabis is now king in SVG, it is a crop associated with the most ignoble of Vincentians: young, poor, rural, Black men. It is this feature rather than marijuana's alleged dangers that accounts for much of the societal opposition to it. This is because despite all the upward mobility that has taken place over the past 50 years, the Vincentian populace remains hierarchically stratified by race and colour, income and property, occupation and education, prestige and respectability, and privilege and power (Fraser 1975; Rubenstein 1987). To be sure, SVG is now a sovereign state with a fully enfranchised Black electorate. The government, including elected politicians—except the Prime Minister who is near-White in phenotype and pedigree—and senior civil servants, consists mainly of Black people. Many professionals (lawyers, physicians, accountants, senior civil servants, clergymen and others) come from poor rural backgrounds and many commercial establishments (automobile dealerships, bakeries, clothing and hardware emporia, pharmacies and restaurants) are owned by Black people. But the many examples of Black people rising from near the bottom to near the top of the class hierarchy have blurred rather than obliterated the main social and economic boundaries.

Figure 1
Sample Article from *The Vincentian*

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The Drug Dilemma

-Hymie Rubenstein

How Many Vincentians Are Involved With Illegal Drugs?

Part II. Guesstimates From Leeward Village

Last time I argued that it is important to try to discover how many people are involved with illegal drugs. With respect to growing ganja, the evidence from the Soufriere operations suggests that at least 1,500 Vincentian males are growing ganja. In turn, this probably represents one third of those who have ever cultivated marijuana. This approximation is supported by data from one rural community.

Leeward Village is the fictitious name of a large community of 2,300 people on the Caribbean coast of St Vincent Island. Of the 143 villagers who have at some time tried their hand at marijuana planting, only eight are women. Over 70 percent of the 143 people are no longer growing weed. Most stopped because they either feared arrest or because their nearly ripe crops were repeatedly lost to "ripper men." Indeed, many dread village ganja thieves more than they fear the police.

The 135 former and present male growers represent six percent of the total village population, over one-quarter of the adult male labour force, and nearly one-half of the total number of village male farmers. Ganja growing is a young man's venture. Of the 36 men now growing weed, 70 percent are under the age of 30.

The 1991 SVG Census shows that 81,000 people live outside Kingstown and its suburbs. If Leeward Village resembles other rural communities in its ganja growing, the figure of six percent suggests that about 5,000 rural male residents have at some time been growers. This figure is not much out of line with my 4,500 estimate from the Soufriere police operations.

Many ganja growers are also dealers who sell their produce directly to consumers or to local and foreign middlemen. SVG is a small but active player in the international drug trade. Within the Caribbean region, its ganja is shipped principally to Barbados, Grenada, Trinidad and Tobago, St Lucia, and Martinique. Some weed also ends up in the United States, England, and other European countries. Judging from the amount of Telefunken electronics said to be proudly displayed in many North Leeward sitting rooms, Germany may be a popular destination. If we could only find as many profitable outlets for our legal crops!

How many people are involved at the various levels of wheeling and dealing? No one can say for sure! I can only make a couple of observations based on mid-to-low-level operations in Leeward Village.

Leeward Village has never been a very big ganja producer. Weed is nearly always said to be "scarce" in the community, and much of the local supply comes from communities to the north. Still, it is generally easy to find someone who has some herb to sell and there are many pushers in the community. In fact, some 163 people, mostly male, have been involved in selling weed at some time in their lives. This number even exceeds the number of active and former growers, underscoring the popularity of ganja in the community. Current ganja sellers number 73 people, 60 of whom are men, most of whom are under 30 years of age.

But selling ganja is not a full-time job and my figures on current sellers refer to anyone peddling any amount of weed over the previous 12 month period. Every week sees several sellers "go out business" and there are only 6-12 vendors peddling their stock at any given time. Some petty distributors simply smoke up or give away much of their store and have no money to buy new supplies; others show poor business sense and credit too many "spliffs" to dishonest customers; still others give up because they are afraid of getting caught. There are always replacement salespeople and no shortage of eager customers.

Except for the larger growers who try to dispose of most of their weed as quickly as possible to urban pushers, sales tend to be small in scale and intermittent in volume. Two-dollar spliffs and $EC20.00 portions are the main units of sale and most dealers have to find other ways to support themselves.

What should one make of these findings from Leeward Village? If this community is at all representative -- and I find no reason to suspect otherwise -- there must be several thousand rural and urban Vincentians who are making at least part of their living hawking prohibited narcotics.

NEXT TIME:
"Part III. How Drug Users Are There In SVG?"

Editor's Note: Hymie Rubenstein is Professor of Anthropology in St Paul's College at the University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, and a naturalized Vincentian.

Many features of the traditional racial hierarchy are still evident and a disproportionate number of the biggest businesses (such as supermarkets and the largest department stores) are in the hands of Whites and Mulattoes. Phenotypical differences are still evaluated as connoting differential inherent worth, and political decisions, overtly made by Blacks for Blacks, still favour long-standing vested (White or near-White) economic interests. Given that there have also been a series of right-of-centre governments (Potter 1992), the inevitable result is continued, restricted access to social and economic opportunities, rewards and honours based on class and colour.

Most Black Vincentians (three quarters of the population according to preliminary reports from the 1990 census) are poor and most poor Vincentians (between two thirds and three quarters of the population) are Black. The lowest ranking and most destitute members of the poor Black population are young rural males, a category often pejoratively labelled by all other status groups as rowdy, uncouth, blasphemous, lazy, thievish, ignorant, illiterate, violent and unkempt. Sometimes feared because of their alleged predilection for lawless or anti-social behaviour, often despised for appearing to scorn societal norms of respectability, it is these youths and young men who are the most conspicuous and unrepentant of marijuana growers, sellers and smokers.[6] It is also these people, men between their late teens and mid-thirties, whose beliefs, values and behaviour formed the subject of more than half the articles in my newspaper series.

Although ganja is merely the latest in a long series of Vincentian cash crops, unlike these other cultigens (such as coffee, tobacco, sugar cane, cotton, coconuts, a variety of tropical root crops and, most recently, bananas) which have been met by either government support or indifference, *Cannabis sativa* is a prohibited substance in SVG which carries severe juridical sanctions. Concomitantly, its production, sale and consumption have been associated with much internecine conflict and praedial larceny, thousands of police raids and ganja seizures and hundreds of imprisonments and/or costly fines. Between 20 and 25 percent of the prison population is incarcerated for "dangerous drug" offenses (St. Vincent and the Grenadines 1991, 1994) which often consist of possession of a single *spliff* (marijuana cigarillo). For many poor Black men and youths, such deterrents have not been enough to dissuade them from growing marijuana. Confronted by few money-making alternatives and tempted by the potential for very profitable returns (the retail price of ganja is a hundredfold the retail price of its most profitable legal counterparts), these individuals have decided, however reluctantly, to risk imprisonment, personal injury and the destruction or theft of their crops by engaging in the commercial production of ganja.

Who Has the Authority to Speak for the Other?

Given the relative political, economic and scientific powerlessness of the Other, some may term a cultural critique of and for that Other as "scientific neo-colonialism." This time the alien researcher is no longer content to act as intellectual voyeur peeping at (and then commandeering and profiting from) the lifeways of the Third World Other for the edification of a First World audience (as in the older "scientific colonialism" [Galtung 1967]) but is now also an exhibitionist arrogantly "revealing to" that Other the "true" conditions of its own existence. But as a corollary of the larger question of "Who has the authority to speak for a group's identity or authenticity?" (Clifford 1988:8), this criticism presupposes that those who might speak on their own behalf are able or willing to do so. Who, for example, has the authority to speak for the Other if that Other cannot (because of illiteracy or low status) or will not (because of indifference or the fear of social or legal retribution) speak for itself? Who is warranted to speak to the Other about *their* Other in societies hierarchically divided by class, race and ethnicity? Who can claim the right to speak when there is no true group to speak for—no enclave culture, no aboriginal people, no closed corporate community—but rather an amorphous category of people marked by variable and flexible involvement with a non-indigenous substance? Who should speak when the forms of behaviour and belief in question no more belong to or form part of self-identity in SVG than they do in Jamaica (see Dreher 1982), Trinidad (see Lieber 1981), England (see Berke and Hernton 1974) or the United States (see Goode 1970)? And what else can a concerned and involved researcher do but speak out when the issue at hand has already received so much spurious local treatment?

There have been several voices and perspectives on what Vincentians call "the drug problem," only one of which—my own—has regularly, systematically and publicly echoed the voices and perspectives of those who are smeared by *ad hominem* attacks whenever they try to question established knowledge and policies. If I were "revealing the truth," it was not to the *ganja man*, as those involved with marijuana are called. Since most such people are only barely literate, few of them even knew that I had written for and about them.[7] But illiteracy hardly matters since I would be repeating, often in their own words, what they had already told me. Rather I wrote to those literate Vincentians—people with three or more years of successful secondary schooling—who form the middle class and élite of the society for and about *their* Other.

Though there were several other considerations (discussed below), the main stimulus for the column, then, was a combined moral-intellectual aversion to the way marijuana was being treated in the local print media and by the local (para-)medical community. Taking the lead from an anthropological study of marijuana in Costa Rica (Carter 1980:31-40, Table 10), I perused and classi-

fied all articles dealing with drugs (marijuana, alcohol and cocaine, but not tobacco) in *The Vincentian* newspaper from 1969 through 1992. Parallelling its treatment in Costa Rica, all but five of the 367 news reports, editorials and letters to the editor dealing directly or indirectly with marijuana were negative in tone, substance or intent.

There was the odd discordant voice in *The Vincentian*, but these were always silenced or drowned out by the dominant tune. When, for example, one anonymous writer called "Peter" disputed the assertions that "of all three drugs (Alcohol, Cigarettes and Marijuana) the latter is considered to be the most dangerous . . . and where there is an increase in the smoking of marijuana one can anticipate the increase in the crime rate" (*The Vincentian*, March 26, 1982), quoted from a radio interview of Dr. Cecil Cyrus, the most respected member of the Vincentian medical establishment, a personal attack from another anonymous writer, "Frank," quickly followed:

> [W]e know Dr. Cyrus: we know his qualifications and we know his right to express himself on a subject such as drug abuse; since "Peter" has chosen to hide under a pseudonym, we are unable to assess his qualifications or his right to express himself on a technical subject; however, the tendentious tone of his letter leads me to speculate either that he is an addict attempting to justify his own behaviour in his own eyes or that he is a pusher protesting vigorously against any attempt to interfere with his livelihood. (*The Vincentian*, April 2, 1982).[8]

Many articles in my column quoted from and critically evaluated such letters, news stories and editorials. I include extracts from many of these, marking them **HR**, to facilitate their contextual assessment, distinguish them from the other newspaper submissions and to emphasize the primacy of my voice.

> **HR:** Ironically, "Frank" fails to recognize the contradiction in his own choice "to hide under a pseudonym": how can we assess *his* qualifications to assess anyone else's qualifications? Though he may have felt that a nom de plume gave him leave to vilify "Peter" without fear of retribution, pen names talking to other pen names has an Alice in Wonderland quality which makes them hard to take seriously. (*The Vincentian*, February 26, 1993).

Parnell Campbell, then in private legal practice and until recently the country's Attorney General and Deputy Prime Minister, also took issue with "Peter's" position:

> On the evidence of my own observations over the span of some thirteen years . . . I have formed the unshakable opinion that the use of Marijuana is harmful to the individual user as well as society.
>
> I base my conclusion on the intimate knowledge and observation of people who use and have used the drug. . . . And no amount of so called scientific research is going to erase memories I have of several close friends and acquaint-

> ances who have become addicted—yes, ADDICTED—to the drug, whose contributions to their own sustenance, let alone the well-being of society, have become negligible. (*The Vincentian*, April 2, 1982)

> **HR:** An "unshakable opinion" is one meaning of "intolerance" as is the disdainful dismissal of "so called scientific research." Mr. Campbell also fails to document what sort of "intimate knowledge" he has about marijuana: what "observations" he has made or how systematically he has made them. To paraphrase "Frank," we are unable to assess Mr. Campbell's qualifications or his right to express himself on such a technical subject as addiction. (*The Vincentian*, February 26, 1993)

Conventional wisdom was also once questioned by the publisher of *The Vincentian*, Edgerton Richards, who criticized American-sponsored eradication efforts in the northwestern part of the mainland which resulted in the destruction of millions of ganja plants:

> A helicopter is seen day and night in the Leeward area intimidating old and young who are trying to make a living in the mountains of their area. . . . [W]hat must these youngsters do when this Government does not even provide road work for the unemployed? In the meanwhile, the Grenadines which is the main trans-shipment point for drugs is feeding this young Nation with harder drugs [i.e., cocaine] than the mild herbal plant grown here. (*The Vincentian*, November 8, 1991)

Richards was a vocal government critic and opposition-party supporter, and political rather than economic considerations governed his editorial. Politics also governed the stinging reply from Marcus De Freitis, a former government Minister of Agriculture, who even used scriptural injunction to heap scorn on Richards:

> The Good Book makes it clear that there is no room for luke-warm Christians and indeed, this analogy holds good regarding the drug menace that is afflicting societies everywhere. I am really surprised and disturbed by what is written in the weekend papers where supposedly responsible people set out to make light of the efforts of the government and police at eradicating the marijuana plantations in this country. . . . [W]hen police and government are taking positive steps in the area of drug interdiction, we as citizens have the moral duty to support them. (*The Vincentian*, November 22, 1991)

This attack had its intended effect for Richards immediately remembered his "moral duty" by noting that "I am all for helicopter patrols as I am, as everyone knows, anti-drug" (*The Vincentian*, November 22, 1991)

Homophony and *The Vincentian*

Readers of *The Vincentian* had been supplied with a steady, nearly homophonic stream of information about ganja (Table 1): reports of major eradication efforts in remote forested regions; synopses of the trial of a local policeman charged with bribery; news of big seizures at the airport; excerpts from anti-drug speeches by the Prime Minister; stories about adverse findings in overseas marijuana medical research; reports of the large number of "marijuana addicts" admitted to the mental hospital; charges that SVG is the largest ganja producer in the Eastern Caribbean; summaries of drug seminars held in the region; and highlights from local drug abuse rallies. This varied and extensive negative coverage—more than one item per month for the entire 24-year period, 1969-92, and nearly one per week between 1987-92 alone—served to both reflect and create public opinion against ganja (cf. Carter 1980:37).

Fixation on the actual or assumed deleterious features of cannabis was itself not surprising since the local media get most of its international material from like-minded First World news services (Elwood 1994). Nor was the increased attention paid to marijuana during the late 1980s and early 1990s difficult to account for since this parallelled increased recognition of and reaction to the extent of its local production. What was surprising (and what seemed to surprise anonymous writer "Peter" as well) was how superficial, obsolete, unscientific and vituperative the newspaper and other accounts were. One recent editorial called "addiction"[9] to marijuana "the new slavery" (*The Vincentian*, May 6, 1992), and several others tried to link the substance to violent criminal behaviour and pornography. For example, in his August 16, 1985, piece influential weekly columnist, political scientist and lawyer Dr. Kenneth John argued that

> it does seem to me that the drug [marijuana] has led to many blighted lives, a waste in human resources and a spiralling growth in crime. A casual walk around town and a peep into the prison and mental hospital will produce the evidence. Clearly there is an upsurge in drug-related crime if only because the stakes are so high.
>
> **HR:** What Dr. John means by "blighted lives" or a "waste of human resources" is not clear. Nor does he present any evidence that, whatever their meaning, they are, along with mental illness, caused by marijuana consumption. To be sure, the prison is full of marijuana users, growers, and pushers. But this is less a product of the "blight" and "waste" marijuana produces than a consequence of the elementary fact that using, growing or pushing the drug are punishable by imprisonment. (*The Vincentian*, February 19, 1993)

John's views were not just those of a concerned citizen, albeit a high-ranking one. They also parallelled the official police position as articulated by the Commissioner of Police himself who argued that "The relationship be-

Table 1
Articles in *The Vincentian* Dealing with Drugs, 1966-92

	1966-68	69-71	72-74	75-77	78-80	81-83	84-86	87-89	90-92	Total
Destruction/seizure of ganja	0	0	0	1	1	0	3	3	3	11
Arrests/trials/fines for ganja use/sale	0	7	6	2	6	0	4	9	22	56
Arrests for ganja possession in other countries	1	1	2	0	0	2	5	8	3	22
Other police/state drug (ganja) control efforts	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	5	7	15
Caribbean region drug control efforts	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	8	9	21
Overseas drug control efforts	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4	11	16
Editorials about ganja	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	1	8
Letters condemning ganja	1	1	0	0	3	5	2	1	2	15
Letters defending ganja	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	1	3
Letters, editorials, addresses, and seminars on alcohol abuse	0	3	0	3	0	1	6	1	5	19
Other letters about drug abuse/trafficking	0	0	1	0	0	0	10	10	8	29
Editorials and news reports on drug use/abuse/trafficking	0	0	2	0	0	0	5	18	9	34
Scientific studies of drug (ganja) abuse	5	2	0	0	0	4	1	13	2	27
Scientific reports of benefits of ganja or alcohol	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	3
Speeches, seminars, rallies, and campaigns against drug abuse	0	1	2	0	0	0	11	24	11	49
Caribbean region lectures, reports, and seminars on drugs	0	0	1	0	0	0	5	10	3	19
Police corruption/abuse of authority	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	19	23
Other reports on drugs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	13	22
Total	7	17	14	6	12	14	62	131	129	392

tween drugs and crime is clear. . . . Drug abuse breeds both serious crimes and gangland revenge" (*The Vincentian*, April 21, 1989).

Other editorials have employed hyperbolic language to make equally unsubstantiated sociological and psychological assertions that a drug lifestyle among the youth threaten "to choke out any former semblances of Vincentian life and untainted mores" (*The Vincentian*, May 20, 1988), and that in rural areas the youth smoke ganja "to ease their frustration, and fill an empty void created by the loss of hope" (*The Vincentian*, October 14, 1988). Two signed columns even argued that drug abusers are guilty of what many Vincentians would consider among the worst personal iniquities in their tropical country: they do not bathe.

As the letter from De Freitis suggests, Christian theological precepts have often been employed to reinforce such assertions. In one drug abuse rally Pastor Fabien

> alluded to the Bible's charge that we present our bodies as a living sacrifice, Holy, Acceptable, unto God. But instead we give God an abused stomach, a burnt out pair of lungs, jagged nerves and an unfunctional brain. We are part of a war between the two opposing forces, the Prince of Darkness, the Devil, and the Prince of Peace, JESUS CHRIST. (*The Vincentian*, December 28, 1986).

Even the country's Prime Minister, Sir James F. Mitchell, one of the region's most respected leaders, has used theological rhetoric and fiery medical metaphors to argue the drug problem (which at the time consisted only of the "marijuana problem") "is another cancer that is eating into our human society very rapidly," is "more serious than AIDS" and that

> [H]e with drugs has a lot of problems. He laughs when he should be solemn, he does everything the wrong way, because while he is still a human being in terms of the soul, put into him by God, the body is no longer his own. He dies a slow and painful death. (*The Vincentian*, September 2, 1988)

> **HR:** While he may not have actually meant that using illegal drugs like marijuana is worse than being afflicted with the killer virus, the Prime Minister tells us that the ultimate result is the same, "a slow and painful death." (*The Vincentian*, February 19, 1993)

The views of such influential individuals were rooted in and helped reinforce the position of ordinary educated Vincentians. In dozens of letters to the editor there has been talk of "hundreds of failures," "of hopeless failures," of "hideous drug addictions," of "frustration, depression and a sense of hopelessness among users" and of people being "mentally destroyed" or "enslaved by their addiction to marijuana." It has been claimed that marijuana use "inevitably destroys, maims, and permanently distorts the intellect, the bodies and the morality of its participants," that "The amount of vagrants on our streets today [because of marijuana addiction] are numberless," that "A large

number of gruesome crimes committed are drug-linked in some way," that "The crime rate is on the increase, 93% of which is drug related" and that "the illicit use of drugs is causing our homes, society, states, nations and the world on the whole to crumble."

My preliminary reply to these assertions (trying to debunk them by referring to the latest scientific literature involved several articles at the end of the series) was to point out:

> (1) the dogmatic and inflammatory way establishment positions on drugs are expressed, (2) the paucity of tangible evidence upon which these views are based, and, most important, (3) the propensity to tar-and-feather anyone who dares challenge orthodox positions, smearing them as socially irresponsible, immoral, Godless, addicted to drugs themselves, or even living off the avails of the drug trade. It seems that many Vincentians are absolutely convinced about . . . ganja. Like Parnell Campbell, they "have formed the unshakable opinion that the use of Marijuana is harmful to the individual user as well as society" or like the Prime Minister they believe that the "drug problem" is worse than the AIDS problem and that using illegal drugs will bring "a slow and painful death." Even to question such assertions is viewed as absurd since [as Kenneth John says] "everybody already knows that ganja smoking is harmful to one's health" . . . and "A casual walk around town and a peep into the prison and mental hospital will produce the evidence." (*The Vincentian*, February 26, 1993)

Many of the accepted beliefs about marijuana were based on material published by Dr. Cecil Cyrus, a general surgeon and ophthalmologist, in four articles in *The Vincentian* (written in response to "Peter's" critique) and in a specially commissioned Lions Club booklet (Cyrus 1986). *The Vincentian* reported excerpts (February 21, 1986) from Dr. Cyrus' address, launching the booklet:

> You accept the authority of doctors, of the entire medical profession, on all matters of medical illness. . . . Yet there is a vulgar reluctance to accept the unequivocal, categorical, and incontrovertible evidence attesting to the destructive effects of certain drugs, especially marijuana. In fact, there are those criminally irresponsible drug traffickers who strongly deny that marijuana causes any ill effects.

> **HR:** Nothing could be further from the truth. One the one hand, most Vincentians have bought hook, line, and sinker the negative pronouncements on marijuana by the local medical community; on the other, our understanding of "certain drugs, especially marijuana," at the time Dr. Cyrus wrote these words could not have been more equivocal, qualified, and disputable. Time and again the scientific literature uses terms like "inconclusive," "unresolved," "additional work is necessary, "discrepancy in experimental findings," "far from definitive," "much remains to be learned," and "the quality of studies leaves much to be desired" to describe what is known (and not known) about the drug.

> As Kleiman (1989:3) argues in a review of the literature that postdates Dr. Cyrus' own review: "No consensus exists . . . on the extent of harm caused by marijuana." (*The Vincentian*, June 10, 1994)

The effects attributed to marijuana smoking by Dr. Cyrus, some based on his own medical practice, may be divided into those that are physical and those that are social or psychological. The former included: bronchitis; asthmatic attacks; increased risks of cancer; male sterility; weakening of the body's immune system; chromosomal damage; chronic brain damage; liver damage; increased risks of fits in epileptics; the development of female breast tissue in males; sexual impotence; and priapism (persistent erection of the penis). The latter included: an amotivational syndrome; acute psychosis; schizophrenia; disinhibition causing criminal behaviour; addiction; permanent loss of mental ability; long-term memory loss; and mutism.[10]

The views of authorities like Cyrus were not lost on the general public:

> They [marijuana and cocaine] can lead to hallucinations, weight loss, personality change, excitability, paranoia, along with the committing of criminal acts—theft, robbery and murder. (*The Vincentian*, February 7, 1986)

> On the individual this drug [marijuana] affects the lungs and may cause lung cancer. It also affects the brain which is known as "the human computer." I believe the reason why many users are not aware of the dangers of marijuana is because their brain cells have been destroyed by it. (*The Vincentian*, March 4, 1988)

One prize-winning student essay reprinted in the paper said that

> These harmful drugs [marijuana and cocaine] destroy your brain cells among other things. . . . The user is not able to make sensible judgments, he or she develops a short memory, becomes lazy, restless and self certain and cannot function properly on the job or at school. Users of drugs especially marijuana become paranoid.
>
> Once addicted to a drug, and this happens without us realizing it, it is also impossible to live without it. As a result the victim has to spend large sums of money to keep up the habit. If he is not working he does unlawful things such as stealing, in order to get the money. A woman often prostitutes herself. (*The Vincentian*, January 20, 1989)

Partly to test whether these negative views about marijuana reflected a national consensus or represented the position of a handful of medical people, politicians, newspaper columnists and vociferous letter-to-the-editor writers, I administered a drug questionnaire to 269 students in four of the nation's secondary schools in 1988. The negative views of the students—which I also reported in the column—echoed the negative views reported in *The Vincentian* newspaper. This did not necessarily mean that Vincentian high school students were avid newspaper readers; what it did suggest is that both the accounts in

the paper and the views of the young people reflected the same widespread misunderstanding of and resultant aversion to marijuana.[11]

Multivocality and "The Drug Dilemma"

I spoke with or about several voices in the column: the voice of the local health care community; ordinary literate Vincentians who had written to the paper; the senior high school students I had interviewed; the international drug research community; and those directly involved with ganja growing/selling/smoking. Since I selected, represented and interpreted the other voices, the overarching and omniscient voice was my own. Because my aim was to challenge extant Vincentian beliefs and practices and because I was writing to a literate but non-specialist audience in a popular medium, I tried to be direct, factual, provocative and authoritative (Fillmore 1994:49). I also tried to temper—and hence strengthen—my position as authority by pointing out how contested many of the findings of marijuana research actually were. Such an appeal to research ambiguity was intended to show how intolerant and anti-scientific the mainstream Vincentian position was, to subvert the authority of the Other while promoting my own. Any appearance of self-doubt, any self-questioning of my status as an international drug authority, as much as it might have addressed the sometimes well-founded postmodern criticisms of the traditional positivist ethnographic text, would have been self-defeating.

Though my voice dominated in the presentation of the most current scientific literature, I switched styles when dealing with informant-supplied data by allowing the ganja man to speak for himself (albeit through transcribed interviews I selected and edited) when his utterances gave folk support for positivist First World drug research findings. Ambiguity was not confined to the First World scientific literature but occasionally marked the beliefs and experiences of the ganja man himself. These were also described to forestall the claim that my perspective was incomplete or biased. I called the beliefs, values and practices of those who grew/sold/smoked marijuana part of a "ganja contra-culture":

> **HR:** There are thousands of members of this opposition pro-ganja culture. Though their actions are constantly scrutinized and negatively evaluated, their voices are rarely heard or taken seriously. My mandate as an anthropologist requires that I give voice to these voiceless people. (*The Vincentian*, April 8, 1993)

Three of the 23 pieces that dealt with the ganja contra-culture in Leeward Village introduced the community and some aspects (related via anecdotes) of my field work there. The remaining articles described the demographic, social, economic and ideological variability in local drug use. I described the kinds of people involved in growing, selling and smoking marijuana; how, when and

why they first got involved with the substance; how they grew, shared, sold and smoked cannabis; what they thought about marijuana both in itself and in relation to alcohol and cocaine (a drug that became popular in SVG beginning in the mid- to late 1980s); what attitudes and beliefs they held about the mainstream societal opposition to the substance; and their experience with and assessment of the actual physical, medical, psychological, behavioural and economic causes and effects of involvement with smoking, selling and growing marijuana. One column questioned the widespread middle class and élite idea that marijuana farmers are lazy people looking for a quick and easy dollar and five treated the "*tribulation* context," the fact that involvement with ganja produces *cut down* (the destruction of ganja crops by the police or community adversaries), *rip-off* (the theft of growing, harvested or processed ganja), *unfairness* and *robbery* (being taken advantage of, exploited or fooled in some ganja transaction or arrangement, sometimes accompanied by a fear or threat of physical violence) and *fight down* (actual physical violence sometimes accompanied by the use of weapons). These five columns[12] served to balance the other material—to show that there were many negative features (albeit products of interdiction rather than consumption) that accompanied marijuana—and to suggest that though I was critical of dominant societal beliefs about and actions against cannabis, I was no advocate for marijuana use.

I only made my own moderate position known in the last column though I deliberately veiled it with the more liberal views of others:

> **HR:** [S]ince it is possible to become a psychologically [as opposed to physiologically] addicted "ganjaholic," since acute long-term use results in a high tolerance reaction, and since we are still unsure about its long-term dangers, the use of marijuana should he treated with caution. If you have never used marijuana, I would not recommend that you start; if you are a heavy user, I would suggest that you cut down.
>
> . . . [M]any scientists would say that I am being too cautious. They would argue that since hardly any other substance, natural or artificial, has ever been studied as much with such inconclusive or contradictory results and since millions of people have been using marijuana for thousands of years in all parts of the world with little or no apparent ill effect, then this is proof enough that marijuana is relatively innocuous. If it were the "killer weed" that some say it is, there would have been proof of this long ago. The call for yet more research, they would argue, has nothing to do with medicine and everything to do with morality. (Grinspoon and Bakalar 1993)

The views and experiences of the ganja men were presented in their own words. A tiny sample from a variety of domains is given, using a modified orthography from the one employed in the column (to make the men's Creole English voices more understandable to standard English users), to illustrate how antithetical these were to mainstream assertions.

On addiction:

IO: I have been smoking for a while [16 years] and I have never got hook on the habit. I could do without it. (*The Vincentian*, July 30, 1993)

On physical damage:

XQ: A man could smoke but you have to know how you smoking. The smoke not go up there for touch your lung. It not touch there. Doctor does tell too much a whole heap of lie. Doctor does print a whole heap of thing and show you ass. (*The Vincentian*, July 30, 1993)

On criminality:

IO: It's not a habit where you have to kill a man or you have to break [into] somebody's house to get money to buy it. Herb [ganja] is not leading you into other habits so as to break people house to get money to buy it, or to break a bank or something. (*The Vincentian*, August 6, 1993)

On government opposition:

CC: Because money in there and them can't get it, so them going to say all thing. I-man a say the government can't get out no tax out of the ganja, no income tax. If them could of get income tax, they would of say them for it. (*The Vincentian*, August 6, 1993)

On social interaction:

KE: The first night I ever smoke that thing is the first night I am going to hold conversation like a real man. I lime [date] a girl that same night. Me not know how for talk to woman. The first time I burn [smoke] this thing I see what I never see before. Me reason what me never reason before. That is the first night me ever pick up a woman. (*The Vincentian*, August 13, 1993)

On sexuality:

XB: To me, ganja make you stronger. Ganja don't humbug no sex life. More ganja you burn, the more woman you want to want. Because I make three kids in one year with three different woman. Three powerful youth too, healthy youth. Ganja make you powerful, man. (*The Vincentian*, August 13, 1993)

On the work ethic:

CP: Them say when you smoke weed that you lazy. But other people [non-smokers] who lazy [too]. Because when I wake up this morning I smoke a weed up a bush and do real work. Weed does make you work plenty. You not want stop. You get different feelings in a you. (*The Vincentian*, August 20, 1993)

On medicinal uses:

> XB: My man [friend] used to say since he start to drink that ganja tea he start to shit pretty, pretty, pretty like gold. He used to shit black shit, ugly shit. It clean him out. From the time he start to just drink ganja tea, that man just get clean out. Ganja is a good medicine. Is the healing of the nation. That is a herb that we should take care of. (*The Vincentian*, August 27, 1993)

On ganja vs. tobacco:

> IO: Who feel like smoking [ganja], smoke it because cigarette kill you and it's still being sold by the pack. (*The Vincentian*, September 3, 1993)

On ganja vs. alcohol:

> KE: Me is a ganja smoker and me and my old man and my old queen [mother] get down well. I never curse them. I never lash them, raise me hand to lash them. And then I have a brother and when you hear he drink and he come in, he tell my old man, "Who the fuck is you? You drinking like me too. Nobody can't put me out of this house." Rum! My old man put he out the house for that. The next day he say he not been a say them thing there. And right now he there begging back that if my old man can take him back. (*The Vincentian*, September 3, 1993)

On cognition:

> CC: It make I think plenty wise. The first time I burn weed, it start to make I-man think plenty thing about life. Thinking I wonder what my future going to be. Think plenty, real meditation. (*The Vincentian*, August 13, 1993)

On memory:

> PT: They say this ganja does make you forget but I prove time and time again that people who don't smoke just normally forgetting things. So I can't see how you going to tell me the smoking make you forget. (*The Vincentian*, July 30, 1993)

On mental illness:

> XB: If you check the majority of people in the mental hospital, this madness have to come from them roots. It were there from creation. (*The Vincentian*, July 30, 1993)

These ganja contra-culture views and experiences could hardly differ more from their mainstream counterparts. The most striking and most often discussed of these was the relation between marijuana and mental health and psychological well-being. Presumably because "proof" for them is easier to come by—"A casual walk around town and a peep into the prison and mental hospital will produce the evidence"—allegations of harmful mental and be-

havioural sequelae from smoking marijuana, together with the "chronic brain damage" sometimes thought to cause them, have received much attention in the press. Several articles, for example, have given precise figures for the number of admissions to the Mental Health Centre because of the (ab)use of marijuana. The presence of such "hard evidence" prompted me to devote a whole piece to the relation between mental health and marijuana (see Appendix A).

The last of my five pieces, subtitled "The Case For and Against Marijuana" (June 24, 1994), confronted what I considered the most pernicious feature of the societal treatment of marijuana, the Vincentian self-righteous opposition to it, and was deliberately meant to provoke some response from readers (see Appendix B).

What Does Silence Mean?

Clifford (1988:7) argues that "The time is past when privileged authorities could routinely 'give voice' . . . to others without fear of contradiction," parallelling Rosaldo's (1989:21) claim that "Social analysis must now grapple with the realization that its objects of analysis are also analyzing subjects who critically interrogate ethnographers—their writings, their ethics, and their politics." Though their observation has been shown to apply to many research situations (see Brettell 1993), it hardly applied to my experience of newspaper writing in SVG. This may be partly because the "others/objects" I gave voice to were *their* "other/objects," a constituency that did not have the resources to act as "analyzing subjects." Still, I thought that I had offered sufficient criticism of mainstream belief and behaviour, including denunciations of the views of many well-known and respected public figures, to warrant more rebuttal than I received. But the only challenge I got was a single response in another local newspaper criticizing allegations I had made about the possible use of ganja by a local Black-power group during the late 1960s. When I asked him what he thought silence meant, the publisher of *The Vincentian* asserted that I had said "everything there is to say on the subject." But I knew better than to assume that silence meant assent, that I had merely confirmed what many people had suspected or believed all along, or that I was so persuasive that I had effected a massive turnaround in public opinion.[13] The possibility that the column had a small readership that declined as time went on was more plausible. With only about 4500 copies printed every week, with other newspapers and the government-owned television station increasing their following at the expense of *The Vincentian*, with a single-topic column that seemed to go on forever because of two long interregnum periods (not of my own making), and with many pieces that went well beyond the 700- to 800-word limit good editorials are supposed to observe, the number of readers may have fallen off drastically by the time I presented the most critical material in the last several pieces. Still, the number of strangers who stopped me in

Kingstown, even when the column was not appearing, to say that they were following it means that I did have some readers.

But silence may also have meant dissent: many of those who viewed me as an apologist for illegal drug use may either quickly have stopped reading the column or were unwilling to dignify my apparently eccentric position with a response; others who disagreed with me, like their counterparts in any society, may have been unable to articulate their complaints or were not moved enough to put them in writing; still others might have been willing to reply but did not have the means to critique my field-work findings or counter my interpretation of the extant scientific literature.

Silence may also have reflected a widespread misinterpretation of the material in the column. This is as likely as any possibility and strikes at the heart of the difficulty in communicating to a heterogeneous Other about their heterogeneous Other on such a contested area as illegal drug use. Several people presented me with widely different interpretations of the column's overall thrust. One said she hoped that what I had written would finally prompt people to stop smoking marijuana. Another asked if I did not fear being assassinated by drug dealers for allegedly exposing their mode of operation. A third expressed concern that my discussion of marijuana cultivation techniques might encourage more people to take up the practice. A fourth showed surprise that I was able to convince *The Vincentian* to publish material so sympathetic to the ganja contra-culture. In a letter to the editor two weeks after the last column appeared, the writer acknowledged my authority while misinterpreting the thrust of my position:

> Who is the best person to ask about St. Vincent? Is that person Prime Minister Mitchell, [newspaper columnist] Dr Kenneth John, Dr Adrian Fraser [the extramural tutor at the local branch of the University of the West Indies and a columnist in a rival newspaper], Dr Vivian Child [a medical doctor and local newspaper columnist], or Dr H. Rubenstein?
>
> If one wants to find out about the illegal drug traffic in St. Vincent Dr Rubenstein might be the man to ask. His weekly articles in *The Vincentian* leave one in no doubt that we have a major problem on our hands. (*The Vincentian*, July 8, 1994)

To be sure, multiple interpretations of the same text partly reflect not what I actually wrote but its reception by a readership that differed so much in background, education and class. Combined with the fact that so many Vincentians have "unshakable opinions" about illegal drugs and that jeopardizing one's reputation by appearing to support ganja is more important than empathy with the lifeways of one's Other shows how difficult it is to effect a dialogue of this sort.

Going Public to Shatter the Other's Mirror

Though there are scores of books about doing and writing ethnography, little of this literature deals with the ethnographic audience: who is being addressed and by what means (Allen 1994). There is even less treatment of Other readers, the people whose lifeways the ethnography describes and almost nothing about Third World native readers. In *When They Read What We Write* (Brettell 1993:3), "what we write" is nearly always a specialized monograph that few native readers can understand and "when" is almost always after an accidental discovery that yet another foreign "expert" has produced yet another esoteric misrepresentation of local lifeways. The authors in the collection are said to "consider systematically the relationship between anthropological writers and readers, particularly readers who are informants or who are members of our informants' society and have vested interest in the anthropological text that has been or will be produced" (Brettell 1993:3). The "relationship between anthropological writers and readers" turns out to be remote, passive, narrow and unidirectional. First, it is decidedly Westerncentric with only one paper about readers outside the First World. Secondly, with one exception, a single "weekly regional magazine" article by Jaffe (1993:57), the insignificance of which (at least to Jaffe) is shown by its omission from the volume's bibliography, none of the research described actually was written for "readers who are informants or who are members of our informants' society." Thirdly, all of the encounters are reactive or hesitant: there are no forward-looking or forceful attempts at cultural critique, save in the original published studies, all of which were written mainly for non-native or academic audiences. Fourthly, nearly all of the papers treat the single narrow issue of "when the natives talk back" Brettell (1993:9)—react negatively to what has been written about them—leaving untouched the possibility of a direct and active interchange with the Other in their own surroundings and on their own terms. Likewise, Allen's recent primer on the praxis of "media anthropology," a variable field "that synthesizes aspects of journalism and anthropology for the explicit purpose of sensitizing as many of the Earth's citizens as possible to anthropological or holistic perspectives," is directed only to a First World citizenry (1994:xx).

My "experiment" with ethnography as journalism tried to answer each of these criticisms. Several long-standing considerations, apart from the already mentioned scholarly and moral revulsion to the way ganja was being treated by the Vincentian print media and by the local health care community, prompted me to offer to write the column. First, I had long been frustrated by the lack of knowledge of or access to my published academic writings by Vincentians. This was not for a lack of effort. Like other anthropologists, I had always sent copies of my work to the country's tiny national library, and, when my rural ethnography (Rubenstein 1987) was still in press, I convinced my

publisher to offer a special discount to Vincentian booksellers, hoping that this would make the book more marketable in such a poor country. I was in SVG when the book appeared and, armed with publisher's order forms, visited all of its book retailers to urge them to stock at least a few copies. A single bookstore reluctantly ordered 10 copies. Though the book was advertised in a television interview arranged by the Government Information Service, its high local cost—roughly equivalent to a day's pay for a mid- to senior-level civil servant—meant that these were the only books sold in SVG. I tried to make up for this by donating eight copies to the public library and various government agencies.

My frustration with the book's low circulation was exacerbated when I returned to SVG in 1989 and was told that "some" Leeward Village school teachers were saying that there were "bad things" about the community in the book. All I could find out was that there was some concern about what I had written about sexual behaviour in the village (see Rubenstein 1987:257-272). One of these teachers, who had borrowed the copy I had given to one of his colleagues, told me that he disagreed with some of what I had written but would not (or could not) elaborate on his objections. I was not really surprised by this response since it replicated the experience of other anthropologists (see Brettell 1993) and parallelled other features of my own field experience. Since 1969 there have been vague rumours that I am a CIA agent (despite my Canadian birth, citizenship and residence) sent by Uncle Sam to spy on the people of Leeward Village. Anthropologists have often been accused of spying for their actual or alleged sponsors (see Brettell 1993) and most villagers did not seem to either believe or be affected by such rumours. Some villagers simply retorted "Spy on *what*?" when we sometimes discussed this allegation, expressing their incredulity that there might be anything happening in the community that might remotely interest the American government.

Two years later I participated at an international conference on Vincentian "environmental institutions" by reading a paper describing the history of export crops from the first European settlement of the country in 1719 to the present. Nearly all civic-minded members of the Vincentian élite and many members of the educated upper-middle class were invited to attend. Active participants included the Governor-General, who gave the opening address, the Prime Minister, who delivered a thoughtful keynote presentation, and some of the leading members of the cultural, pedagogical and civil service élites. Though less than one third of my talk dealt with the latest of these cash crops, marijuana, my remarks created a storm. I seem to have touched a raw nerve by mentioning such an unseemly issue (the adaptive role of marijuana production by the most feared and despised segment of Vincentian society—poor, young, uneducated Black men) in such polite company (a wealthy and well-educated, mainly middle-aged and disproportionately female audience of

about 200 people). Indeed, my paper probably did look like an open sore against the backdrop of the many genteel presentations dealing with botanic gardens and forest reserves. I was criticized for wandering from the conference theme and for both "romanticizing" and "exaggerating" the role of marijuana in the country's economy. None of these assertions struck me as having any validity. The theme of the interdisciplinary conference—"Environmental Institutions"—was so broad that it would have been nearly impossible to stray from it (though several papers tried as hard as they could to do so by making no mention of SVG). "Romanticizing" marijuana consisted of traditional ethnographic description in which ganja was treated as a farm crop, albeit a peculiar one. "Exaggeration" involved surmising that marijuana might be the second most important national export crop following bananas, a suggestion that was based partly on material provided to me by the Special Services Unit, the branch of the Royal SVG Police Force responsible for illegal drug control. Though a couple of Vincentians came to my defence, the differential levels of audience applause made it clear that I had more critics than supporters.

My position was soon vindicated. "[T]he three-part US [Drug Enforcement Agency]-assisted eradication effort in October 1991 and January and February 1992 which destroyed over 2 million plants" (Bureau of International Narcotics Matters 1994:213) in the remote northeastern forested interior of the mainland not only confirmed that my speculations about marijuana production were far too conservative—ganja, not bananas, was the main cash crop in the country—but represented a Rubicon in Vincentian eradication efforts.

My experience at the conference, the ongoing accusations of spying and my frustration about not being able to reach a large Vincentian readership forced me to re-examine the moral implications of my field work. It was time to "go public," to try to shatter the media's grotesquely distorted mirror, and act on Hymes' (1974:50) admonition "to work toward ways in which the knowledge one obtains can be helpful to those from whom it comes. Not to do so is to be 'neutral' on the side of the existing structure of domination."

If they address the public at all, most anthropologists do so only after their academic work has been criticized (Brettell 1993). Together with the all-too-common hiatus of a decade or more between field work and monograph publication, the research in question may have little but historical interest for the society studied. There is some irony here since part of our discipline's uniqueness is that we have always given so much voice—even when this voice has been muted or reinterpreted by the imperious voice of the researcher—to habitually voiceless and often oppressed Others in Third World societies. But this voice, even when it has been brought from off to centre stage, as in some postmodern ethnography (e.g., Hajj and Rouse 1993; Price 1990), has rarely been allowed to resonate at its source. Appropriated by and reserved for a tiny

First World academic constituency, the Other is forced to eavesdrop on its own way of life.

To be sure, my field situation in SVG may not be shared by most other researchers, many of whom may rightly claim that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to replicate my efforts. (But how many have tried?) Yes, my marriage to a Vincentian has given me citizenship in the country and an unconstrained right to do field work. I have being doing long-term research there for 25 years, SVG has a free press and parliamentary democracy, there is a well-established tradition of social criticism, the present government is much more open to foreign academic research than the previous one and illegal drugs—those exemplars of transnationalism—have been hotly debated in public for over 15 years. But these features only made it easier to go public. The decision to do so was rooted in the traditions of our discipline: an aversion to bad science (whether social or physical) and a compassion for unjustly persecuted peoples. Hymes tells us that "People everywhere today, especially (and rightly) third world peoples, increasingly resist being subjects of inquiry, *especially for purposes not their own*; and anthropologists increasingly find the business of inquiring and knowing about others a source of dilemmas . . ." (1974:5, my italics). My response (part catharsis, part confessional and part intellectual engagement) to these dilemmas was to write to and for a Third World people for purposes that were very much their own. If we wish to answer the charges of obsession with Western academic careerism (the only First World "credit" for producing the column is its discussion in learned journals like this one), indifference to the actual (as opposed to "textual") fate of Third World peoples or even lack of moral courage (partly rooted in a patronizing worry about distressing one's Third World hosts), we will have to find new ways to bring anthropology's insights back to their source. According to Marcus and Fischer:

> Twentieth-century social and cultural anthropology has promised its still largely Western readership enlightenment on two fronts. The one has been the salvaging of distinct cultural forms from a process of apparent global Westernization. . . . The other promise of anthropology . . . has been to serve as a form of cultural critique for ourselves. In using portraits of other cultural patterns to reflect self-critically on our own ways, anthropology disrupts common sense and makes us re-examine our taken-for-granted assumptions. (1986:1)

If cultural anthropology hopes to address (and redress) the long-standing charge that it is a form of scientific colonialism, then Marcus and Fischer's decidedly Westerncentric second promise has to be extended so that "our" cultural patterns (including the methods and findings of First World science), together with the results of our ethnographic study of the Other (and/or their Other), are communicated to that Other so that they can reflect self-critically

on their own ways, disrupting their common sense and making them re-examine their taken-for-granted assumptions.

Appendix A

Marijuna and Mental Health

HR: Does smoking weed drive people crazy or give them brain damage? In his Lions Club booklet Dr. Cecil Cyrus argues that: "Daily as one walks the street or visits certain regions of Kingstown [SVG's 12,000 population capital], there is striking evidence of the mental or psychotic disturbances that the drug causes: those weird, unkempt creatures that line the side-path, in a state of semi-consciousness, unable to do the simplest job without pain and effort, victims of marijuana; staring into space, lost, pathetic" (p. 11). He further claims that some of these people may end up in the mental hospital: "... in retrospect, I am now able to identify many victims whom I saw over the years, but whom I did not diagnose because of ignorance about the serious nature of marijuana smoking. Now that I have read extensively on the subject, I can readily identify these poor sufferers who are everywhere in our area. A look inside our mental hospital will tell the tale of the number of psychotics, the victims of this heinous indulgence" (pp. 12-13).

But even if these "weird, unkempt creatures" were observed in the very act of smoking ganja and were really suffering from some "psychotic disturbance" (as opposed to being physically ill, mentally retarded because of a non-drug related birth defect, or simply affecting a life-style distasteful to the Doctor), how could he possibly know that ganja had "caused" their affliction? Or may it be that Dr. Cyrus has such an aversion to ganja that he is quick to label its actual or suspected chronic users as "lost" and "pathetic?" In particular, is the reference to "weird, unkempt creatures"—an unfortunate comment from the most illustrious member of the local medical community—a thinly veiled illusion to persons subscribing to the Rastafarian life style? I base this suggestion on the following case-study he gives in the pamphlet:

"A few weeks ago I had a wonderful experience when a smart-looking, tidily dressed young man consulted me. It took me a while to diagnose him as a patient who consulted me regularly before.... In those days he was scruffily dressed, with long platted untidy [i.e., Rastafarian-style] hair. So, in happy alarm I asked "why the transformation?" He replied that he had stopped smoking pot and recovered his personal standards and self-respect, and had *cut his hair*, groomed himself and was now feeling much better.... He admitted to being much happier as he no longer attracted the gaze, unsavoury comments and disdain of others" (pp. 11-12).

This alleged relation between ganja use and mental illness is the most problematic behavioural symptom of the "drug problem" in SVG. Time and time again we have been told that the mental hospital is packed with patients who have been rendered mentally ill because of their weed smoking. Ms. Patricia Israel, Administrator of the SVG Family Planning Programme, is quoted as attributing 247 of the 358 admissions to the Mental Health Centre in 1986 to marijuana abuse (*The Vincentian*, 15 April 1988). A news report also stated that 169 of the approximately 264 admissions to the Centre in 1987 were a result of marijuana abuse (*The Vincentian*, 11 November 1988). Louise Boman [someone unconnected with the Centre] even compiled some statistics

which showed that 142 of 169 mental patients who abused marijuana were males between 13-30 years old (*The Vincentian*, 14 July 1989) Likewise, Burton Williams, Minister of Health, "stated that 70 percent of all admissions to the Mental Health Centre in 1991 showed signs of drug abuse of cocaine and marijuana, and alcohol abuse" (*The Vincentian*, 5 January 1992)

Benjamin Disraeli once said that: "There are three kinds of lies: lies, damned lies, and statistics." If these assertions linking ganja to mental illness were true, SVG would be unique in the annals of psychiatric illness. To be sure, some actually or potentially psychotic or schizophrenic individuals are probably made worse by smoking grass and there is reference in the literature to what has been called a "cannabis psychosis." But the nature and extent of such a psychosis is much in question and nothing like the local mental hospital "findings" have ever been convincingly reported elsewhere.

A "look inside our mental hospital," as Dr. Cyrus suggests, will simply not do to ascertain how many of its patients are "victims of this heinous indulgence." A "psychotic disturbance" demands a professional assessment by clinically trained medical personnel and while Dr. Cyrus is reputed to be a skilled surgeon, his crude psychiatric pronouncements have little credibility. I questioned Dr. Debnath, the hospital's lone psychiatrist, about the relation between smoking marijuana and psychiatric illness. He said that he was unaware that such links had been made in local "studies" and questioned their validity here or elsewhere.

Diagnosing drug-related psychoses is a tricky business under much better conditions than exist at the ill equipped and under funded mental hospital. They require (1) detailed life-history data, (2) sophisticated laboratory tests, and (3) comprehensive physical examination by trained personnel. Except for the collection of some case-history data, no other testing is done at the mental hospital. Indeed, drug research is so backward in SVG that we still have to send all confiscated ganja to Trinidad for testing!

My own analysis of admission and diagnostic procedures at the hospital supplemented by interviews of several patients suggest that the allegations of marijuana-induced mental illness are false. Records from which the previously mentioned "statistics" are derived come from the hospital's log books. These list only the name, age, address, diagnosed illness, and type of past or present drug use. As a result, persons who have not used marijuana for several years or have always been casual users are still tabulated as "drug abusers" for "statistical" purposes. Furthermore, correlation is not the same as causation (even if it were, it should be noted that most ganja smokers never end up in the mental hospital) and it is naive in the extreme to infer in a *retrospective* manner that any patient with a history of marijuana (or other drug use for that matter) was rendered mentally ill because (s)he used the drug.

Retrospective research is flawed because it cannot reliably factor out the possible effects of poor diet and nutrition, prior exposure to illness and disease, and the use of other drugs, all of which may have caused the emotional damage attributed to marijuana.

Finally, though statements from mental patients must be treated with caution, of the dozen men I interviewed, only one suggested that marijuana might have caused him to behave in the way that led to his confinement. The others—many of them only occa-

sional weed smokers—argued that marijuana smoking had nothing to do with their having been brought to the mental hospital.

What is the relation between marijuana and mental health in other societies? The literature suggests that already psychotic patients may experience a worsening of their condition and those in remission may see a reoccurrence of their schizophrenia if they use ganja. But its effects on those who are free of mental illness is less clear. One Swedish study . . . found an apparent causal link between heavy hashish (a particularly potent form of cannabis) use and a schizophrenic-like illness in people with little evidence of pre-existing psychotic behavior. But this condition was rare and disappeared within weeks or months following cessation of hashish use. Studies of heavy users in Jamaica, Greece, and Costa Rica have shown no evidence of adverse effects on mental functioning.

There is also no good evidence that chronic marijuana use causes physical brain damage. Heath's [1980] research on marijuana-induced brain damage in monkeys referred to by Dr. Greaves [a local general practitioner] (*The Vincentian*, 6 August 1993) had already been contradicted by earlier studies among human subjects when it was published and was later dismissed as "methodologically flawed" by the U.S. Institute of Medicine [Relman et al. 1982] and other bodies.

— *The Vincentian*, June 3, 1994

Appendix B

The Case For and Against Marijuana

HR: If marijuana is less harmful than tobacco or alcohol, if its proven deleterious effects are few and far between, and if it has several possible therapeutic functions, then why is there so much opposition to it in this country? First, positive reports about it have been overwhelmed by negative ones: stories about "drug abuse" attract more public attention—and sell more newspapers—than stories about drug therapy. Second, the formal health care system has much more influence and respectability than the informal "bush medicine" system and all medical people who have spoken out about the drug have severely condemned its use. Third, those health care persons who believe that the war against marijuana has been unfair, may be reluctant to speak out for fear that this will produce gluttony among the drug's proponents and scorn from their colleagues.

Fourth, ganja use in SVG, associated as it is with Rastafarianism, is a symbol of rebelliousness and alienation. As such it represents a threat to the existing socio-economic status quo and a repudiation of our mainstream British-derived values and mores. How have "respectable" Vincentians reacted to this threat? I will never forget the late Hudson K. Tannis' [the Deputy Prime Minister] bald assertion to me in July 1980—he was the second most powerful politician in the land at the time—that: "I hate to see Rastas!"

But ganja is not only the Rasta symbol par excellence. It is also associated with the most disadvantaged and despised sector of Vincentian society: the Black, rural, under-educated youth. American drug researcher Dr. Norman Zinberg's [1976] statement that "our [United States] drug policy is based on morals, not on health considerations" applies equally to SVG. Current Vincentian drug attitudes and policies are a product of

elite and middle class morality reinforced by United States diplomatic pressure. Marijuana smoking in SVG is very much a matter of class and respectability. Though there are many secret elite and middle class smokers, they form a much smaller class-segment than their "bad boy" lower-class counterparts, most of whom smoke their ganja openly and unselfconsciously. Not unexpectedly, some of the severest critics of marijuana smoking are those not far removed from their own rural lower-class background. For these people the stigmatization of ganja is more than just the condemnation of a drug. It is also a denigration—the etymology of the word speaks for itself—of a large part of Vincentian society. As such it serves two interrelated functions: (1) it is a scapegoating mechanism in which all sorts of social ills (crime, violence, dropping out of school, prostitution, etc.) are seen as championed by those who used to be called "worthless naiggers [niggers]" but are now euphemistically referred to as "drug abusers" and (2) it is a means for the nouveau riche to disassociate themselves from their lower-class roots.

Scientific marijuana research has been as controversial and variable as the views held by the lay public. Indeed, the two reinforce each other: scientists are citizens too and conduct their work and interpret the findings of others on the basis of their personal prejudices. In turn, the views of the general public are watered-down or misinterpreted versions of the various scientific positions. The same holds true, I suggest, for those members of the local medical community who have "interpreted" the extant literature to fit their preconceived biases.

In his Lions Club booklet Dr. Cyrus claims that "There are those in our society who think and state that marijuana causes no harm; one man in a very important position was heard to declare publicly that it only makes people happy, and does no harm. This is irresponsible and dangerous dogma." Equally irresponsible and dangerous is the dogmatic declaration that marijuana is a "heinous indulgence" engaged in by "weird, unkempt creatures." . . . No responsible researcher would argue that marijuana has been proven to be a completely harmless substance. But this is surely not the same as saying that marijuana causes relatively little harm, especially if smoked in moderation, a position that scores of drug researchers endorse. For two decades now the Vincentian public has been treated to lies, half truths, and hyperbole about marijuana. This bombardment is irresponsible and dangerous because when actual or potential ganja smokers discover that the medical community has been fooling them about marijuana, they laugh off their pronouncements on other drugs, including alcohol, cocaine and heroin.

— *The Vincentian*, June 24, 1994

Notes

1. My distinction between West(ern)/First World and non-West(ern)/Third World may seem anachronistic. After all, are we not living in a deterritorialized world where such contrasts have all but disappeared and is not the illegal drug marijuana that is the subject of this paper an exemplar of transnationality? Claims about the disappearance of the distinction between the West and the Rest are premature for, as Scheper-Hughes (1995:417) has recently argued, "The idea of an anthropology without borders, although it has a progressive ring to it, ignores the reality of the very borders that confront and oppress 'our' anthropological subject and encroach on our liberty as well." In St. Vincent and the Grenadines these "territorial" obstacles are both structural and physical and include (1) an underdeveloped local economy manifested by widespread poverty and restricted access to valued resources (such as educa-

tion and employment) that might allow large-scale upward mobility, (2) a class-biased legal system, (3) high import duties limiting access to First World goods, services and ideas among ordinary people, and (4) increasing restrictions on short- and long-term emigration to First World countries.

2. Though I am told that Third World anthropologists sometimes write for newspapers and other popular outlets in their countries, good documentation on this is hard to come by.
3. During the course of my own long-term field work in St. Vincent and the Grenadines (1969 to the present) civil servants often have voiced the same complaint to me: overseas academics representing various fields are always coming to the country to do research; they often make heavy demands on limited local resources and personnel; they always promise to remit the results of their studies; and they are never heard from after they leave.
4. The nation is composed of the mainland (St. Vincent Island; 344 square km), which contains over 90 percent of the population, and the 44-square-km Grenadines, a chain of tiny islands which stretch from the main island to neighbouring Grenada to the south. The unwieldy name for the country (the longest of any United Nations country) is a recent affectation meant to satisfy the vanity of the country's Prime Minister, a native of one of the Grenadines islands.
5. Nearly all of my research in SVG has taken place in this coastal community of 2300 people on the Caribbean side of the main island and has focussed on how poor villagers (who form over two thirds of the population) eke out a living by peasant cultivation, small-scale commercial fishing, petty-commodity retailing, semi-skilled and unskilled trades and government manual wage-labour (Rubenstein 1987). The seasonal, irregular or petty nature of most of these activities obliges many people to combine several own account and wage-labour activities in a pattern of work Comitas (1973) has called "occupational multiplicity." Marijuana growing and/or selling was added to the repertoire of occupational strategies in the early 1970s.
6. If my Leeward Village census data and informal research in many other rural communities have any generality, then slightly over 50 percent of poor rural males between 18 and 35 years of age are marijuana smokers.
7. Schooling is not compulsory in SVG and many of the Black men I refer to have no more than the equivalent of a North American grade 4- or 5-level education.
8. After quoting Dr. Cyrus' radio statement "Peter" went on to suggest that "Dr. Cyrus has either not done sufficient research or is making assertions which are not supported by facts." "Peter" based this charge on various medical studies, including an Institute of Medicine report (Relman et al. 1982) and a book on marijuana by noted marijuana researcher, Lester Grinspoon (1977), citing or paraphrasing some of their main findings: " . . . the harm resulting from the use of marijuana is of far lower magnitude than the harm caused by narcotics, alcohol, and other drugs"; "marijuana is not criminogenic"; marijuana does not lead to the use of dangerous drugs; "there is no convincing evidence that it causes personality deterioration"; marijuana has no organic damage potential or long-term symptoms; and marijuana does not lead to physical or mental dependence. "Peter" was also critical of the "unfair education campaign against marijuana" based on "a large body of alarming exaggerations, distortions, and intellectual dishonesty" (*The Vincentian*, March 26, 1982). My own reading of the extant literature (the late 1970s and early 1980s) is that each of these assertions was generally correct.
9. In SVG "addiction" means any use of an illegal substance, the term "drugs" is restricted to illegal or restricted substances (and does not include tobacco or alcohol products), and "drug abuse" is synonymous with "drug use."
10. I took issue with nearly all of these effects, except those uniquely associated with Dr. Cyrus' own practice such as sexual impotence, priapism and mutism (none of which were reported in the scientific literature), using the most recent medical evidence to show that they had either been disproved or remained unproven.

11. When asked to name "good things" about ganja 38 percent of students said there was nothing good about it and 44 percent said they were unaware of anything good about it. Thirteen percent said it was a medicine or other cure for sickness and 3 percent that it was a source of self-employment or means of earning money. Conversely, when asked to name "bad things" about ganja 31 percent said that it caused brain damage; 20 percent that it caused mental illness; 19 percent that it caused physical illness or damage. Only 14 percent claimed that they did not know what was bad about marijuana. When questioned specifically about the main physical effect of smoking ganja, 23 percent said it caused major bodily damage and 20 percent that it caused brain damage. Others who cited negative effects totalled 25 percent; only 11 percent of respondents claimed that there was no effect on the body. Likewise, when asked to name the main effect on the mind or brain of smoking ganja, 43 percent said it caused brain damage; 15 percent said it led to mental illness; and 12 percent said it made people unable to learn, slow thinking or forgetful. Only 5 percent claimed that it did not affect the mind or brain.
12. I chose not to write a sixth piece on yet another tribulation phenomena, *lock up* (being incarcerated for marijuana involvement) because I feared that the limited number of Leeward Villagers in this category might make them easily identifiable both within and without the village.
13. Though casual discussions with Vincentians since 1986 tell me that there are scores if not hundreds of well-educated non-ganja users who generally supported the position I took in the series, none except "Peter" and a couple of others have ever publicly done so.

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VANISHING AND RETURNING HEROES: AMBIGUITY AND PERSISTENT HOPE IN AN UNEA ISLAND LEGEND

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Abstract: Throughout Melanesia, there are stories of creative heroes who leave their people. The tale of Mataluangi is told in Unea, an island in West New Britain, Papua New Guinea. The legend of the snake hero is related to its ethnographic context and the story is analyzed to show its conformity to a type of origin myth, *vuvumu*, that is prevalent in Unea. It is suggested that the structure of this well-known legend and other *vuvumu* stories influence contemporary politics in Unea as well as how Islanders perceive their history and possible future.

Résumé: Dans toute la Mélanésie, on retrouve des histoires de héros créateurs qui abandonnent leur peuple. Le conte de Mataluangi est originaire de Unea, une île de l'archipel de Nouvelle Bretagne Ouest, en Papouasie, Nouvelle Guinée. L'auteur de l'article replace la légende du héros-serpent dans son contexte ethnographique; puis analyse l'histoire afin de montrer sa conformité à un certain type de mythe de la création, *vuvumu*, que l'on retrouve partout à Unea. L'auteur suggère que cette légende très connue, ainsi que d'autres histoires *vuvumu* influencent la politique contemporaine à Unea, ainsi que la façon dont les insulaires perçoivent leur histoire et leur éventuel avenir.

Throughout Melanesia, there are stories of creative heroes who leave their people. Peter Lawrence (1964, 1988) traced the development of such stories in Northeastern New Guinea and investigated the political implications of the persistent belief that their heroes will return. This article follows Lawrence in exploring the story of a hero who left and who, like Manup and Kilibob in Lawrence's (1964) account, became the focus of millenarian beliefs. The hero is Mataluangi and his former home is the island of Unea, the most densely populated of the Vitu Islands, a group located northwest of the Willaumez Peninsula in Northwest New Guinea. The article briefly describes the island and local ideas about the cosmos so that the story can be placed in a wider

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epistemological context. Then it discusses a type of legend, *vuvumu*, and analyzes the story of Mataluangi, a representative of this narrative type. I suggest that through their local connotations, structural patterns and symbolic significance, legends act as templates on which the Islanders construct versions of their past and future.

The Island and Its People

Unea is a rugged island approximately six miles in diameter. Three mountains, Kumbu, Tamongone and Kumburi, rise from within an encircling crater wall. The steep upper slopes of Kumbu and Tamongone are covered with primary forest, but the population has risen rapidly in the past 30 years and gardens and coconut plantations now cover Kumburi and encroach on the upper slopes of the other mountains. At lower elevations, the soil is fertile but there are also cliffs, precipitous slopes and lava flows that cannot be cultivated. Stones and boulders protrude from the undergrowth, stand beside paths and adorn settlements.

The principal garden crop is the yam, but bananas are important and in the past taro was grown. Before the extensive planting of coconuts and cocoa led to a seasonal dependency on imported rice, plentiful tree crops supplied food for the lean period preceding the yam harvest and provided dietary variety. Unea Islanders are nostalgic about the fruit trees, not only because they provided food but because they distinguished Unea from the mainland which, they claim, is covered with "useless trees." Despite the size of the island, there was once a division between seaboard people who specialized in fishing and inland people who hunted wild pig. There was both formal and informal exchange of these specialties. Now the distinction between fishermen and hunters is blurred, because most people catch fish occasionally and there are no more wild pigs.

Before contact, Unea was divided into four or more regions, each consisting of several seaboard and inland parishes linked by intermarriage. Parishes were divided into hamlets occupied predominantly by patrilateral extended families. This settlement pattern changed when the Australian administration insisted that large villages be built, but families are now returning to old settlement sites. Women usually move to their husband's residence on marriage but descent is cognatic, so children do not lose their rights in maternal land. The majority of men are locally affiliated with their father's groups, but some use their mother's land and most give labour to both parental groups.

Unea lineages are between six and sixteen generations deep. An individual claims membership in several, tracing relationships through all four grandparents. There is a preference for a man to marry a member of one of his own lineages, particularly the descendant of an outmarried women of his local lineage. The rationale is that lineage members should be able to use their own

land. Occasionally a man offers a distant lineage mate land, if he marries his daughter and lives uxorilocally. Lineages are internally ranked with seniority passing through a line of first-born children. If the child of a first-born woman were to return to his mother's land, he would theoretically outrank her brother's children and have authority over them. Today achieved leadership is more important than inherited rank, but both have always played a role in Unea politics.

The Unea language is closely related to the languages of the Nakanai area and the Willaumez Peninsula (Chowning 1969). Nevertheless, the Unea people believe that they originate from West rather than East New Britain, and a validating myth tells how Unea floated away from the mouth of the Aria River in Kaliai where it was previously anchored. More recently, though still in the distant past, stories tell of individuals and groups from the mainland who settled on the island. Unea Islanders traditionally visited various settlements from the Willaumez Peninsula to Kilenge for trade and social reasons, and occasionally married into mainland communities.

The Unseen World

Today the majority of Unea Islanders are Roman Catholics; some are Seventh Day Adventists; others follow the syncretized version of the traditional religion associated with the Perukuma Company, locally known as "the Cargo Cult." Yet none of the Islanders have abandoned the pre-Christian world view. To Unea Islanders, the visible world is only one aspect of a wider reality. Outside the village, they are constantly listening for clues from an unseen world. The farther they get from the village and the wilder the environment, the more conscious they are of sapient beings which share the world with humans. At night or in areas associated with powerful entities, they are even more alert. Among these usually invisible presences are the *vuvumu* (origin beings) and the dead.

Walking through the bush, Islanders are always aware of *vuvumu*. They take many forms and there are a great many of them. In the human world they appear as stones, plants or animals. In their own dimension, they are persons living in their own society. Some large stones, carved or natural, clumps of tankets and groves of bamboo are thought to be *vuvumu.* Others are said to be *vuvumu* residences. Features of the landscape are believed to have been moulded by *vuvumu* in the course of early adventures and some people own stone artifacts that they left behind. Altars and groves where offerings were once made also remind Islanders of their presence.

Vuvumu vary in their attributes and interests and some are more important than others. Some of the most powerful can take human form though they may appear as animals as well. Sometimes they own "pigs" or "dogs" which humans perceive as opossums or rats. Other *vuvumu* have no human attributes

and are supernaturally powerful birds, rats, snakes or sharks. Some have powers over fertility. Others were once invoked to do harm to enemies or empower the communal love magic worked by men against women of other villages. Offerings were made to ensure success in the construction of ceremonial men's houses (*rogomo*) or racing canoes. Today *vuvumu* still manifest themselves to warn of death among their human neighbours. Bamboo groves make explosive sounds; birds shriek. Sometimes the mere sighting of a *vuvumu* presages death. Most frequently they are glimpsed as they slip through the bush, harmlessly pursuing their own business.

Lawrence and others (see Lawrence and Meggitt 1965) make a distinction between Melanesian religions, where ancestors are important, and those where gods or spirits are the foci of religion. In Unea, the distinction between ancestors and non-human spirits is not clear-cut. Most *vuvumu* are not human ancestors, but they have an indirect kinship with the humans that share their land. A few *vuvumu* have closer ties, and are both spirits and ancestors. Islanders say that in the distant past there were no humans, only *vuvumu*. Eventually, some *vuvumu* had human children or married humans and gave rise to modern human lineages. *Vuvumu* ancestors did not die. Usually they disappeared or underwent a transformation at the end of their sojourn with their human kin and returned to a spirit dimension that over time has become increasingly isolated from the human realm. When humans die, they also enter the *vuvumu* dimension and, though they are less powerful, they too may appear as animals and have power over fertility. Human as well as *vuvumu* ancestors were once honoured with offerings, and it is likely that some came to be regarded as *vuvumu*.

Many lineages can trace their ancestry genealogically to their founding *vuvumu*, but there is often disagreement about precise links and "correct" versions of genealogies may be kept secret for reasons connected to land claims. Some lineages cannot be traced to *vuvumu* ancestors. Members say that those that knew the links died or that the *vuvumu* lived so long ago that descent lines have been forgotten. Nevertheless, they do know the names of *vuvumu* who live on their territory. Before missionization, children were committed to the protection of ancestral and local *vuvumu* at their naming ceremony and at the various "first-time" ceremonies" that followed. Now this knowledge is acquired less formally when children accompany their elder kin through the bush. Even young people know the names, powers, habits and locations of local *vuvumu*. This knowledge validates land rights even when genealogies are forgotten.

Vuvumu as Story

Vuvumu refers not only to supernatural entities but also to stories that describe the founding of major lineages. These stories are widely known and are told

together with other tales as evening entertainment. However, members of the owning lineages do not publicize all details of the stories and privately pass on authoritative versions to descendents. Together the stories are the texts of Unea religion. They link the distant past to a present where the *vuvumu* still exist and a future, emergent from continued interaction among humans and *vuvumu*.

All *vuvumu* have similar characteristics. First, they are strongly rooted in the environment. Actions in the stories occurred in specific areas. Islanders see physical evidence of supernatural activity in the landscape itself. Secondly, all *vuvumu* have a common narrative structure that gives them a homogeneity that encourages a belief in the consistency of human/*vuvumu* relationships. Thirdly, these stories share symbols that structure and reflect ideas about the cosmos.

The Story of Mataluangi

In this article, I analyze the story of the snake *vuvumu*, Mataluangi. This story is intrinsically appealing because it is symbolically rich and includes elements of pathos and drama. In addition, the majority of Unea Islanders claim kinship with Mataluangi. Major lineages at Kumburi and on Mount Kumbu accept him as an ancestor, and a lineage from Penata village traces kinship to Takaili whose adventures resemble those of Mataluangi so closely that he seems to be the same person. While I have collected genealogies that purport to connect living persons to Mataluangi, most people claim that he lived too long ago for an accurate genealogy to be extant. Mataluangi is one of the few *vuvumu* known island-wide. Even those who make no claim to kinship know the outlines of his story and regard him as a hero who belongs to Unea as a whole.

I begin my analysis with a synopsis of the story. Later in the article, I offer a preliminary analysis of the story, considering its environmental context, its structural characteristics and some cultural and social implications. The tale falls into four episodes.

Synopsis

I

Talaupu lived with his parents, Puruele and Gilime, and his siblings at Niparara on Mount Kumbu. His elder brothers were married but none of them were comfortable living with the older generation or with one another. Accordingly, their father, Puruele, divided his land among them and sent them to different places. His only daughter, Baru, went to live at Lovanua, a neutral area, where no fighting was allowed. Talaupu, the youngest brother, went to live below her at Tanekulu.

Talaupu was a man above the waist and a snake below. He grew up almost immediately and his mother Gilime decided that he should have some work to do. So at Tanekulu he changed his name to Mataluangi and took up residence near the Path of the Dead and the Path of Trees. He gave food and new bodies to the dead and escorted them to the two ships of the dead. He also used his power to ensure that tree crops and other food were plentiful.

II

In spite of Mataluangi's assertion that snakes should not marry, Gilime found him three wives, Galiki, Peburuburu and Poi, a woman from Kaliai. Mataluangi supernaturally ensured that his gardens bore plentiful crops, but he hid in his house and ordered his wives to signal by striking a tree trunk when they left or returned home from the gardens. While they were away, he would come outside, coil himself onto a large woven plate (*tika*) and bask in the sun. One day, despite Galiki's objections, the two junior wives spied on him and discovered that he was not human. He realized that they had seen him and was ashamed. When they returned, he announced that he was leaving. They could stay on the island and starve. He travelled round the island, pausing at each headland, looking for a new home on the mainland or one of the other Vitu Islands. Galiki followed, begging him to return. Finally he reached Damanimara at Kumburi, and, despite Galiki's pleas, rose in the air and departed for Mount Vanguri. Galiki returned home and, according to some versions, killed the treacherous wives.

III

In some versions, Mataluangi's mother and Goropo, his cross-cousin, also followed him to Damanimara but arrived too late. Mataluangi's mother's brother, Piri, arrived even later. Men from Kumburi told Piri where his nephew had gone, and Piri arranged to travel to the mainland with them. Out at sea, the rowers sang a song that included the name of Mataluangi's mother, Gilime. Taking this as an insult, the furious snake rose in the air and swooped down, killing one member of the crew after another. Piri escaped by hiding under the canoe and, despite repeated attacks, managed to reach the shore.

IV

Playing his panpipes, Piri climbed Mount Vanguri in search of Mataluangi. The latter heard him and was irritated by the music. He sent ants and vermin down to attack Piri and vowed that, if the latter removed them from his body, he would kill him. But Piri suffered the assaults passively and finally Mataluangi himself went down to investigate. He surrounded Piri with his coils but again Piri did not resist. Mollified, the snake asked about his kin on Unea. Finally he asked about his uncle Piri, and Piri introduced himself.

After Piri had stayed for a time, Mataluangi asked him if he wanted to go home. Piri protested he had no transport. Mataluangi made a model boat and magically caused it to grow to full size. Then he hid and, taking a rib from his body, gave it to Piri to plant as a banana. He also instructed him in the use of his fertility stones. He transformed areca nut flowers into mature nuts and gave them to his uncle to chew on the voyage. Finally he attached coconut leaf midribs to the prow and stern of the canoe so that it took Piri to Unea without his having to row.

The Environmental Context

In Unea, historical events constantly impinge on people's consciousness because they can be traced in the landscape. Evidence for the adventures of Mataluangi can be found throughout the island. The story begins at Niparara where there is a shrine to Puruele, Mataluangi's father. It is located in a grove where dense vegetation provides a numinous atmosphere. In the clearing are two stone tables, one of them being an altar which members of Perukuma decorate with brightly coloured leaves. Below at Vunakambiri, an impressive double line of stone tables are reputed to belong to Puruele's sons. A clearing between the two areas belongs to his daughter Baru, and nearby stands a stone that the family bequeathed to their descendants. Lineage members believe that, if they knock it from its pedestal, they can cause the death of a designated enemy.

The people of Mount Kumbu regard Puruele and his family as ancestral not only to the various Kumbu lineages but to all Islanders. Some people from other communities do not agree. However, the hereditary leader of the Vunakambiri area did have considerable authority. Modern Islanders sometimes use the word "king" to describe them. The ceremonial house (*rogomo*) built at Vunakambiri was pre-eminent and the ceremonial cycle started there.

At Tanekulu, there is a pile of boulders representing Mataluangi's house. Close by is *Vatu Vitolongo*, the Stone of Hunger and Mataluangi's collection of fertility stones, some of which resemble the crops that they cause to grow. For example, a sea-smoothed piece of coral is reminiscent of breadfruit. Like other Unea fertility stone collections, it contains unworked stones of various geological types as well as old axe heads, parts of pestles and mortars, bark cloth pounders and other ancient artifacts. Mataluangi's tankets and his bamboo grove for making panpipes are near by and his *vuvumu* opossum, Meriau, lives in the vicinity. From Tanekulu, Mataluangi's tracks run down to Koa Bay where even today the ships of the dead, Vanga Veru (Canoe with a deck) and Vanga Molu (Black canoe), are frequently seen, glowing in the sunset, appearing and disappearing suddenly.

The people of Kumburi claim that the incident in which Mataluangi deserted his wives happened at Kumburi rather than at Tanekulu, and there are

memorials associated with him there too. The headland Damanimara is sacred to the snake, and a double line of stones set across the path warns women to keep out. Inside the boundary there is a set of stone platforms and mortars said to be his chairs and table. There is a hibiscus tree, from which he is said to have made his sling shots, and a bamboo clump for his pan pipes. Near the beach is his yam stone, used to ensure a plentiful harvest. Cut into a nearby rock are two depressions, one his "mirror" and the other a "plate" for his food. When he departed, he left other *vuvumu*, an opossum called Vakea, a butterfly Kambeke and two lizards of different species called Kareulele and Piri. The latter is not associated with Mataluangi's uncle in this community. The snake is said to have a house and other stones at Penata, but my knowledge of this community is limited.

Various paths are associated with Mataluangi's travels, but there is a lack of agreement about the exact route he took around the island. In some versions, he climbed to the summit of each mountain rather than following the beach. All versions agree that he left the island at Damanimara, where a crack in the rock is thought to have been made by the snake's tail.

The profusion of memorials provide a context that gives authenticity to *vuvumu* legends and also explains the continued appearance of *vuvumu* at particular sites. Islanders claim that, after his reconciliation with Piri, Mataluangi returned periodically to Unea. Sometimes he took the form of a small snake which lineage leaders occasionally found resting in their baskets. Sometimes he appeared as a large patterned snake. In the 1920s, Bali Plantation expanded its coconut plantation onto land belonging to the snake, and a house was built there. According to local residents this annoyed Mataluangi and workers heard him moving around at night, angrily scraping his lime stick against his lime container. He also sent a plague of snakes to annoy the builders. A more friendly encounter with lineage members occurred during World War Two, when he is said to have appeared to announce that all their kinsmen fighting with the allies were safe. These interactions show that, until recent times, Mataluangi, like other *vuvumu*, has remained a strong presence for the Islanders.

Structural Considerations

The integration of the story into the landscape reflects the proprietary interest that Unea Islanders take in Mataluangi. However, episodes in his tale are not unique to Unea. Variants of the same episodes occur in hero tales throughout Northeast New Guinea and West New Britain. The synthetic work by Reisenfeld, *The Megalithic Cultures of Melanesia* (1950), shows that they are found widely throughout Melanesia. A recent collection (Pomponio 1994) illustrates their prevalence in Northeast New Guinea and West New Britain. Folk tales and myths draw from a pool of narrative sequences and occur in different

combinations in various cultures. Each culture puts together elements to construct stories that have local meaning.

International tales cannot be interpreted only in terms of specific cultures. The power of tales such as that of Mataluangi result from their multiple levels of meaning, some of which have significance for humanity and some only for local audiences. To understand the local meaning in full it would be necessary to explore each symbol—areca nut, basket, ant, etc.—in terms of its ecological, social and metaphorical connotations. Furthermore, motifs take colour and significance from their occurrence in other stories known to the local audience. In this article, textual analysis will be limited to a broad structural analysis and a consideration of aspects of snake symbolism that are meaningful in Unea but not unique to the island. The intention is to suggest why tales about Mataluangi and other *vuvumu* have power to affect peoples' thoughts and actions.

In his analysis of the Russian fairy tale, Propp (1968) noted that all such stories were variants of a single plot. Though in any given story specific elements (functions) might be missing or sequences of functions repeated within the larger structures, morphological units always occurred in the same order. Dundes (1965) analyzed North American Indian mythology in a similar way. His corpus too could be subdivided into structural types whose functions (motifemes) occurred in the same order in superficially different stories. A striking attribute of *vuvumu* stories is that, like Russian fairy tales, their narrative structure is consistent. Heroes have different names and attributes but, at the structural level, plots are similar. All *vuvumu* stories conform to the following sequence.

1. Initial situation.
2. Successful courtship through trickery or persuasion.
3. The hero/heroine marries.
4. An interdiction is made.
5. The interdiction is violated (or upheld).
6. The hero/heroine leaves.
7. The hero/heroine is pursued.
8. The hero/heroine undergoes a change of state (rescue, death, or transformation).
9. A reconciliation occurs.
10. A benefit is given or a taboo imposed.

As in Propp's fairy tales (Propp 1972:29), transformations of elements such as reduction, inversion, intensification, weakening and substitution occur. For example, an interdiction in one story may become a positive order in another. Elements of a tale also may be elaborated or reduced to the point of elimination.

In *vuvumu* stories, the initial situation (1) usually involves the hero/heroine living with his/her parents. Later he or she meets his or her future spouse, but

the courtship is difficult because one of the partners is unwilling to marry. Women usually persuade their reluctant lovers to marry them through dogged persistence. Men also make use of magic snares, traps and brute force (2). The marriage (3) often involves a stipulation that a particular rule must not be broken, although this is not always explicitly stated (4). Eventually the rule is broken (5), and the spouse immediately leaves (6). The deserted partner follows (7), but arrives too late to retrieve the spouse who either transforms his/herself into some non-human form or travels to an exotic destination (8). The last functions (9, 10) are not always present. In some cases the spouses are reunited, but often the deserter never returns. Since the *vuvumu* is valued by the spouse and because s/he is a creative and powerful being, the disappearance is a considerable loss. Sometimes a compromise is reached with the *vuvumu* granting a boon to descendants and/or instituting some kind of taboo. It would be interesting to ascertain whether this pattern exists beyond Unea. Certainly the violation, desertion, pursuit sequence occurs elsewhere in New Guinea (Pomponio 1994).

The story of Mataluangi conforms completely to the *vuvumu* structural type. Its complexity results from the repetition of sequences of functions as the hero pursues his adventures. Propp (1968) calls these sequences "moves," and, in the story of Mataluangi, they equate with the episodes described in the synopsis. The complete structure is represented in Table 1.

Table 1
Structure of the Story of Mataluangi

Episodes	1	2	3	4	5
1. Initial situation	1				
2. Courtship	2	2			
3. Marriage	3	3			
4. Interdiction	4	4	4	4	4
5. Violation	5	5	5	5	5
6. Hero leaves	6	6	6	6	6
7. Pursuit		7		7	7
8. Transformation	8	8			8
9. Reconciliation					9
10. Gift					10

The first episode of the story, the dispersal of Puruele's children, presents a weak version of the typical *vuvumu* sequence. Initially Mataluangi lived with his parents at Niparapa (1). The reason why Mataluangi and his siblings felt so much shame was because some of the brothers were married (2, 3). The sexual inhibitions that they suffered resulted from their profound respect for elders who were their superiors in the ranked Unea society. The implied interdiction in this episode was against sexuality in general (4). The violation motifeme is

inverted since the siblings obeyed the prohibition too well (5). Their motivation for leaving is weakened to social discomfort due to excessive compliance rather than a quarrel resulting from violation (6). A transformation (8) occurs when the snake child changes his name.

The episode detailing Mataluangi's marriage is a clearer example of the *vuvumu* structure. Gilime persuades her reluctant son to marry (2, 3) and provides him with three wives. An interdiction is made when Mataluangi prohibits his wives from seeing him and orders them to signal their passage to and from the garden (4). Two of the wives deliberately disobey and spy on their husband (5). He then flees (6) and is pursued (7). His flight over water to Vanguri can be said to indicate a transformation (8), since in the process he changes from a benevolent provider to a killer. No reconciliation occurs.

The third episode involves an implied interdiction (4) against uttering the name of Mataluangi's mother. The voyaging Kumburis violate this and are killed (5) and the hero (Piri) who is travelling with them (6) is pursued to the mainland. In this episode, the previous hero, Mataluangi, has become a devouring monster. The transformation of hero into monster is not unusual in Melanesian myth. The situation is similar to the pursuit of Aikiukiu by Moro (Counts 1982:204).

The final episode begins with an interdiction against making a noise near Mataluangi's menshouse (4). Unea bigmen *(tumbuku)* expected people to keep silent in their presence, and the snake interpreted his uncle's music as disrespectful (5). Piri makes his way up the mountain (6), but soon a kind of double pursuit develops (7): Piri is looking for Mataluangi while the snake is considering killing his visitor. Mataluangi imposes a second interdiction (4). This is not violated and, when Piri passes the snake's test and does not resist the ants, a turning point occurs in the story (5). Mataluangi pursues Piri once more (7), but, for Piri, the result of Mataluangi's attack is a change of state through symbolic death (8). Due to Piri's obedience to Mataluangi, the harm done by the disobedient wives in episode 2 is negated and reconciliation (9) occurs together with the giving of a gift (10).

Cultural and Social Implications

One of the practical uses of uncovering parallel structures in folk tales is to isolate units for analysis and comparison. The various episodes can be expected to relate to one another in a way that is both consistent and meaningful for members of the society in which the tale is told. When cultures change or when stories are created or imported, alterations will eventually be made to eliminate anomalies. Well-established tales are not series of randomly juxtaposed episodes but contain messages reflecting attitudes or beliefs.

Consistency with local beliefs is evident in the Mataluangi story. The New Guinea and New Britain versions of the hero's adventures frequently begin

with an episode in which the hero commits adultery with the wife of a close kinsman (Counts 1994; McSwain 1994; Pomponio 1994; Thurston 1994). In Unea, I collected only one version of this story. It replaces the first episode of the synopsis above and can be interpreted as a structural inversion of it. It provides an alternative reason for why Mataluangi left Niparara. Here the snake *vuvumu,* first known as Vorovoro, is the unmarried younger brother of Puruele (1). After a period of courtship (2), Vorovoro commits adultery with his sister-in-law, Gilime (4, 5) and Puruele chases him from Niparara to Tanekulu (6, 7) where he changes his name to Mataluangi as a means of concealing his identity from his angry brother. With the exception of the narrator, Islanders with whom I discussed this episode regarded it as erroneous, because they were convinced that it was not the snake's nature to engage in sexual activities. Moreover, the local message of the tale requires a celibate hero. The first episode of the Mataluangi story represents a transformation of the adultery episode which hints at the dangers of sibling-in-law relations but does not portray it. Although it was rejected as a component of the Mataluangi legend, the adultery story is well known in Unea and occurs in another *vuvumu* story about rival brothers called Bito and Takaili. A similar dichotomy is evident in West New Britain where Aikiukiu is identified as a chaste hero and Moro as an adulterous one (Counts 1982).

Before further consideration of the relationship between episodes in the Mataluangi story, it will be useful to examine the symbol of the snake in mythology, since this is the key to Mataluangi's sexual nature and provides a basis for the interpretation of his story. Snake symbolism is complex and paradoxical, and has connotations of immortality, death and both sexual and asexual reproduction. Frazer (1984:72) commented extensively on the mythological associations between skin-shedding snakes and ideas about immortality and human death, and showed that in Africa, the Middle East and Melanesia it was often the serpent which deprived humanity of eternal life. According to Reisenfeld (1950:273), Pango and Moro, both of whom have snake attributes, were responsible for the origin of death in Northwest New Britain. Another theme in Melanesian myth is that long ago humans regenerated themselves by shedding their skin like snakes, but that for various reasons they lost that ability. In some cases the snake steals it (e.g., Wagner 1972:30). However, Melanesian snakes are not always the enemies of humanity. Their regenerative ability also makes them mediators between life and death, hence their frequent association with both healing and the care of the dead. In addition to associations that arise from skin-changing, the snake has connotations of sexuality and reproductive fertility that result from its phallic shape.

As regeneration and sexual reproduction represent incompatible means of reproducing life for humans, the snake symbol is paradoxical. The theme of reproduction versus immortality also occurs in the Genesis story where God

exiles Adam and Eve from Eden after they have eaten from the tree of knowledge. Frazer (1984:77) noted that one interpretation of Genesis 4:22 was that God feared "lest man who has become like him in knowledge by eating of the one tree should become like him in immortality by partaking of the other." In Melanesia, the ambiguous nature of snake heroes as both philanderers and celibates results from the tension between the oppositions—life and death, regeneration and reproduction, and the ambiguous relations among the various elements inherent in snake symbolism. Melanesian stories differ from Genesis, but there is a similar logic at work and perhaps a certain amount of recent syncretism.

In Melanesia, snake heroes cause social disruption because of their sexual proclivities. Heroes are either excessively sexual, for example, Kilibob (Lawrence 1964) or Moro (Counts 1982), or excessively chaste, such as Mataluangi or Aikiukiu (Counts 1982). Both extremes cause trouble, and episodes about adultery are inversions of sequences involving chastity. In either case, the hero disobeys the social norms for the reproduction of society and the result is his departure.

The Mataluangi story stresses the asexual side of snake nature. Mataluangi is the guardian of the dead whom he supplies with new bodies. He also is responsible for crops that reproduce through regeneration. Fruit trees renew their crops regularly while yams regenerate from old tubers. In contrast, the snake's phallic, reproductive side is repressed. He remains celibate and refuses to see his wives. As an ancestor, he as a problematic figure. He is the founder of a lineage, yet rejects sex. In *Structural Anthropology* (1963) Lévi-Strauss analyzes the Oedipus myth in terms of tensions between the autochthonous origin of man and its denial, specifically the dilemma of "born from one or born from two" (Lévi-Strauss 1963:212). The Mataluangi story can be analyzed in terms of a similar dichotomy between sexual and asexual reproduction. At the end of the tale, a reconciliation is made between these oppositions, at least in terms of Unea social structure.

Mataluangi's family is headed by Puruele, a shadowy figure whose name was once rigidly taboo. Puruele's married children are ashamed in the presence of their siblings-in-law and the older generation. The implication was that sexual activity leading to reproduction causes dissension between generations. Perhaps the sexual activities of the junior generation imply the death of the senior one. Respect relations between generations and between affines exist in contemporary Unea society, but according to Islanders was even more pronounced in the past. Tensions could best be alleviated by separation. Settlements in pre-contact Unea society were small and fission was common. This episode may be considered a sort of charter for Unea social process.

Puruele gives his children jobs when he sends them away. Lineages in Unea traditionally specialized as gardeners, feast-givers, peacemakers, warriors and

builders. Today the people of Tanekulu think of themselves as providers, the people of Lovanua as mediators and the descendants of Pulata, the eldest brother who lived in Vunakambiri, as feast-givers.

Unlike his brothers, Mataluangi is still unmarried when he leaves Niparara. In Tanekulu his jobs are to guide the recent dead and to ensure the fertility of the island. Both jobs are congruent with his snake-like attributes. As guardian of the dead he regenerates the dead by supplying them with new bodies and sending them on their way. He is not the only snake-god of the dead in Melanesia. Ndengei had this role in Fiji (Thomson 1895), and so did Sumua in Nakanai (Valentine 1965). As a fertility deity, Mataluangi is associated with vegetal reproduction. He is responsible for the periodical fruiting of trees and for yams that regenerate themselves from pieces of old tuber, i.e., for asexual reproductive processes. When he tells his mother, "I am a snake. I cannot marry," he is asserting his celibate nature.

But Mataluangi does marry and he tries hard to maintain his celibate state by hiding from his wives. At Niparara the tension was between adjacent generations. In Tanekulu, Mataluangi tries to ensure that there will be no next generation. He feeds his wives as a good husband should but neglects his sexual obligations. An account of the hero's betrayal by his wives also occurs in New Britain versions of this story (Counts 1982; Reisenfeld 1950), but it is the central episode of the Unea tale and the best known. There are usually three wives. Their names, Galiki, Peburoburo and Poi, are conventionally given to wives of heroes in Unea folk tales. Since they are not ancestresses, their names and numbers are not socially important. Sometimes the third wife, Poi, instigates the betrayal of Mataluangi. Since she is said to come from Kaliai, her disobedience may be attributed to her foreign origin. In contrast, the native-born Galiki is the ideal, obedient wife. Obedience is highly prized in Unea in the relationship between junior and senior and between men and women. It reflects the hierarchical nature of a social organization in which status is the result of birth as well as ability. Galiki is praised for her loyalty—the loyal wife is a stock figure in Unea myth—but in the end she is no better off than her co-wives, because Mataluangi, by his nature, cannot be a true husband. On the other hand, had the other wives resembled Galiki, the Islanders would never have lost their hero—nor perhaps their immortality.

While his wives are at work, Mataluangi suns himself. The hero's intuition that his wives have broken the interdiction is a common motif in *vuvumu* stories and precedes the hero's flight. The motivation for flights is always the shame that results from the public recognition of the *vuvumu*'s non-human nature and the incompatibility of marriage between *vuvumu* and human. In the Mataluangi story, this incompatibility is intensified by the impossibility of sexual relations. Disobeying a spouse's interdiction is a motif that *vuvumu* stories share with European folk tales, e.g., Bluebeard, Beauty and the Beast.

However, unlike the heroes of these stories, the *vuvumu* who makes the condition always feels shame when the interdiction is broken. Like Mataluangi, they usually run away, singing a sorrowful song. The hero's song serves to heighten the pathos of the situation. In performance, it also gives the audience a chance to participate by singing along with the narrator. These songs are often untranslatable but usually contain the name of the singer. The name Motaliu, mentioned in the snake's song, is an alternative name for Mataluangi. Fleeing *vuvumu* stop periodically to sing, while a distraught spouse follows, calling out the name of the runaway. *Vuvumu* women usually return to their parental home, while men move to some new site where the scene of their humiliation is not visible to them.

Like the first episode, the story of Mataluangi's marriage is an inversion of the adultery theme. However, an association with this rejected element can be seen in Gilime's pursuit of her son. It is intriguing that even people who identify Gilime as Mataluangi's mother rather than his sister-in-law sometimes claim that she was not his birth mother but just a wife of Puruele. She hovers uneasily between mother and lover. Nevertheless, it is not necessary to assume that Mataluangi has an incestuous interest in Gilime. Snake heroes tend to have dependency relations with their mothers, and the latter sometimes accompany them on their travels (Counts 1994; Harding and Clark 1994; Reisenfeld 1950). There is ample evidence of Mataluangi's close relationship with Gilime. He kills those who insult her and some Islanders believe that, after he left Unea, she rowed across to Vanguri, singing a song that protected her against his violence, and went to live with him. In Melanesian legend, the snake-hero's mother or foster mother often carries her child in a food basket (e.g., Counts 1994; McPherson 1994), and associations could be drawn between the production of babies and food crops. The carrying motif is not an element in the Mataluangi story, but the snake does sleep in a basket, a hint perhaps of his immature sexual state. The other connotation of the basket is as a container for vegetable food, usually in a ceremonial context, which again allies the snake with asexual reproduction.

In the third episode, Mataluangi takes on another persona. Having tried the roles of son and husband, he now becomes an aggressive loner, denying his kinship with anyone. He does not consciously recognize his uncle Piri when the latter comes in search of him. He kills his fellow Islanders for mentioning his mother's name and almost kills his uncle. The story of the attack on the canoe occurs in another Unea folk tale, where a cannibalistic, flying *garinoi* or sea ghost is the aggressor. In crossing the sea, as the dead do, and in denying his kin, Mataluangi has symbolically died, and so the structural equation with a ghost is not coincidental.

The mythological theme of rivalry between father and son is worldwide. It may be Oedipal in type, inasmuch as the heroes are closely attached to their

mothers, but there is also the inevitable replacement of one generation by another. In Greek legend, Kronos tries to stop time by swallowing his children as they are born. Images of violence or incorporation between father and son in stories analogous to the Mataluangi legend may reflect tension between immortality and reproduction. Moro tries to kill his son. Aikiukiu eats his father's liver and allows him to die (Counts 1982:204). Ambogim crawls into his father's skin (Ploeg 1994; Pomponio 1994). In the Mataluangi story, father-son conflict is less pronounced. The snake's father simply sends him away. Instead of asserting himself against his father, Mataluangi turns his hostility against his mother's brother. This local variation can be related to Unea social organization. It is among their maternal kin that men ideally find their wives, and a mother's brother is ambiguously a cognate and an affine, a man whose female kin a man should marry and have children by. For Mataluangi, who has cut himself off from affines and certainly from marriage, Piri is a very unwelcome visitor.

In the fourth and final episode, the story reaches its resolution. Mataluangi's testing of Piri has interesting symbolic connotations. As god of the dead, the snake can command the ants which, in the Pacific, swarm over corpses and other decaying matter. When Piri submits to the assaults of these insects, he suffers a symbolic death. If Piri is the *vuvumu* lizard of Kumburi, then he, like a snake, can change his skin. But the Unea Islanders cannot confirm this. Mataluangi revives his uncle who has now entered Mataluangi's world of the dead.

After his reconciliation with Piri, Mataluangi reasserts his connection with his kin, asking how everyone is and whether the island has enough food. Ultimately he reaches an accommodation between his obligation to ensure the continuity of his kin and the celibacy which is a consequence of his association with regeneration and vegetal reproduction. He does not reproduce offspring himself but looks after his people's food supply, allowing them to have children. He tells Piri how to use his fertility stones. His gift of the phallic banana is interesting. It suggests an equation between semen and food as a male contribution. The relationship between food and bodily substance is also evident, because the banana is actually the snake's rib. He effectively gives his own body to feed his people. His own close lineage mates cannot eat the banana because it is their own substance, but their affines can. It is notable that some versions of the story state that the reason that Piri followed Mataluangi to Vanguri was that his daughter Goropo was distraught over the defection of her cross-cousin and would not eat. It was to Goropo that Mataluangi sent the banana and the secret of the fertility stones, and it is from her that the lineage of Mataluangi actually descends. By his actions, Mataluangi effectively resolved the conflict between his need for celibacy and his role as ancestor. The price of this compromise was residence apart from his people, but his presence as a mediator between life and death was again possible.

While Mataluangi's compromise provides the story with closure, the Islanders' requirement that descendants of outmarried kin should return to be reincorporated in the lineage is very strong. Hence there is an addendum to the legend. Unea people believe that a descendent of Mataluangi later married back to Tanekulu. Gilime, named for her ancestor, was either the child or grandchild of Mataluangi. Significantly, she was not the child of a human woman but of a tree that produced her as a fruit. In the story, Mataio, a young man, was blown off course and landed near Mount Vanguri (1). He collected areca nuts and put them in his canoe. Hearing a noise behind him, he turned to find that one of the nuts had turned into a young woman who complained that he had taken her from her mother (2). Back in Unea, they married (3) but one day a relative of Mataio taunted Gilime's son about his mother's origins (4, 5). She cursed Unea with famine and returned home (6). Mataio's uncle followed her (7) and negotiated with Mataluangi for her return. He was successful (9) and fertility returned to the island (10).

Mataluangi and the Cargo

It is interesting to speculate on the relationship between the often-repeated tales of *vuvumu* and the ethos of present-day Unea society. One of the characteristics of living myths is that people apply the principles found in them to current problems. Lawrence (1964) demonstrated that the rationale for much of the political strategy pursued by "cargo cultists" on the Rai Coast could be related to the Manup/Kilibob stories. In the manner of folk tales, the structure of these stories remained constant, but the contents of the story changed as people tried to adapt their new experiences to old ideas. Firth's earlier study (1984) of the development of a Tikopian myth (itself a structural analogue of the Manup/Kilibob story) explicates similar processes. These and many other stories, which involve the loss of a hero and are used to validate millenarian movements, demonstrate the dynamic relationship between sacred narrative and fundamental culture change.

For Unea Islanders, *vuvumu* stories are religious and historical texts. Like myths worldwide, they represent structural stability and a superficial diversity that reflects both random variation and structural change. At the structural level, *vuvumu* stories have to do with the departure and return of culture heroes. Being immortal, the ancestral *vuvumu* must ultimately leave their human kin. Usually the break is not absolute. The chance of reconciliation, of the restoration of harmonious relations between *vuvumu* and human, which is implied in the narrative of all *vuvumu* stories, reflects the way that Unea Islanders see their relationship with the supernatural.

The story of Mataluangi involves reconciliation. The hero did not return to the island but continued to care for its fertility and to visit. In Kumburi, a special garden was made every year for Mataluangi to make fertile, and in both

Kumbu and Kumburi his fertility stones remained in use until the establishment of Roman Catholicism on the island.

Despite Mataluangi's reconciliation with his people, some believe that he has left them again. As contact intensified, the world began to look different to the Islanders and their relations to their *vuvumu* changed. Today people still see *vuvumu* and sometimes interact with them, but they also feel that they have withdrawn in order to make way for Christianity. A senior man of one of the Kumbu lineages claims that his mother received a prophecy from Mataluangi foretelling the coming of the Catholic Church. He also told her that when the missionaries arrived he would leave, returning only at the end of the world.

During the first years of missionization, Islanders enthusiastically embraced Catholicism. Later some people became disillusioned. Some became Seventh Day Adventists. Others began to search for a way of integrating the new and old religions. The first so-called cargo cult to affect Unea, the Batari movement, flourished there briefly just before the Second World War, and did not concern *vuvumu.* The second movement, Perukuma, began in 1964.

Perukuma began as a secular, copra-buying organization, founded by Dakoa Takaili. For the first few years the organization was extremely successful, but, by 1968, Dakoa's business was in debt. Circumstances too complex to discuss here had politicized it and spawned an organization that both opposed the newly created Local Government Council and offered an alternative to it. A new political/economic ideology was strengthened by the revival of the old religion, now modified by elements borrowed from Catholicism and Seventh Day Adventism. Saints were equated with *vuvumu* and both were regarded as subordinate to God. The other world, the land of the dead, was equated vaguely with distant lands over the sea, such as Japan, America and Israel. The *vuvumu* and the saints were mediators who existed in both dimensions, and Perukuma members believed that they would one day make available the bounty of the other world. All *vuvumu* were implicated in the Perukuma religion, but Mataluangi was prominent. His story was modified in a way that described both why Islanders, and in particular Perukuma members, gained so little despite their hard work, and why people in the developed world lived in affluence. It also suggested to them that improvement was possible.

New episodes that deal with Mataluangi's defection to America were imported from West New Britain. These episodes tell how Mataluangi, now known as Moro/Aisipel, travelled along the coast from Bulu to Siassi, and from there to America or Australia. They resemble the story reported by Counts (1982). Since the action took place in New Britain, the Islanders are less interested in the precise details of the story than in the fact that he had left. The stories always involve disagreements (interdiction-violation, 4, 5) followed by departures (7). Ultimately the snake settles in America, where he creates an advanced culture. The reconciliation that ends the traditional story

is negated by the snake hero's exile. Some dispirited cultists even suggest that the Americans have killed him to prevent his bringing benefits to his people.

The structure of all *vuvumu* stories presents the possibility of return and encourages Islanders to believe that they can make use of *vuvumu* to forge a link between the human world and that of the dead. The symbolism of the Mataluangi story makes him a prominent hero. As a guide to the dead, he specialized in the mediation between the worlds, and, because he is traditionally a provider for his people, he is the obvious candidate to supply them with wealth. In Unea legends, endings in which the *vuvumu* does not return are commoner than those in which they do. Even when protagonists refuse to come back, contact is maintained and a gift is given. So Perukuma members still hope to complete the myth in the future with a reconciliation that will bring the hero triumphantly home. In 1975, a huge carved wooden image of the snake was made as part of a ritual encouraging him to return with goods from the other world.

Part of the power of Mataluangi rests in the ease with which his stories can be syncretized with those of Christianity. Sometimes, when people discuss this *vuvumu,* they compare him with God or Christ. In his story, parallels with the expulsion from the garden of Eden are a consequence of a similar incompatibility between sex and immortality, though here it is the deity and not the humans who leave. Members of Perukuma sometimes suggest that they but not the whites have been cast out of Paradise. In another story, Mataluangi is portrayed as the creator god and ancestor of humanity. He ordered red and white ants to take his bones after his death to a place where there was a great flood. The black ants let his bones fall into the water and lost them, but the red ants took his bones far away. The black ants' bones turned into black men. The bones of the red ants turned into white men who sprang up like areca palms. There is also some syncretism between Mataluangi and Christ, another millenarian hero. Mataluangi is betrayed by those closest to him and killed by his enemies.

Conclusions

In Unea, *vuvumu* are part of daily life. They are present to Catholics and Seventh Day Adventists as well as to Perukuma members. Their past deeds are enshrined in the landscape, and their contemporary comings and goings have as much validity as that of fellow villagers. Although their assistance is now rarely requested, they remain powerful allies and capricious enemies. Their stories are political currency. They encode powerful symbols, and their structures reflect and influence the way that Islanders contemplate life. All *vuvumu* stories have a similar structure. Heroes stay for a while and depart, leaving their unhappy kin to mourn. Occasionally they return; more often there is a compromise. Mataluangi is a prototype hero whose memorials are found all

over the island. His adventures touch on cosmic themes, and the political and religious future of Unea is given profundity by linking it to his story. Unea people are persistent. They work very hard to meet their goals, and, if things go wrong, they accept failure with dignity. Later they adopt a new plan and try again. This persistence is evident in Perukuma. For over 20 years, members have invoked Mataluangi, the other *vuvumu* and the saints through many diverse rituals. Despite opposition both from the administration and from rival groups within the island, followers of the snake have continued to plan and hope for results. In creating stories of *vuvumu*, a successful outcome cannot be guaranteed, but it is always worth attempting to bring about the return of the hero.

Acknowledgment

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BOOK REVIEWS / COMPTES RENDUS

It's a Working Man's Town: Male Working Class Culture
Thomas W. Dunk
Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995. xii + 191 pp. $39.95 (cloth), $19.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Don Bennett
University College, Dublin

This useful short volume successfully describes working-class culture in a "place of long, empty distances, of big machinery, large trucks, rail cars, and lake ships" (p. 75). Its substantive chapters portray life in Thunder Bay. This description comprises the most valuable half of the book.

Theory, not ethnography, is, however, the author's goal. Dunk has strained to create a theoretical work. It is good theoretical work, as far as it goes. A broad Marxist critique of capitalist social formations constitutes the motif. This macrosociological outline is competent and well referenced. Toward his conclusion, the author works systematically to prove that the working class *is* ideologically duped by the cultural superstructure that so efficiently surrounds capital. "Subordinate classes," as Dunk's final paragraph puts the point, "are trapped in a veritable hall of mirrors" (p. 160). Theoreticians will find this a beginning, rather than an end to the analysis of working-class culture. Theoretical contribution in this area requires explaining how, conceptually, the hall of mirrors works. Dunk contributes only a little to this task.

Most readers will find interesting the author's description of the preoccupations of his beer-drinking, gender-dominant Ontarians. The depiction of the North American working-class condemnation of education and of thoughtful thinking makes up a compelling section, especially if compared to European working-class cultures. What working-class North Americans reject, at a conscious level, about the intelligentsia is its lack of intelligence. One who thinks in any way that can be defined as complex "is . . . emotionally weak and not able to face reality, lacking in intelligence" (p. 135). European working classes are very different. Dunk has captured this North American dimension very well.

The book portrays an extraordinary degree of male dominance. Female lives are subordinated to male enjoyment. This is the most striking aspect of the book. Its author would doubtlessly agree, however, that it is the least well-researched one. Negative White working-class attitudes toward the Ojibwa, who live adjacent to Thunder Bay, are also described in an interesting chapter.

Fraternal social solidarity distinguishes Ontarian working-class culture in this presentation. Working-class men consciously pursue friendship values, in Dunk's view, in order to assert their rejection of middle-class ideals of individual achievement. A local softball team is used to illustrate and exemplify this, as well as other themes covered in the book. Alongside the consciously fraternal, there necessarily lies the cultural unconscious. Everyone is assumed, for example, to have contributed his share to the team's beer fund; it cannot occur, culturally, to anyone to doubt anyone else's input.

This study might have been extended to some consideration of wider community life; we are told nothing about whether or not these men exhibit any communal social-

ity or solidarity beyond their leisure and work circles. This would seem to be the next research step.

Severing the Ties that Bind: Government Repression of Indigenous Religious Ceremonies on the Prairies
Katherine Pettipas
Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press, 1994. xiv + 304 pp. $39.95 (cloth)

Reviewer: Cath Oberholtzer
Trent University

As the powerful Thunder Beings roared and rent the sky, *kisikaw-awasis,* "Flash-in-the-Sky Boy," was born. The year was 1816 and this newborn infant (later renamed Piapot) grew to be a strong political and spiritual leader for his peoples in their resistance to governmental and missionary forces designed to quell Native spirituality on the Canadian Prairies.

This dramatic opening immediately draws the reader into the Native viewpoint, not only aligning our sympathies with the Native voice of tribal history, but also opening windows onto the social and spiritual setting of individual groups, and into the environmental setting of the prairies in the early nineteenth century. By examining the experiences of the Plains Cree from the 1870s to 1951, Pettipas exposes the persistence of religious practices despite missionary pressures to change, and the enactment of judiciary laws forbidding them. As Pettipas so poignantly declares, "It is time the story was told" (p. 16).

In relating the story, Pettipas gives life and meaning to what at times might otherwise be very dry reading. Using clear and precise language, she has incorporated a large corpus of archival documents into succinct statements. By deftly establishing the embedding and subsuming of Native religious expression within a form acceptable to Canadian administrators, both government policies and missionary endeavours are given a context, a context which in this case explains Euro-Canadian concerns and viewpoints vis-à-vis the Native situation at each stage.

Each chapter moves chronologically from the initial efforts of the Canadian government to sever the ties that bound every Native to each other, to the ultimate reversal when the notion, "severing the ties that bind," refers to the Native efforts to cut loose from the White suppression of Native spirituality, and to restore, through spiritual teachings and ceremonies, the traditional ideological bonds (p. 231).

During the period of colonial expansion from 1870 to the turn of the century, the Natives, viewed as impediments to progress, became dependent victims of the *Canadian Indian Act of 1876*. In their haste to transform "Indians" into "Canadians" through this hegemonic device, administrators were endowed with inordinate amounts of authority and power. Foremost was the repression of Native religious practices, for it was perceived—most astutely—by non-Natives that these practices were fundamental to Cree identity and critical for maintaining "the ties that bind."

As the push for settlement intensified, the two cultures clashed; Cree independence changed to wardship under the control of the federal government. Religious repression, particularly in the regulation of Sun Dances and Giveaways, and laws preventing movement between reserves incited the Natives into non-violent forms of resistance.

For the most part, resistance was expressed in truncated or modified versions of group rituals, or in extreme cases in secret performances. To demonstrate government power, a number of Cree leaders, including Piapot, were arrested and incarcerated for their persistence in following their own religion. Only recently have the once-forbidden rituals come full-circle, effecting the restoration of the traditional ideology.

Pettipas is to be applauded for a very fine publication. This is an important book for scholars of Native American culture, religion, and history. As such, it addresses innumerable issues, comprehensively and sensitively presenting meaningful information that is otherwise accessible only by means of extensive and intensive archival research. Pettipas has attained her goal, because the story has been told.

Applied Anthropology in Canada: Understanding Aboriginal Issues
Edward J. Hedican
Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995. xiii + 260 pp. $55.00 (cloth), $18.95 (paper)

Reviewer: Wayne Warry
McMaster University

This publication stands as an important marker for applied anthropology in Canada. Hedican has not written a general reader—there is nothing here about the many faces of applied anthropology that are divorced from Native interests. Rather, Hedican documents the intimate association between Canadian anthropology and Aboriginal research. The book will be an invaluable resource to undergraduate students who to date have had to rely on American texts as an introduction to applied work. Within the nexus anthropology/Aboriginal people, it is difficult to imagine a major topic which Hedican fails to consider. In deciding on this breadth of treatment, of course, Hedican sacrifices analytic space, so that students who are familiar with Aboriginal affairs or with debates within applied anthropology may be dissatisfied with the lack of analytic detail. For this reason the book is better suited to undergraduate, rather than graduate-level, courses.

The book's structure reflects Hedican's dual foci; some chapters are more clearly centred on the discipline—the nature of advocacy or mediator roles—while others analyze Aboriginal issues, including those associated with economic development, self-government and the "ethno-politics" of Aboriginal identity. Throughout, Hedican works hard to maintain the linkages. He is particularly attentive in tracing the history of anthropological studies that have contributed to our understanding of Native peoples. Hedican's discussion of self-government is skewed somewhat by his experience with non-reserve settlements, that is, by a perspective which emphasizes non-status perspectives rather than the opportunities available to First Nations. But elsewhere this experience enhances his discussion of the politics of Aboriginal identity by reminding the reader that the "Aboriginal" agenda is often dominated by issues that are of primary concern to status Indians. Given Hedican's interest in "recasting" (p. 232) anthropology to better deal with contemporary issues, one curious omission exists. Hedican fails to include any discussion of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, active since 1992, which has drawn on the work of many anthropologists.

Despite his contemporary focus, I found the book to be cautious in interpretation. The author is not overly preoccupied with theoretical issues, and the theory he utilizes often seems outdated. In discussing colonialism and self-government, for example, Hedican appeals to Bailey's *Stratagems and Spoils* (Little, Brown, 1969), and the politics of encapsulation rather than to more recent formulations from the resistance literature. That much said, it is important to acknowledge that this example, and others like it (see the ethnic identity discussion, pp. 198-224) may stem from his desire to show that contemporary issues can be used to revisit some "classic" anthropological questions—a useful analytic device, particularly for students whose theoretical understanding lacks historical depth.

In summary, this is a very valuable book, one long overdue and one that will be of great value to a variety of undergraduate courses. Hedican's vision of anthropology is one in which the traditional strengths of the discipline are sustained, where we practise our craft unapologetically and where we are prepared to ensure that our interests are also relevant to the needs of the communities in which we study. This book will stand as an important contribution to that long-term project.

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Jennifer Blythe is Assistant Professor in the Faculty of Health Sciences at McMaster University. She has a Ph.D. in Anthropology from McMaster. She carried out ethnographic field work in Unea Island, Papua New Guinea, in 1975-76 and 1986.

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