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A Case Study of "Normal" Windigo [1]

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet exposé décrit une fantaisie de *windigo* éprouvée à plu-
sieurs reprises par une femme Chippewa contemporaine, sans
tenir compte des symptômes psychologiques qui accompagnent,
d'habitude, la psychose *windigo*. Suit une interprétation de
cette fantaisie, interprétation qui (1) se sert des détails de la
vie personnelle de cette femme afin de démontrer l'importance
qu'il faut accorder aux expériences personnelles de l'individu
pour arriver à une juste compréhension du phénomène *windigo*
et des éléments non occidentaux concernant la fantaisie en
général, et (2) qui, en cherchant à établir quelles pouvaient
être les sources folkloriques des personnages et des suites d'évé-
nements qui se sont manifestés dans les rêves du sujet, soulève
de nouvelles questions à l'égard de l'étude du *windigo* et
examine les liens éventuels qui existent entre la tradition folklo-
rique et la psychologie de l'individu. Pour conclure, nous
proposons un cadre analytique qui fait penser que la psychose
windigo n'est pas particulièrement "exotique".

The term "windigo" (wiitiko) has been used by natives and
anthropologists alike to describe both cannibalistic psychological
aberrations and mythological characters of the Ojibwa and neigh-
boring peoples. However, the connections between the psycholog-
ical and mythological referrents of the term have not been alto-
gether clear. Parker (1960) in his psychoanalytic approach sug-
gests that belief in the legendary monster is the means by which

dependency need frustrations are "cultivated and given definite form" (619) in the windigo sufferer. Teicher (1960) has argued that the windigo belief is a determinate cause of the pathological behavior. As Fogelson has shown (1965) even when applied to psychological processes alone, windigo designates at least five basic syndromes. Similarly, windigo "stories" range from oral history of episodes of mental illness to mythological accounts of the monster itself. While it is not possible to discuss the mental disorder without reference to the belief, the windigo belief can be examined independently of acknowledged cases of windigo psychosis.

In the etiology of windigo psychosis starvation, real or imagined, in connection with a strong cannibalism taboo, has been suggested by Landes (1938a:214), among others, as a causative factor. Recently Rhorl (1970) has advanced a dietary deficiency hypothesis as a partial explanation for the psychological phenomenon; the absence of cases among southern Ojibwa and the paucity of cases under the less rigorous conditions of the 20th century give some support to her argument. Nonetheless, belief in windigo monsters apears among Southern Ojibwa (Chippewa) apparently independent of the psychotic syndrome. Hallowell early suggested (1934) that all cases of the so-called windigo psychosis are not pathological, however reported cases of windigo phenomena almost universally are dramatic and emphasize the bizarre. In view of the complex of psychological, cultural, and nutritional factors which have been proposed in the etiology of "classic" windigo cases, analysis of the role of windigo belief in the psychic life of individuals who do not display the classic symptoms might serve to clarify some of the issues. This paper presents such a case collected from northern Minnesota in 1966. Following the presentation of the data I offer some interpretive remarks which suggest new directions in the study of windigo and the relation of cultural beliefs to individual psychology in general.

The data presented here were obtained in two tape-recorded life history interviews with a woman living in a small Minnesota city, "North City"[2] where I conducted a study of Chippewa urban

[2] I have utilized pseudonyms throughout in order to protect the anonymity of individuals in this paper and anticipated publications.

adaptation during 1965-68 (Paredes: 1969). Before these inter-
views I had visited the informant on three previous occasions and
administered a rather lengthy interview schedule to her. The re-
cording sessions lasted approximately two and one-half hours each,
were conducted in English in her home, and she was paid for her
services. After the tapes were completed I worked briefly with
her on several successive occasions, employed her as a babysitter,
and had her address a small anthropology class I was teaching
at a local college. These windigo materials were an unexpected
dividend in the collection of data pertinent to my major research
aims.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

Mrs. F. was born c. 1888 in an isolated traditional community
on a northern Minnesota reservation. Her father was a White
lumberjack and camp cook; her mother was Chippewa and died
before the informant can recollect. She spent her childhood in
her maternal grandmother's house; also in the household were her
"step-grandfather" and her mother's sister. Her father occasion-
ally saw her but on the whole had little interaction with her:

> He used to come see me and give me some money or bring some groceries.
> He used to have big hundred pounds of flour. Everything he used to
> bring then he'll give my aunt some money. Then, I never know if they
> spent that money on me to buy clothes. Pretty soon, of course, people
> tell — maybe people tell him 'bout giving money to these people, but
> soon he used to buy the clothes for me. Then he'll put groceries there.
> His name was... He was a red headed man; that's why, maybe, my hair
> was red when I was little girl. One time we come in the birch canoe
> around this lake... We stop in... there, they used to be logs in the
> water. That's the way they carried their logs long ago, in a boat.
> I otta logs there. We see bunch of people swimming — it was pretty
> near Fourth of July then. "There is, there is that man — oh yeah, he
> come to us," my aunt said. That was my father that swimming around
> there. He recognize us; then he come to the boat. Then my aunt use
> her paddle to hit him... splash the water on him. That old man was in
> the back. My grandmother died before I went to school. She died.
> He was along then: he told my aunt to go to the shore — he'll go and
> get something to give it to them — food. Just after my cousins go up
> there, they bring boxes — oh all kinds of bread, cookies, doughnuts,
> ham... come to the boat and bring them. Then he [her father] got them
> stand there, and he just dig in his pocket a hand full of money. He

> throw it at me like that, at me sitting in the birch, in the boat. One silver dollar fall in the water. They dig there and try to find it. They couldn't find it, never find it. We went on, on [to the Agency], they gonna have Fourth of July there. That before I went to school...

She did not begin school until she was approximately thirteen. At the reservation boarding school she learned English and received an English first name (she did carry her father's surname). At seventeen she began living with a young man in one of the more acculturated reservation communities. Later she formally married him in the Episcopal church, ostensibly to insure that "the school" would not "come after her." At the time of the marriage she was baptized; before, "I used to go to pagan — when they're have medicine dances."

Despite physical abuse and deprivation from the start she remained with her husband for twenty-four years and had several children, the first of which died in infancy. Finally, she left her husband and soon after established a consensual union with another man by whom she bore her last two children. After four years she separated from her second husband and thereafter lived independently with her children. Ever since her first marriage she has returned only intermittently to her natal village and in recent years has frequently alternated between living on the reservation, in the Twin Cities, Washington State, and North City — she has had children living in all these places.

In recounting her life history she emphasizes two main themes. She has endured poverty and personal hardship — first at the hands of her grandparents and aunt, later because of her husbands. Secondly, she has endured by virtue of her strength, self-sufficiency, and ability to "work just like a man." Also she often mentioned comments made by other Indians on her Caucasian appearance, particularly her reddish hair.

Mrs. F. has quite a detailed knowledge of traditional culture, and she is well acquainted with and is still actively interested in Ojibwa folklore. She reported to me a recent discussion with one of her agemates in which they considered the possibility that the traditional culture-hero, Nanabushu, was really Jesus.

The informant has had a rich psychic life. Her main spirit helper seems to have been her long-dead mother, but she is not

absolutely positive of that identification. She once dreamed a powerful gambling song which her first husband successfully used to recoup his losses after a bad losing streak at moccasin game. At the close of World War II when her sons were in the South Pacific she received a "brave song" reassuring her that her sons would return safely. She asserts that although all her children have learned the song, other Indians have not been able "to catch it" when members of her family try to teach them. Mrs. F. appears to have always been a rather passive recipient of her supernatural gifts and rather perplexed about the whole phenomenon. Referring to the brave song, she reports her adult granddaughters on the reservation as asking:

> "Why this don't happen to one of those Indians here — the full-blood Indians here, and it had to happen to you. You're half White and half Indian; and it pick you to come and show you these songs," they said. "Yes, I think it happen, I don't know why it happen, but it happen," I said.

Soon after World War II Mrs. F. lived briefly in Washington State with one of her sons. During this time she visited meetings of the Shaker Cult, to which her daughter-in-law's family belonged. Mrs. F. was impressed by these meetings and told some of her dreams there. Although not a convert to the cult, Mrs. F.'s first trip to Washington and her experience with the Shakers were instrumental in her finally arriving at a self-satisfying explanation of her dreams, in particular those which included windigo.

THE DREAMS

Mrs. F. began her autobiographical sketch, as I had instructed her, with her earliest remembrances. On the whole her first anec-dotes centered around her fear of her grandmother's husband, whom Mrs. F. referred to as "an old man — the Humpback," the abuses which she suffered from him and other members of the household, and her mother's brother's kindness and intercessions for her. Then she introduced her dreams:

> ...I remember what I did. All I do is hauling wood in or I'll go and get the axe and chop, chop, chop, just the way I am, [i.e., in light weight clothing]. And when I remember when I sleep sometimes I get up in the

night and go and find myself outside standing around. I don't notice myself that I walk out, because I used to have bad dreams.

(J.A.P. — What kind of dreams did you have?)

I used to dream men — men come around me, and I be running away from a giant, from a giant. He's gonna catch me. Everytime I worry about in the evenings every *night* I dream about him — a giant that's gonna catch me, and those men are protec'ing me — twelve of them. They stand around me like this, and I be there [she demonstrates self in middle of a circle]. Oh, he gonna get me anyway. He even cut his head off — just took his head off and come through the men's legs. I used to dream that I'm running and just like under the ground like that [she demonstrates] to try to get away from him. I had a bad dream, alla time I dream about him. Everywhere I go I be afraid I'll see him — even, even not dreaming, when I go someplace.... there's a brush [bush] there as you go down-a lake, there's three brushes there; sometimes he'll be hiding there, he's gonna get me anyway — he's the giant. He's not *very* tall; he's a man about this tall [she indicates about average height] and he's a man — I know how they call them, them men: Misabe, they call 'em. He can lick giants. They call 'em Misabe.

(J.A.P. — and what is the giant called?)

wendiigo.

(J.A.P. — *wendiigo?*)

Uh huh, *and* Misabe they call him, he's the one that wanted to catch me. I don't know what he gonna do with me. He ain't gonna eat me, but he's gonna catch me. But still I'm afraid of him. And those twelve men: [One time] I go down-a lake to go and put the boat down upside down, because it gonna rain... They [step-grandfather and aunt] use me in everything... whatever they want done they tell me to go do it... I run over there. I stop. I hear. I hear something. I heard those men talking — they talking in the brush there I thought. They're talking, they're talking about me!

(J.A.P. — Misabe?)

No, them men that try protec'me, those twelve men. They talking about me, but I can't understand 'em, what they say [she briefly imitates their high pitched voices] all they say like that. They were talking about me. I come back again, I wasn't afraid, I just wished to see them.

(J.A.P. — you wanted to see them?)

Uh huh. But I just hear them; that's all, and that. And then I told my cousin, "I wonder what I could do to stop the dream? I'm afraid of that giant I always dream about." "I don't know, people said if you tell your dreams it'll stop," she says. "Well, I'm telling you, maybe it

will stop," I said. Didn't, didn't stop — even when I was married... I still dream. And I went to school, 'nough of that there. I went to school...

In her school experiences the informant emphasized that "Mrs. [the school superintendent's wife] sure been good to me since I went to school. They call me Mrs. ——'s pet..." While at school she had her first menstrual period. She claimed that she had not known about menstruation before, and when her first menses came she was frightened and "...I was ashamed I was like that." It was during this traditionally crucial stage of life that her dreams of the giant began to acquire new meaning for her:

...pretty soon there was a payment. Oh, all kids go to the store, so I wanna go too... I went there. Boys tease me, "Hello there big legs." "Hello there big legs." I turned back, and I cry... I just didn't go again; I didn't go to town; I just stay. So, I had all kinds of trouble.

And, then when they, when they used to go playing; girls go playing outs'de, I'll be inside working away at that tub fixing bread. That's my job in the kitchen. When they change details, they won't change me; that's my job making bread — mixing bread there. And, then after it raise up, and then everybody would put some in pans, only the fixing is my job. And maybe that why I had muscles, my hands, my hands grow just like man. And then I thought about myself: Maybe that's why I was dreaming about that, the strongest giant in my life; maybe take p'ty on me because I was an orphan. And ever since that I never get sick. I was strong all the time. I grow up just like a man...

After this the informant made no further spontaneous mention of the giant dream, but later I unexpectedly elicited more details of the dreams. After describing the events between her school days and World War II, she recounted her first trip to Washington State. She recalled how frightened she was as the train passed along the edge of the mountains overlooking treetops below and —

Oh, and sometimes it would get just dark while we were riding, as we go under the tunnels, you know. I was scared.

(J.A.P. — [jokingly] Did you think about wendiigo when you went through those tunnels?)

Right. I used to. Some of my dreams — I seen what I used to dream when I was little girl. I used to dream some of those I seen over there, of those cliffs. I used to dream I was walk'ng around up there when I was telling you my dreams. I dream what I see over there.

(J.A.P. — When you went through Washington?)

Uh. huh. Isn't that funny.

(J.A.P. — That is really funny. And you had never been any place where there were cliffs when you were a little girl?)

No. No. Then I seen my dreams over... Gee my dreams musta been true. They were telling me how long I'm going to live.

(J.A.P. — the dreams were?)

Uh huh. And they were telling me, I seen my dreams over there. All the clothes; I can just grab what I wanna wear — I seen it over there — that's the way I used to dream.

(J.A.P. — Let me see if I got this right. Did you say that you had more of your bad dreams after you got married?)

Twice I know that I got sick. Got sick. When I lay down there when I was sick, I can hear those twelve men talking in back of my head here. Talking, talking, talking. "Oh! Oh! Wait," when you hear somebody talking — "A bunch of them talking in the other room maybe," and that's the way.

(J.A.P. — and this is after you were married?)

Uh huh. They were talking about me. There is twelve men. I don't know how come there's twelve; because there were twelve of them standing around me there protecting me from that g ant. And then when I was sick again, that's when they leave me alone, cause I never been sick real bad again. I don't know what was wrong, just before I, these — had [last two children]; before I had them.

(J.A.P. — That's the last time?)

Uh huh.

(J.A.P. — what happened in that last one, the last dream?)

That's when they come talk here. Then when I went over there Washington I went and see my dream... When I used to dream, I go from my place there — That's the main one I used to dream too. That's where I going when that giant chasing me... that's where I'm going. This old lady, I used to go to some old lady in my dream... And then, in my little dress, I'll gather — When I come to her place, "Oh here comes my girl again," she'll say. Then maybe she'll feed me there. Then after she feeds me, she'll give me berries, I'll go from her door and then gather money in my dress. I gather some money just like there was a big hole there, all around there some money, that's what I pick up, and hand it to her. That's all I did in my dreams.

And I told a man over there [in Washington] after the church — we went to [Shaker] church, "I seen a lot of dreams I used to have back home when I was a little girl," I said. "I seen all these dreams only I

didn't see the money to pick up yet," I says. "Oh maybe if you stick around here long enough," he says... "Maybe you stick around here long enough, maybe you see the money. Maybe you be the rich woman here," he says.

(J.A.P. — But you never did find the money did you?)

I never stayed long enough. I always wanna come back, 'cause I had kids here.

DISCUSSION

It is impossible to distinguish actual content of the dreams from retroactive elaborations, to separate biographical fact from biographical fancy, and the data are lacking in sufficient detail for any full analysis of the meaning of the dreams from either a psychological or cultural standpoint. Nevertheless, a cursory survey of Ojibwa folklore quickly reveals a number of parallels to the manifest content of Mrs. F.'s dream. Secondly, the specific circumstances of the informant's life present rather immediate possibilities for a simple and direct interpretation of much of the dreams' symbolism.

Barnouw has discussed the "desire for dependence" (1950: 53) in Chippewa personalities and Parker (*op. cit.*:611) speaks of "dependency cravings" in the etiology of windigo psychosis; Mrs. F.'s dreams can be readily interpreted in this general context. Indeed, the symbolic meaning of the dreams appears quite transparent. The identification of her giant requires no diffuse psychoanalytical abstractions or the invocation of an amorphous "mother figure" (*Ibid.*: 619); there are much more immediate and concrete models for the monster. Futhermore, in addition to any dependency needs the dream in complementary fashion can easily be seen as fanciful flight from an inescapable, hostile emotional environment.

One of the most curious features of these dreams is the way in which windigo and Misabe appear to be confounded; the giant is both a fearful monster and a slayer of giants. At one level the giant quite likely represents the informant's step-grandfather. Compare her description of the dream with the following recollection:

> I think back how I lived when I was a little girl, how they treated me. When it's time for me to go to bed, there is no bed for me to lie down; there'll be something maybe on there for my mattress — maybe an old coat or something. There I lay there, just like I was afraid all the time. *I was afraid of that old man 'cause he always keep after me,* and he was mean to my grandma... (emphasis mine).

I suspect that the giant also symbolized her father. Although it is not certain why her father left her to the care of her mother's people, her story of her father's attempts to attend to her clearly indicate the hostile manner in which the family treated him. Nonetheless, it is probable that as a child Mrs. F. felt rejected by her father, but his sporadic attentions to her suggest the dual nature of the giant. The uncle could also have been a model for the transformation of the fear-provoking giant of early childhood to the benign supernatural of adolescence whom she decides "took pity on me." Again from her life history:

> ...They wouldn't let me go school 'til I was about twelve or thirteen years old... finally my uncle went after me. He was a cop. Still my aunt wanted to take me out in the woods; she was starting to make maple sugar... I didn't run away from my uncle; I was kind afraid of my uncle that he might catch me running away, but he sure didn't never get after me. I know one time he come and got after... his dad, that old man. He come and got after him one time... When he [the uncle] comes in he picks me up, puts me with him. "You sit here," he says, "while I'm visiting, then maybe I take you along when I go, so you can go and play."... He used to tease me a lot, that old man. One time he come and catch that old man hitting me, or whipping me, anyway I was crying when he come. Then he got after him. He said, "Dad, none of us own this kid, none of us. You people think you own her; no, you're not. None of us are relation. We related to her? None of us. None of us own her. We didn't even know when my sister died, and so we ain't got nothing to say. You people ain't got no rights to hold her back on school. The law want her to go to school, and she should go to school. She shouldn't be tied up in here, and you see how it is, look at her hair. She looks like a White girl, why holding her back going to school?" My hair used to be just red.

Finally, the giant could represent, not an abstract mother figure, but her actual dead mother. Some specific details are intriguingly suggestive in this regard. The giant is said to take off his head. While this is consistent with the belief that even chopping off a windigo's head will not kill it (Teicher *op. cit.*:3), the head removal might also have its basis in the common tale

(cf. Radin and Raegan 1928:142-43) in which a luckless hunter who suspects his wife of secretly, and faithlessly, securing meat while he is gone, decapitates her, and then the head rolls in deadly pursuit of him and his children. In another version of the story (*Ibid.*) the husband is pursued by his dead wife's six brothers. Are the "twelve men" of Mrs. F.'s dream the six brothers in duplicate and her identity in the dream suddenly switched to that of the mother in the tale? Mrs. F.'s mother's brother's intercessions on her behalf lend credibility to such an interpretation.

Later in life the informant's violent husband may well have served to reinforce the image of the giant in his more fearful aspect. Although too long to quote here, some of the most vivid and spine-chilling episodes of her autobiography are her accounts of her flights through winter darkness with her drunken husband in hot pursuit. When finally the husband is jailed for his mistreatment of her, she rejects all his pleas — through friends, tribal leaders, and clergymen — for reconciliation, and he attempts suicide by slitting his throat.

It is not until Mrs. F. has divorced her husband and as a mature woman joined a second man, whom incidentally she seduced from another woman, that the dreams finally cease. Up until this point she had had a lifetime of rejection by mother, father, grandmother, the "hunchback", aunt — she said, "she's not my girl anyway," and husband, and she was even "kind afraid" of her policeman uncle. By rejecting her husband she had turned the tables, so to speak, on all her "significant others" (cf. Parker, *op. cit.,*:619) and simultaneously the dreams ceased.

During adolescence she received some positive affection from several *White* adults, namely, the school superintendent's wife; the engineer on the steamboat which crossed the lake on the reservation — he used to call her "my little girl"; and a male school employee who used to teasingly try to kiss her. These relationships, too, very likely contributed to the reinterpretation of the image of the giant in her dreams.

From a folkloric point of view Mrs. F.'s merging of windigo and Misabe is not as strange as may seem at first glance. The two characters are linked as combatants in at least two tales

(Teicher 1960:18-19, 33); thus their mythical juxtaposition is clearly established. Barnouw has reported one of his female informant's reinterpretation of another Chippewa ogre, Bebukowe; by way of explanation he states, "some characters in Chippewa folklore appear to be vague and flexible enough to admit of varying interpretation, for even windigog (cannibal giants) can be friendly creatures in some anecdotes" (1963:229).

Bebukowe is described as a hunchback (*Ibid.*:228), and interestingly enough Mrs. F. dubbed her step-grandfather, "The Humpback." It is impossible to know if, in fact, the old man was a hunchback or whether this is fanciful retrojection. Whichever the case, the humpback characterization provides yet another clue to the dual nature of Mrs. F.'s giant, for if the old man did serve as a model from life for the giant of dreams, a hunched back has contradictory connections with mythological windigo. In at least two stories (Teicher, *op. cit.*:24-25, 26-27) a despised hunchback kills a windigo and saves his people. Somewhat further afield, one of the performers among the Plains Cree clowns, *wetigokanuk* — cannibal cult, is costumed to resemble a hunchback (Mandelbaum 1940:275). It is also significant that Plains Ojibwa clowns too bear a name derived from "windigo", *windigokan,* but it is *paguk,* a Skeleton Being, who directs a visionary to organize the foolish yet mystically powerful clown activities, and they are curers (Skinner 1916:500-503). The use of inverted speech and behavior by these clowns provides yet another cultural analogue, albeit remote, for Mrs. F.'s dualistic giant. All this evidence suggests that, considered in its broadest ethnological context, the windigo idea of mythology has complex associations with other characters, has benign even comical aspects, and, thus, cannot be summarily dismissed by simple characterization as a cannibalistic monster.

To return to Mrs. F.'s dream, what are we to make of those mysterious twelve men who protect her yet are tantalizingly just beyond communicative reach? Unlike the giant, I can find no direct models for these dream characters among the people in the informant's life. Nonetheless, possible sources for the twelve men in Ojibwa folklore are easily found. First of all their number is a Christian sacred multiple (three) of the aboriginal sacred number

four. The six brothers are mentioned above. Perhaps more to the point is a story from Michigan Ojibwa collected by Smith (1897). In this story a chief receives visionary instructions to gather a party of *twelve* and go to war. On the way they encounter a monster who systematically pursues each one, catches all but the twelfth and returns them, one at a time, to his lair. The twelfth escapes through the assistance of a "lion". The lion instructs him to crawl under his body; (perhaps this is one source for Mrs. F.'s reference to going "just like under the ground" to escape from the giant). When the man emerges from under the lion, his mentor tells him that he, the lion, will defeat the monster, but be slain himself; then the man is to sacrifice six dogs in order to revive the lion. The monster is defeated, the lion dies, the man fetches the six dogs and kills them, and the lion is revived. Again, the number of sacrificial dogs is half of twelve.

Even more directly relevant to Mrs. F.'s case is Hilger's report (1951:61) of an informant, from the same reservation as Mrs. F., whose visionary helpers were twelve White girls. Finally, it has been suggested that the twelve men of Mrs. F.'s dream indicate Christian influence, i.e., the twelve disciples (Harry W. Basehart, personal communication). Since the informant's original name is a Chippewa variant of "Mary", this interpretation has no little appeal.

The twelve men cannot be as easily explained in terms of the persons in Mrs. F.'s life as can the giant; undoubtedly the symbolism of the twelve men is extremely complex. I can only speculate that they generally represent the informant's unfulfilled needs for security and in an indirect way manifest Mrs. F.'s unconscious sensing of a seeming contradiction between her Indian way of life and her "half White" parentage. Unfortunately the data do not permit as definitive an accounting for the twelve men as one would like.

The final episode in the informant's dream is going "to some old lady." No stretch of the imagination is required to interpret the old lady as wish fulfillment for a mother in particular, and a solicitous female adult in general. In early life Mrs. F. is quite explicit that her aunt and grandmother, as well as the old man, were "mean" and made heavy demands on her.

This part of the dream has a close parallel in folklore. In a tale collected on a nearby reservation (Radin and Raegan, *op. cit*: 193-206): In mythical times women are fully developed, but the single existing man-god is in a cocoon-like state and must be hauled about and cared for by his wife. She tires of her burden and tries to kill him by tightly binding him and putting him under the ice of a frozen-over stream. For a while he bounces along carried by the flowing water under the ice, then he discovers what is happening to him, becomes enraged (before this he had been quite mild-mannered), and breaks himself free. Now a giant he chases his wife who flees in terror. She sees a wigwam with smoke emitting from the smoke hole; she dashes inside, where she encounters an old woman whom she addresses as "Grandma." The old lady saves her from her husband through deceit, but the giant soon discovers the old lady's trickery and starts to kill her. She changes into a pike-fish and her dorsal fin cuts the giant into two uneven parts. The two women then hack up the two pieces of the giant's body and toss the small pieces about outside. These bits of the giant's body are the origin of men — some short, some tall depending upon from which of the two parts of the body they sprang.

In addition to the above story, I collected one from another informant about a bear-woman which resembles this episode in Mrs. F.'s dream, particularly in connection with the gifts of berries.

In this last episode of the dreams the collection of money, as well as the soaring over the earth (e.g., seeing cliffs in Washington State) and the selection of clothes, appears as pure wish fulfillment. But is it only that? To be somewhat more psychoanalytical, giving money to the old lady may represent ambivalence and hostility toward Mrs. F.'s mother and/or grandmother, as Hallowell (1938) argued for the Freudian symbolic identification of money with fecaes as an expression of hostility in a dream of one of his key informants. Finally, if this episode is somehow related to the tale of the woman who tries to drown the original man-god, perhaps bringing the money to the old lady is an eerie psychical subterfuge for a secret desire to hack up those men whom I have argued are represented by the giant, then as a helpless child gather up the pieces in her "little dress" and

present the gory treasure to a windigo-mother, who in death deserted her daughter for the spirit world but who will later return gifts of powerful songs. Only by such a bizarre interpretation as this can I find any evidence for even deeply repressed cannibalistic urges on the part of Mrs. F.

The question arises as to why after these recurrent dreams Mrs. F. did not exhibit more psychotic, or at least neurotic, symptoms. The solution to the problem appears far too complex to attempt here, but a few speculations are in order.

The informant did relate her dream to her cousin and sought to rid herself of the giant. According to Landes (1938b:26) renunciation of windigo by one who dreams of him is supposed to prevent possession.

Mrs. F. makes frequent mention of the hard work she did as a child and her manly qualities in general. Particularly after her separation from her last husband she achieved some notoriety as a hard worker, including cutting cedar posts for sale, and, as noted earlier, she dreamed masculine songs. Landes (1938b:32) states that women who succumb to windigo "have been raised like men", but "if... women who episodically employ men's techniques are capable, they become the most conspicuous women in the culture, but they do not turn windigo or suffer other personality disintegration. The Ojibwa find them confusing." This seeming contradiction of Landes' is exemplified by Mrs. F. In only certain respects she was raised like a man, but when the occasion arose she could work like a man, so she seems intermediate between Landes' characterization of women "raised like men" and those who occasionally and aptly "employ men's techniques."

Perhaps, in keeping with Rhorl's argument, Mrs. F. did not suffer the dietary deficiencies which Rhorl (op. cit.) posits. However, it is worth noting that the informant mentions sometimes being given berries in her dream, and Rhorl suggests that the therapeutic value of the ingestion of bear fat for treatment of windigo lies in the substance's content of "vitamin C... probably derived from berries and other foods in [bear's] diet" (99).

Finally, in her fantasy life Mrs. F. appears to have resolved her fears, anxieties, and wishes by subconscious reinterpretation

of the windigo figure and the utilization of a wide range of folk-
lore material. (At one point in her life story the informant even
compared herself to Cinderella.) Rather than becoming fixated
on the cannibalistic monster — she explicitly denies the giant
having any intention of eating her, windigo appears as only an
aspect of one of the central figures in a phantasmagoria which
sweeps across a broad panorama of Ojibwa folklore and mystical
belief.

CONCLUSION

While this rather informal analysis is far from exhaustive, is
necessarily inconclusive, and leaves many unanswered questions,
the interpretation does raise important issues in windigo research.
First, it has been shown that in this particular case fantasy material
can be rather simply and directly related to specific persons and
relationships in the "real world" of the informant's unique life
situation, without resorting to generalized descriptions of cultural
patterns or relying on very abstract psychoanalytical devices, e.g.,
a "prototypic mother figure." This, in turn, would indicate that in
addition to mythology, cultural patterns of childrearing, and nu-
trition, specific features of the immediate social environment of
the individual need be carefully considered in analyses of windigo
psychology. Otherwise, it is impossible to explain why only a
certain few and not all Ojibwa suffer from windigo psychosis.
Indeed, in all discussions of dreams, visions, and hallucinations in
non-Western societies greater attention should be given to the
specific life situation of the dreamer or visionary than is usually
the case. Even the layman in our own culture is familiar with the
procedure of interpreting dreams on the basis of individually unique
life histories, yet in dealing with fantasy material from other
societies cultural explanation often supersedes situational explana-
tion. As has so often been the case, in anthropology we "neglect
somewhat those elemental phases of human existence, just because
they seem to be obvious and generally human, non-sensational
and non-problematic" (Malinowski 1960:72).

Secondly, the data presented here indicate that the whole
complex of windigo belief may need reexamination. Is, for example,

the windigo lore of southern Ojibwa significantly different from that of the sub-Arctic? What have been the effects of several centuries of acculturation on the windigo syndrome? How is it that the horrible cannibal monster is terminologically identified with the ludicrous clown-shamans of the Plains Ojibwa and Pla̍ns Cree? What relationship does the windigo idea have to other folklore characters — is windigo a character, a *characterization*, o̍r both? Precise answers to these and related questions should provide important insights into our understanding of "windigo."

Finally, even a brief survey of Ojibwa folklore has revealed numerous separate tales which closely parallel one part or another of Mrs. F.'s dream. It appears, then, that she subconsciously selected personages and sequential motifs from the body of folklo̍re and combined them into her own private fantasy. It may be hypothesized, then, that pervasive psychological stresses in the informant's life were channelized into a fantasy structure crea- tively derived from entities and motifs of folklore.

In connection with this last point I have observed that Landes' brief life histories of Ojibwa women (1938a:227-247) generally conform to the "motifeme" patterns of Dundes' structural typology of North American Indian tales (1963). Either this is mere coincidence, Dundes has discovered the structure of life as well as folktales, or in recounting their life stories Landes' informants cast their autobiographies into an underlying structural frame of folk- lore. A comparable example of this phenomenon is the Horatio Alger form in which so much American biography has been presented (W. W. Hill, personal communication).

If it can be demonstrated that individual fantasy and intro- spection draw not only content but also structure from cultural belief, to what extent then are various Euro-American self images such as "I'm a loner," "everybody is against me," and "I am Jesus" culturally relative psychological manifestations founded in recurrent Judeo-Christian literary themes of the righteous mᵃn who stands alone against overwhelming forces? In this kind of context the windigo psychosis is no more "exotic" than, certainly, paranoia and probably other textbook mental aberrations. Further- more, just as the data in this paper demonstrate that not every Ojibwa who has chronic dreams including windigo exhibits the

classic symptoms, neither does every White American who day-dreams of courageous leadership in a hostile arena believe himself to be Napoleon Bonaparte.

In summary, I have argued that Mrs. F.'s dream has its psychological origins in the particular unique circumstances of her life, but in both its content and its structure the dream is an individually unique reintegration of a variety of elements of traditional Ojibwa belief. In general I propose that in every society, belief, particularly as presented in the whole body of literature, provides the "adjusted", the neurotic, and the psychotic alike with a kind of cognitive map for the unconscious. In dreams, visions, daydreams, and hallucinations most individuals successfully trace a safe psychological path through the fantastic labyrinth of collective folklore; a few are lost.

None of the ideas presented here are startling new, but hopefully this interpretation of one very mild "windigo case" will serve to emphasize the continuing need for greater precision in the formulation of problems in modern psychological anthropology. Even so, it was one of the pioneers in culture and personality studies, Edward Sapir, who perhaps best stated the central point of this paper:

> ...psychological derangements... arise not on the basis of generalized cultural conflict but out of specific conflicts of a more intimate sort, in which systems of ideas get attached to particular persons, or images of such persons, who play a decisive role in the life of the individual as representative of cultural values (1932:241-242).

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Symbolic Competition

E. G. SCHWIMMER

RÉSUMÉ

Dans beaucoup d'états contemporains, on trouve une con-
tradiction entre une égalité idéologique des ethnies composant
la population de l'état et une hiérarchie réelle, économique ainsi
que politique, établie sur le principe des écarts ethniques. L'ar-
ticle explore comment cette contradiction s'exprime dans les
idéologies minoritaires — en particulier, les idéologies courantes
des Indiens canadiens. On distinguera entre deux types d'idéo-
logie. La première établit une disjonction faible entre les Indiens
et les Blancs pour favoriser une concurrence réelle mais amicale
entre les deux groupes. La deuxième, qui se produit à défaut
des conditions nécessaires pour la concurrence réelle, établit
une disjonction forte entre les ethnies. Elle proclame un sépa-
ratisme spirituel, repousse comme débilitant tout contact avec
les Blancs, et dresse une image de l'identité collective indienne
où celle-ci représente la pureté primordiale et les Blancs repré-
sentent la pollution. L'article présente des données ethnogra-
phiques obtenues pendant la danse du soleil des Indiens Blood.
L'idéologie indienne établirait une correspondance parfaite entre
les oppositions pur/impur et Rouges/Blancs. Cette correspon-
dance s'expliquerait par "la concurrence symbolique", c'est-à-
dire l'inversion de la hiérarchie des Blancs où les Rouges se-
raient à une échelle inférieure. Une telle inversion serait le
signe qu'un groupe social ne peut entrevoir une solution pour
une injustice sociale insupportable que sur le plan de l'imagina-
tion. Quand les relations entre les Blancs et les Rouges s'amé-
liorent, la concurrence symbolique se remplace vite par la con-
currence réelle.

PART I: INTRODUCTION

This essay[1] is an attempt to interpret a set of social
phenomena which have emerged in widely separate societies. We

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find these phenomena especially where the society includes indi-
genous groups which are peripheral to the basic political and
economic decision-making institutions in the society. Such indi-
genous groups often maintain quite distinctive boundary mainte-
nance processes of their own. Such processes are ideologically
justified by the minority with the argument that it is "maintaining
its own culture". Among the minorities of this kind that the author
has personally studied in some detail are the New Zealand Maori
and the Canadian Indians.

In the case of the Maori, the author has examined in some
detail the genesis and development of concepts of "Maori people",
"Maori culture" or "Maoritanga" from the millennial movements of
the 19th century when they were first formulated to the present
time when they have become embedded in a number of nationally
recognised institutions (Schwimmer 1966, 1968). Such concepts
are currently used to validate some militant minority ideologies,
such as "Black Power", "Red Power", and have been a feature
of anti-colonialist movements such as "Négritude".

So widespread are these movements that it is idle to attempt
explaining them solely in terms of the specific cultural traditions
in which they arose. They resemble each other far more than the
various classical cultures from which they developed. How can
we explain this?

The argument of the present essay does not imply a rejection
of various other types of explanation that have already been
offered. For instance, Metge's meticulous analysis of the migra-
tion process amongst the Moari (1964) does give us an explana-
tory model of organisational change in a continuing culture that
may well be generalised to show similarities between various
minority groups in industrially advanced societies.[2] Hallowell's
(1955) and Ritchie's (1963) analysis of basic value conflicts
between the indigenous and immigrant cultures likewise leads to

    [2] When Indians write about their own cultural situation, it is usually from
this same viewpoint, e.g. Pelletier, n.d.

a viable explanation of basic similarities between widely separated contemporary life-ways such as those of Indian and Moari.

In a different way, similarities in ideological boundary-maintenance processes have been analysed by Oscar Lewis and others, who postulated the existence of a 'subculture of poverty' (Lewis 1969) in minority groups with a low 'degree of effective participation' in the society. Analyses on the basis of this concept have been made of both Maori (Forster 1968) and Canadian Indian (Dunning 1959, Kew 1962) cultures. Theoretical objections to this concept have often been made, e.g. by Valentine (1968) who postulated a dichotomy between inherent ingrained subcultural values or habits and traits which are mere responses to experience of the socio-economic environment. Valentine would not agree with, for instance, Forster, who suggested that "the peculiarities which can be isolated in the psyche of the Maori are not a function of their being Maori, but are, instead, the result of being poor". Valentine would probably replace the words *not ... but instead,* by *both ... and.*

Certain aspects of such subcultures have not been considered in much detail in any of these analyses, such as: Do the subcultures set up their own boundary maintenance systems? If so, why do they do so? What is the symbolic content of these boundary maintenance systems? What does an analysis of these systems tell us about the basic source of conflict between minority and majority?

In discussing these questions, I have followed certain theoretical formulations which I should briefly acknowledge. The empirical data I have examined, especially the Blood Sun Dance, have to some extent been subjected to a Lévi-Straussian style of structural analysis. In making my analysis diachronic as well as synchronic, my approach has been consistent with much of Lévi-Strauss' later writing about history, e.g. his dialogue with Vogt (1962). Undoubtedly, cultures such as the Maori and Canadian Indian went through a structural transformation between the time of first contact with Europeans and the present. If we wish to trace the process of this transformation, a "generative model" such as that of Barth (1966) is very useful. Thus, we must assume that at any time a choice between several basic strategies was

open and that one can explain, even predict, such choices if we can calculate, on the basis of existing structural and ecological constraints, which choice will be regarded as the most beneficial.

Such calculations, claiming to predict what is regarded by the folk system as the most advantageous strategy, are always hazardous as the anthropologist must translate his apperceptions of these strategies into the theoretical terminology current in his discipline. The language into which I have chosen to translate them derives from two fields: the social psychology of Blau (1964) and the literature on millennial movements. Two of Blau's concepts have proved to be especially useful: the first one is his concept of power, which arises, according to Blau, when Self and Other are in an exchange relationship where Self cannot offer to Other benefits as valuable to Other as the benefits derived from Other are to Self. The relationship will then become worthless to Other unless Self is willing to place himself in a position of subordination. The position of Self is especially weak if he cannot get the desired benefits from any other source, cannot compel Other to give them by the use of physical or other force, and cannot do without the benefits.

The other concept of Blau's to which I shall often make reference is that of "opposition ideology". An opposition ideology presupposes a relation of negative reciprocity holding between a dominant and a subordinated group. The subordinated group is under strong pressure to accept the value system of the dominant one. This becomes distressing under conditions where the sub-ordinated group considers they are not getting a fair deal in terms of their own system of values. It is the perceived un-fairness that causes conflict, not the difference in "value system". Blau argues, however, that the difference in value system is more likely to lead to unfair treatment, as the stronger partner "iden-tifies" less with the weaker one if a difference in values is present.

If this argument is correct, it would in general seem to be the best strategy for the minority to become sufficiently assimilated to enable the majority to "identify" with them. In practice, how-ever, many minorities do not aspire to assimilation and we must assume they act in their own interests. What are these interests? Arguments that they desire to "maintain their identity" and "preserve their values and traditions" do not suffice, because such

boundary maintenance is not invariably adopted by minorities; the assimilation strategy if often more advantageous and is often adopted. This fact is demonstrated in detail in Barth's "Ethnic Groups and Boundaries" (1969).

The cases analysed by Barth and confined, quite justifiably, to types where the advantages of not assimilating are immediately evident on the economic and socio-political level. One could not say the same for the types of minority I am discussing in this paper; Maoritanga or the maintaining of Indianness cannot easily be fully explained by socio-economic advantage.

Opposition ideologies, such as developed by Maori and Canadian Indians, do not necessarily yield measurable socio-economic advantage, but may even penalise those who hold them, especially if they acquire an organisation and become opposition movements. The ruling majority tends to resent groups which do not accept its value system and tends to withhold from them benefits granted to conformists. One must agree with Blau that one of the distinguishing features of a genuine opposition move-ment is that its members are willing to make sacrifices for their ideals: they are willing to forego benefits the power-bearers would otherwise be able to offer.

It must be emphasised at once that neither the Indian nor the Maori situation can be analysed wholly or even largely by reference to opposition ideologies in this sense. Refusal to accept benefits when they are offered by the dominant society occurs only in circumstances where there is a sense of grave injustice. In New Zealand one may instance the attitude of the "King Move-ment" until certain land claims were settled in the 1930's; in Canada we shall be able to consider, in this essay, some more recent instances. We should, in fact, make two types of dis-tinction in the analysis of the empirical facts, namely first, between assimilation and boundary maintenance processes; secondly, be-tween boundary maintenance processes which are advantageous in competition with dominant groups (such as those described in Barth's 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries') and those which do not appear to be concerned with direct competition in this sense.

It is on this last-mentioned type that I shall concentrate in this essay. Here, the ethnic minority is barred in a greater or

smaller extent from inclusion in the societal community; it has a lower economic and social status; its opportunities for political participation are limited; its standard of education is lower. Being placed in this disadvantaged position, somewhat separate from the dominant group, it forms symbols of in-group solidarity and claims to have a "separate culture". This "separate culture" is distinctive in ideological areas such as religion and the creative arts and the symbolic aspects of social and political organisation. (Schwimmer 1968, Chapter 1). Essential to the ideologies of such separate cultures appears to be a proposition that they incorporate the "immemorial traditions of their race". As such they have little logic or cohesion, but they become extremely cogent and even profound if we recognise that the ideologies have sprung up in opposition to a dominant White culture with incongruent values.

One feature of Anglo-Saxon value systems is an elaborate scaling of accomplishments in accordance with the class structure. Now the qualities that are valued most highly on this scale are precisely those that are not attributed to minorities such as Maoris, Indians, etc. What the opposition ideology does is to reverse the scaling criteria which it determines on the basis of two principles: (1) the minority should deserve a high score; (2) the dominant group should deserve a low score. The criteria would not be a haphazard collection, but would be justifiable in terms of a logically consistent world-view.

In suggesting that ideologies such as Indianness and Maoritanga have this kind of structure, I am not expressing a derogatory judgment. On the contrary, I believe that all systems of thought were generated in human societies by this type of dialectic. By implication, such ideologies contain two types of statements: (a) about the dominant culture, or system of thought, as perceived by the minority; (b) about the system that is being generated in opposition to the former.

Now, in any specific feature, the two systems thus included in the universe of discourse may either be similar or opposed. The opposition ideology may say that the dominant culture gives a correct prescription, but it is then likely to add that the minority is superior in its observance of the prescription (honesty, piety, democracy, etc.). In such cases one may say that the minority

ideology is practising direct competition with the majority. Alter-natively, the opposition ideology may pronounce the dominant value system to be wrong and pernicious; or mean and second-rate. In that case it asserts the superiority of the minority, al-though by worldly standards it may be categorized as an op-pressed and exploited minority. We may then speak of symbolic competition, as was the conviction of early Christians that only the poor but not the rich can enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

How can one explain that opposition ideologies and move-ments develop if their members cannot expect to gain any visible benefits, and often — if the majority is intolerant — risk to lose their property, their means of earning a living or even their lives? This is a difficult question to answer for a social theory which, like Blau's, rests on the assumption of some form of rationality of human choice. Blau explains that the oppressed may decide to adopt an opposition ideology because they feel they are so badly treated they have little to lose, whereas the association with the opposition movement is for them a definite gain.

How then would Blau explain the cases where men are wi'ling to risk their lives for an opposition movement as often happens? It has to be recognised that the stakes in an opposition movement may be very high: not only the losses but also the expected ga'ns may be infinitely great. In this respect, the best anthropological example of an opposition movement is a millennial or cargo cult. A normal characteristic of such cults is a willingness to forego the putatively paltry benefits derived from the existing situation. Cult members may destroy their crops, or pigs. The benefits promised to cult followers are correspondingly extravagant. The question is: can we apply a theory of social exchange in situations where both the costs and the benefits are indefinite and may be of the order of infinity?[3]

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[3] The risks of opposition movements may be instanced by the practice of messiahs of millennial cults to bestow upon their followers the magical protection of invulnerabil:ty in the face of enemy bullets. We find this theme not only in Oceanic movements but also in North America (see Hœbel [1941] on the Comanche Sun Dance and Messianic Outbreak of 1873). In return for each indefinite risk fol'owers expect benefits passing every conceivab'e limit. The *time* when they will receive them may be infinitely far removed. Though movements often set definite dates for the onset of the millennium, Festinger (1956) i.a. has shown that even if a definite date is set, movements may continue long after it is past.

One might perhaps argue that opposition ideologies tend to have a normative system which places a constraint on the legitimacy of certain types of exchanges just as the dominant ideology has such a normative system. According to opposition norms, withdrawal from the dominant system becomes obligatory. I would agree with Burridge (1969) that such a normative system may develop anywhere "provided that oppression and exploitation are experienced in a collective situation"; and that the process of its development is revelation, channeled through a mediator. To the social scientist, this genesis of opposition and millennial movements[4] is inaccessible ground, or, as Burridge puts it, "an operational power which may be provisionally identified and explored from the viewpoint of the known". (1969:139)

In the present essay, I attempt to document the way revelation actually occurs in social situations and its place in social behaviour. Revelation may, of course, be a charter for either direct or symbolic competition. In neither case would I regard the significance of these minority movements to be divorced from the sphere in which they arose, namely the critical relationship between minority and majority. However profound and aethetically satisfying these systems of thought may be, it is not expedient, in anthropological analysis, to divorce them from the conflict out of which they arose, or at least, which moulded their contemporary form.

The plan of this essay will be, first, to consider in one concrete instance, the Indians of the Blood Reserve, the environmental limitations placed upon Indians' direct competition with the Whites; and the forms taken by symbolic competition. Secondly, I shall take one specific set of events, the sun dance, and show how the symbols of symbolic competition are generated. I shall also indicate that the symbols of competition actually do make up the essence of what is commonly understood to be contemporary Indian

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[4] Though millennial movements have been widely studied, anthropologists long continued to treat them as spec'al phenomena, confined to specific times and places. Cohn, Lanternari, Muehlmann et al. compiled lists of diagnostic features to distinguish millennial movements from other types of movement, but without reaching agreement. In spite of this some scholars (e.g. Guiart 1962) tried to expla'n why the movements sprang up at one time and place rather than another. I would agree with Burridge that it is wiser at this stage to deepen our understanding of opposition movements than to induce *ad hoc* boundaries of the concept from comparative surveys.

culture. Next, I shall inquire into the conditions under which direct as opposed to symbolic competition is found to occur. This will be followed by a short discussion which belongs perhaps to applied rather than "pure" anthropology, and which inquires what circumstances will tend to increase the incidence of direct rather than symbolic competition, and hence the adjustment of Indians in Canadian society.

PART II:

SYMBOLIC COMPETITION ON BLOOD INDIAN RESERVE

(a) *Obstacles to direct competition*

The Blood Reserve was established in 1877 under Treaty No. 7 and comprises 354,000 acres of mostly excellent land, the majority of which is suitable for wheatfarming while the balance is good ranching country. A very detailed report compiled by the Indian Affairs Branch (1965) sets out the natural resources, which yield a substantial income to the Reserve, while considerable land resources remain in Indian hands.

Though there are 82,900 acres of improved land on the reserve, only 5,495 of these acres are occupied by Indians for wheatfarming, while the rest is leased to Whites. The Indian held unimproved land is used for ranching. Indian ranchers have been assisted by investments from band and government funds. In 1965, it was officially believed that Indians would benefit if most of the unimproved land were put into wheat (Pittman, Campbell, Garland and Elgaard, 1965). The Indians however showed, in word and deed, that they preferred to continue ranching. Considering what happened to the wheat market since 1965, this was probably a blessing but the historical fact is that the present Indian pattern of land utilisation is based on a massive failure in wheat farming. The leased lands include 35,000 acres which used to be occupied by Indian wheat farmers who were financed by the band and removed for non-payment of their debts. The failure rate on these Indian wheat farms must have been 85% of the area planted. Therefore, if Indian and White patterns of land utilisation differ in this district, the reason lies in

the failure of the Indians (due to a lack of either resources or capacities) to compete with Whites in wheatfarming.

There was until recently no opportunity for Indians to compete directly with Whites in education, as they went to schools inside the reserve. At the time of my study (1965), school integration was actively pursued. Indian parents showed a decided preference for integrated schools, though some schools on the reserve were still operating. This preference existed in spite of the very long distances students must travel by bus and in spite of their reports about discrimination. In this field of competition, the Indian children are at a clear disadvantage, through differences in home background, the inordinate length of the school day and even more, because of the difficulty — even for the best students — of finding suitable jobs after graduation, so that there is relatively less motivation for study.

Competition on the labour market is very difficult for the Indian. One reason for this is undoubtedly the lack of educational qualifications but the difficulty persists even for graduates who, in many instances, have returned to the reserve disheartened by the lack of opportunities. The Indians appear to be cast for a rigidly limited number of occupational roles where jobs are not only low paid but also seasonal. Associated with non-competitive income levels are correspondingly low standards of housing and health.

Indian Affairs Branch statistics do not readily lend themselves to an estimate of underemployment on the reserve, but it is safe to say that the average able-bodied male does not work for more — and probably for rather less — than half the year. In spite of this only 30 band members have established households outside the reserve which has a population of 3,600.

All my informants made vigorous and spontaneous statements about discrimination and about the impossibility of getting away from the reserve. Thus, the low migration figures do not reflect an unwillingness to move but a perceived barrier to movement. One man, a responsible Blood leader, drew a picture for me to explain the situation. It consisted of a number of circles which were reserves, filled with crosses which represented Indians. There was a boot in the middle and the tail of a mouse underneath

it. The mouse attached to the tail represented the Indian people, who could never move further away than the boot permitted. These statements are confirmed by research into stereotypes held by Whites with regard to Indians of the Blood Reserve (Zentner 1962) and by Spindler's field observations (1965:28).

In the administrative and political sphere, Indians and Whites again do not compete on the same level. This cannot be blamed on the local services of the Indian Affairs Branch which (at the time of my visit) showed the most enlightened understanding of community development techniques. Nor can it be blamed on the quality of Indian community organisation which is complex, active and which involves a large part of the community in well-conceived projects, both traditionally-oriented and modern. There is, however, hardly any linkage between these organisations and organisations of similar scope outside the reserve, so that Indians do not, in any real sense, participate in decision-making in their part of Southern Alberta. I may add in parentheses that linkages of this sort have, over the last 25 years, become rather important in the community life of the New Zealand Maori.

Finally, in the sphere of religion communication and emulation between Indian and White is rather restricted because the Blood are mostly Catholic, with an Anglican minority, whereas the Whites in most frequent contact with the Blood tend to be Latter-Day Saints and Protestants. Religion therefore acts, in the main, as a barrier between the groups. The evidence shows that direct competition and emulation between the Blood and the surrounding Whites is insignificant at any of the principal levels of culture. Yet one cannot call the two groups truly separate. It is more correct to say that they are normatively separated by taboos on commensality and intermarriage, and that they are politically and economically interdependent, with a strict differentiation of functions between the two groups. There are exclusively White and exclusively Indian political and economic roles, which are activated whenever representatives of the two groups encounter one another.

This pattern almost looks like what authors such as Berreman have called a "caste" system, i.e. the society is made up of "birth ascribed groups which are hierarchically ordered

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and culturally distinct. The hierarchy entails differential evalua-
tion, rewards and association".[5] Now a sense of oppression or
exploitation does not naturally or necessarily arise in a hierar-
chically ordered society. It will only do so if the transactions
between the orders are perceived by the subordinate partner as
not conforming to standards of distributive justice.

The post-contact history of peoples such as the Canadian
Indians or the New Zealand Maoris is not consistent with a
"caste"-like system in the sense suggested above, because
Canadian, as well as New Zealand society depended for its suc-
cess on rapid mobility within and between immigrant groups.
Very few Whites, in either of these countries, have ever *believed*
in a "caste"-like society. Nor did this type of concept exist in
traditional Canadian Indian or Maori culture. The erection of
rigid boundaries of social stratification may have been expedient
for White rural populations in dealing with Indian or Maori
casual labour pools (cf. Daniels 1970), but this occurred in con-
tradiction of the basic social objectives of the total society. Hence,
criticism of these rigid boundaries has frequently arisen among
those who were not direct beneficiaries, i.e. among urban educated
elites committed to basic national social objectives and among the
indigenous communities whose knowledge of the White value
system derived mainly from ecclesiastical sources, and who were
aware of the contradiction between White moral principles and
practice.

b) *Some instances of symbolic competition*

Fundamentally, the Indian response to this perceived in-
justice has been to develop opposition ideologies. These can be
understood only if we enter upon some analysis of myth, religious
belief and ritual. But we must first settle a preliminary question:
how important is the element of "opposition" in these ideologies?

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[5] This definition, due to Berreman, is quoted by Pitt-Rivers (1971:255)
who comments: "one wonders what stratified society it can be taken to exclude"
(ibid. 247) Pitt-Rivers has suggested that the term "caste" is useless for cross-
cultural comparisons. In the present essay, it is employed merely for ethno-
graphic description of a system of social differentiation not inspired by the
ideology of the modern West.

We shall therefore consider some specific challenges by Indians of the dominant values in Canadian culture.

It appears that Whites have selected the criteria for the social status scale in such a way that Indians must always be at the bottom. But the selection of such scaling criteria must always, in the last resort, be arbitrary. If Indians had the power to select the scaling criteria, undoubtedly they would be at the top and the Whites at the bottom.

Almost any element of "Indianness" can be used in this way as evidence for the superiority of the Indian. Unfortunately my collection of examples of this device is rather limited, but I noticed that Indians use it as freely as Maoris. They claim that the vernacular language is superior to English as deeper truths can be stated in it. Especially, it is aesthetically superior as English songs and stories cannot stir the heart. Similarly, the White man is devoid of the art of choreography; only the Indian knows really about dancing. The same kind of view is expressed about almost any arts and crafts.

In this symbolic sphere, we find mentioned as characteristic of "Indianness" qualities the Indians demonstrably cultivate to a high degree, qualities attributed to them on dubious grounds and qualities which they are thought to have lost today, but which are still seen as part of the essence of Indianness. Among these qualities are several no scientist would classify as distinctively Indian, though they may be distinctive to the rural working class, distinctive to ranchers, etc. Such scaling criteria must be regarded as part of the ideology of Indianness if informants relate the criteria to a putatively "Indian" system of thought.

Now some examples. First, there is the criterion of Indian strength, endurance, good health and dexterity, in other words: physical superiority. To some extent this Indian superiority is demonstrable, to some extent it is attributed, to some extent it is a past glory. Proficiency in heavy labour is definitely part of the Indian's own profile of "Indianness", while a belief in urban White inferiority in this respect is also part of that profile. Dexterity in handling horses at rodeos and proficiency in the practical aspect of ranching is another element of Indianness where the inferiority of the urban White is freely posited.

Another opposition built into the ideology of Indianness is the belief that the life of a rancher is inherently superior to that of the wheatfarmer. The latter is looked upon as a menial while the rancher has a more lordly style. The Indians claim this criterion of scaling to be part of their immemorial tradition. But we know from historical sources (Dempsey 1965:13; Goldfrank 1945) that at the beginning of the century attitudes were quite different: chiefs made determined efforts to introduce grain and vegetable growing among their people. Low status was not attri- buted to those activities at that time. But today wheatfarming is, to the Indians, a low-status occupation. Thus the Whites (in as far as they are wheatfarmers) are placed at the bottom of the scale and Indian ranchers at the top.

I have already suggested that such scaling criteria are not developed except in the framework of a cognitive system. Why does the ideology of Indianness lay so much stress on physical proficiency? The short answer is that physical proficiency is regarded as a sacred resource transmitted in special degree to the Indians by their ancestors. Not only prowess was so trans- mitted but also health. Spindler (1965:29) quotes, a Blood In- dian's claim that Indians in the past did not have diseases like the White man. In particular, they had perfect teeth: "Your people have dentists to fix your teeth. You need them because you eat dead food. Before you came over here, the Indians all had good teeth. My grandfather had a full set of good teeth in his head when he died, and he was almost ninety years old." Here again, the White man's claim to superiority (only White culture has professional dentists) is turned into evidence for White inferiority by Indian criteria (Indians do not need dentists because their teeth are perfect).

One may ask: do the Blood Indians really attach any im- portance to their notion that they are superior to White men in physical prowess? This question needs more careful empirical study than I was able to give it. I can, however, quote on illus- tration in support of my contention. The sole practical experi- ment known to me which was aimed at improving "racial" rela- tions on Blood Reserve was an Indian-organised "Trail Riders Club" which holds a camp for one week yearly for a mixed group

of Indian and White boys as well as a four-day camp for girls. The White children mostly come from town areas. The programme contains plenty of strenuous outdoor activities and also educational talks on horse-riding, ranching and Indian legends.

The urban White children are thus introduced to "Indian culture", and appropriate emphasis is placed on the criterion of physical prowess — not rated very high on the children's White middle-class urban scale, but extremely high on the scale in the camp. What interested me about this camp was the emphasis placed on a "competitive spirit", "points" being given for all events. Needless to say, the Indian children always won. To this extent, the Indians had reversed the more usual situation where Indian school children come near the bottom of the class. On the other hand, the organisation made quite sure in all other respects that the White children would enjoy themselves. This Indian emphasis on reversing the status scale seemed to me the more significant as I had never seen it in the many similar fraternisation efforts organised by New Zealand Maori. I wonder whether the Indians would have set up this "points" system if the schooling problem was less acute and if intermarriage between Indian and White was more frequent.

Physical prowess, however, is only one of many elements of Indianness which are selected as scaling criteria. Good memory is another. Spindler (1965:29) reports the following statement from a Blood informant: "You people made writing, so you do not have to remember anything. I guess that's why you White people have such bad memories. I notice I can tell you something one day, and if you don't write it down, you don't remember it the next. We Indians can remember everything that happens, even when we were little kids. It's all clear. "Here the informant is reversing a White status scale which contrasts the literate White man with the illiterate Indian. The superiority of the Indian is asserted by invoking a different criterion, namely the strength of the memory. This criterion, again, is valid within the Indian ideology which views memory, like physical prowess, as a gift of the spirit.

A similar pattern emerges from interesting data provided by Braroe in an essay entitled "Reciprocal Exploitation in an

Indian-White Community" (1965). He gives numerous instances where the White exploiter finds that the Indians turn the tables on him and he becomes the victim, the exploited. It would appear that the Indians set up some kind of social status scale for which "smartness' is the criterion. Reversing the ranking generally accepted in this mixed community, the Indians are able to place themselves at the top of their scale and the Whites at the bottom. Again, such a criterion would be merely trivial if there was not strong ideological justification for adopting a status scale based on "smartness". Indians believe that a man will succeed in a daring feat of trickery only if he enjoys the special favour of the Sun. Among the Blood Indians, tricksters made vows which they discharged by torturing themselves at the Sun Dance (Ewers 1948).

An interesting feature of symbolic competition is the emphasising of oppositions between White and Indian values by suppressing such similarities as exist. For instance, the Blood Indians had a gift exchange system whereby a young man who borrowed horses from an older relative to perform some feat of prowess was expected to pay compensation. Nowadays, however, there is a strong ideological emphasis that an Indian should unstintingly give what he owns to any other Indian who asks for it, without expecting a return gift. (Spindler 1965:28-29) Anyone who jibs at this is accused of "acting just like a whiteman". It would seem that at one time wealth was a status symbol among the Blood Indians, but that today strong emphasis is placed on a different criterion of status, namely: generosity and readiness to share. The wealthy man will have low status on this scale unless he is willing to share out all he has, i.e. give up his wealth. The whiteman, who would be at the top of the scale if the "wealth" criterion was accepted, is placed at the bottom of the scale by the "generosity" criterion.

The evidence of these last few pages is concerned with some of the most painful problems of the contemporary Indian: economic exploitation, suppression of spiritual and intellectual capacities, helotisation of the elite. I have shown that the Indian response took the form of setting up a scale of values contradicting the White scale. We now have to try to understand the Indian ideology in its totality and show how the fragments we have

considered fit together. Do they make sense as a timeless variety of the *philosophia perennis* or are they better regarded as an opposition ideology emerging out of the dialectics of inter-ethnic conflict?

c) *Sun Dance on Blood Reserve*

My apperception of the Blood Indian system of thought is based largely on my observations at the Sun Dance in 1965. I should therefore concede at the start that my presentation is bound to be incomplete. Nonetheless, enough material was obtained to show how Indians build up their ideology. The Sun Dance today is the supreme occasion of the Blood annual cycle when members from all parts of the tribe live together for twelve days under conditions evoking the ancient social and spiritual order. I estimated attendance in the evenings at an average of 700, but rather fewer during the daytime when many were haying or doing other work. Most of the evening visitors stayed in the tipis overnight.

The camp site was measured out well before the event by the Horn Society, the sacerdotal college which now controls the Sun Dance. They planned the layout of the main circle of tipis, leaving gaps at the East and West compass points where the ceremonial entrances should be. Every tribal segment was given its proper position on the circle, on which to erect its tipis. As the tipis must be set up by traditional methods which are time consuming, most lineages contented themselves with one tipi, supplemented with some modern tents. The camping amenities were otherwise very contemporary. The camp was very clean. A row of new privies had been built. Inside the circle no cars were permitted, but outside it, they were lined up everywhere and included some stylish models. For most of the time, visitors were chatting or sleeping in their tents, playing hand games or tripping about in their cars. They were neatly dressed and groomed. Liquor was strictly banned.

The Sun Dance is an extremely complex ceremony. Most visitors expect from it some form of magical efficacy which may have to do with good health, with economic abundance, with

support in hazardous enterprises, with fertility, with harmonious social relations. The ceremony includes appeals to every kind of spiritual power and its symbolism is mirrored in most of the great myths of the Plains Indians. Celebrants are organised in a complex array of cross-cutting social organisations: Horn So‑ ciety, Women's Society, the keepers of the medicine pipes, the various age societies. As the ceremony is so highly composite, its religious significance is clearly diffuse.[6] It is the great occasion when the Indian collectively confronts unseen powers. Even the most fugitive event acquires, in this setting, a heavy weight of ominous significance. The celebrant does not merely act; above all, he elicits and receives signs. Over the last century, the form of ritual has been greatly modified and the content of the signs revealed to the Indian during the Sun Dance has changed. Com‑ paring my observations with those of Goldfrank in 1939, I find that the number of celebrants is smaller than before, there are fewer tipis, the membership of the Horn Society has dropped

[6] The literature of the Blackfoot Sun Dance consists of a comparatively small number of primary sources, the more important of wh'ch do not deal with the Blood. While these sources are very detailed on ritual and para‑ phernalia, they do little to elucidate the system of belief underlying the Sun Dance. (See esp. E.S. Curtis 1911; Goldfrank 1945; Wilson 1909; Wissler 1911, 1912, 1913, 1918; McLean 1889; McClintock 1910.) On these not very adequate data a vast theoretical literature has been super'mposed, beginning with Spier's diffusion study of 1921. While Spier's study led to much theorising it did not inspire much collecting of new data in the areas previously neg'ected. Bennett (1944) in summing up all this literature, expressed the feeling that Spier regarded the "Sun Dance as a patchwork of essentially discrete elements thrown together by a series of historical accidents". Later writers such as Opler (1941) Hœbel (1941) and Bennett himself stressed the functional interdependence of the different parts of the ceremony and preferred to regard it as a single unit.
    This does not entirely solve the problem. Bennett h'mself recognised that Spier was not altogether uninterested in functional interdependences. We must therefore take Spier seriously when he writes: "The Blackfoot ceremony is unique in that it is organised in two unrelated parts, a bundle transfer ceremony and a dance." (1921:483). The Blackfoot have two sets of principal actors, which Spier calls a "fundamental divergence" from the typical Plains Indian Sun Dance (ibid., 479).
    Outside this culture area, it is very common for the great festivals to be organised in several unrelated parts. It is the general practice in New Guinea. Explanations of functional interdependence ring somewhat hollow here, except in as far as it is useful to kill several b'rds with one stone. The structuralist explanation would be that a certain period of the year is set aside as sacred time, when contact with the spirit world is thought to be propitious and appropriate. The choice of mid-summer on the Plains may be accounted for by meteorological symbolism (as well as ecological factors). The blessing of the sun is needed, according to Blackfoot philosophy, to make the other rituals efficacious.

(from 130 to 40). More dances used to be given. People probably received more signs.

One of the key myths forming the "charter" of the Sun Dance is that of Scarface, recorded by Wilson in 1909. Scarface spent a year at the house of the Sun, his wife the Moon and his son the Morning Star. He was there taught how to perform the ritual of the Sun Dance. I saw a simplified form of this ritual performed by the Medicine Pipe dancers at Blood Reserve in 1965. It occupied only a single day, and had two main objectives: to ensure perfect weather, i.e. uninterrupted sunshine, during the period of the dance, and to pray for individuals who sought blessings.

For those who believe in the myth, meteorological phenomena occurring during the period of the Sun Dance are interpreted as signs sent by the Sun. The slightest sign of rain stops any plans for ceremonial dancing. It indicates that the Sun will not bless the proceedings which will therefore be magically ineffectual and even dangerous. But bad weather at any time of the year similarly indicates the anger of the Sun. Not only may the bad weather be harmful or unpleasant in itself, but the ill will it signifies also forebodes every kind of bad luck. The anger of the Moon and the Morning Star is as much to be feared as the anger of the Sun.

During the year of my visit, the Indians saw a great many unfavourable signs. There was no actual rain for the duration of the camp, but there was some wind and the sky became overcast a few times. Furthermore, deaths and other mishaps seemed to pursue the various age societies so that all their dances, with the exception of one, had to be cancelled. The medicine pipe dancers, however, performed, as did the Woman's Society and the Horn Society.

This belief in the mystical relationship between the heavenly bodies and the fortunes of man might be described as an un-changing element in the Indian world view. As we were all loitering in the camp, commenting on the minutest change in the weather, and speculating about its implications for the cere-mony, and for our own destiny, we seemed to be far removed from ideologies and politics. Sitting in the fierce heat, we seemed to be solely involved in a dialogue with natural forces which were slightly unpropitious, slightly threatening, though not wholly so.

We could always hope, if we waited resignedly and respectfully, for an unambiguous blessing to come eventually. Certainly this waiting, this respectful surrender, seemed like a timeless, an unmeasurably ancient rite. Certainly, this relationship with heavenly bodies was not marred by recent modifications in ritual, interesting though these might be to students of culture history.[7]

Before we join forces with those of our anthropological ancestors who reduced all "primitive" religion to nature-worship, we should inquire what determines the behaviour of the celestial bodies we are watching so carefully. Do Indians believe Sun, Moon and Morning Star to be arbitrary in their blessings and punishments? If not, then why did they show such unease and discontent in 1965? This was the question on which I concentrated my interviews during my short stay among the Blood.

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[7] Krœber and Driver (1932) have estimated that the composite set of rituals now known as the Sun Dance cannot have developed before the eighteenth century. No attempt has so far been made to relate this development to the coming of the White man, even though clearly identified millennial movements arose in North America around the same time. The Blackfoot are one of the four tribes where Krœber and Driver believe the institution was first and most fully developed. (The others are Cheyenne, Arapho and Gros Ventre). At the time Wissler wrote, the most important functionary in the Blackfoot Sun Dance was the Medicine Woman who sponsored the dance. She was the centre of the ceremony of the tongues, the transfer of the medicine bundle, the fast, the rituals in the sweathouse, the vast distribution of presents, the blessing of the sun pole. Wissler treated the weather dancers, the society dances and the torture ceremony as subsidiary features. It may well be that this emphasis is pecularly Piegan, as the only detailed account of the Blood ceremony (Wilson 1909) gives more emphasis to the weather dancers, i.e. the ceremony of the medicine pipes. Wissler does mention very briefly that the age societies were involved in the Sun Dance, but in his descriptions of the Women's Society and the Horn Society (Wissler 1913) he does not discuss their connection with the Sun Dance in any detail.

Goldfrank, reporting the dance among the Blood in 1939, mentions the participation of the two last-named societies more specifically, stating that the Women's Society had raised their lodge, and giving details of that ceremony. She also commented on the popularity of the performance of the Horn Society. Though she describes that society fully, she does not assign it any particular importance in the Sun Dance organisation, except as performers. She also mentions that the sun pole was still raised but that this ceremony aroused very little interest. By 1939, it had become very difficult to find a Medicine Woman, as the office was considered too expensive. (Goldfrank 1945).

In 1965, both sun pole and Medicine Woman had been eliminated from the ceremony, but the importance of the Women's Society and the Horn Society had greatly increased. The president of the former had taken over most of the tasks of the Medicine Woman, though she was no longer acting alone, with her father, mother and husband, but was helped throughout by the society. The Horn Society had become the ceremonial masters. For the modern role of the age societies, see Dempsey 1956.

It soon appeared that the cause of the cosmic unease we were witnessing lay in human perversities which offended the heavenly bodies. Also, in many specific instances quoted to me it was the White man, not the Indian who was causing offence. The moon, one informant told me, is offended by man's attempt to reach her. Hence, the bad weather we were having, the long cold spell in winter (the 1964/5 winter was unusually cold) and the rain-storms in summer (which occurred in Blood Reserve in 1965).

As we were speaking it was extremely hot but a very slight and to me welcome breeze had just started to blow like a gentle fan. My informant continued: "This breeze which has started blowing is *bad*. It should be dead still and scorching hot, Instead, winds blow *from all directions*".

When the Indian was quoted as having caused cosmic dis-content, it was because he had lost some of his ancient traditions. For instance, when I was looking at the animals painted on the tipis, I was told that the pictures (many of which were symbolic rather than representational) had been inspired by dreams in earlier times. Thus each lineage obtained its own animal, knowl-edge of which was handed down over the generations. "Indians could communicate with all animals in the old days", but this com-munication is lost today.

These two themes, the degeneration of the Indian and the threatened collapse of the world as a result of White transgres-sion, occurred time and again. Because the age societies no longer exercised social control, adultery had spread among the Indian people. This discontinuing of ritual torture had deprived the Sun of the sacrifice needed to maintain Indian wellbeing. Spindler was given the same kind of statements: "We had a paradise before you white people came over here. We had plenty to eat. There was buffalo in every *coulee*. We were all healthy. Then you people came here and we got your diseases. Now look at us. We're a sorry bunch." (1965:31) "God put us on this earth and gave us this land to live on. Now you people dig up what's in the earth and use it to kill men with. That's not what God put it there for. In the Bible it says someday this earth is going to burn up. That's what this atomic is." (ibid.: 30)

As statements of this type accumulated during my Sun Dance interviews, it became clear that we were never straying far from one dominant theme: the conflict between White and Indian. The heavenly bodies had two principal reasons for discontent: White incursion upon their universe, and Indian neglect of their own religion — which in turn was a response to White persuasion. In all these explanations there was a strong ideological implication: the Indian should turn away from the White man who was represented as the cause of all the present evil. The list of evils attributed to the White man is long, and not infrequently based on sound observation. But the prescription: a policy of Indian withdrawal, is not based merely on these evils. It is based, even more, on the flaws of the Indian-White relationship to which I have already referred. One informant actually told me, when explaining the unfavourable signs at the Sun Dance, that he believed they were due to a world crisis brought on by the Whites, who are behaving in a superior and unjust manner, not only to Indians, but also to Asians and Africans. The world could be saved only, he thought, if the Whites "solve the problem of discrimination".

Let us now consider more closely the current Indian beliefs about the nature of cosmic powers. Clearly, in some form the belief in Sun, Moon and Morning Star persists even though the Blood Indians are all nominally Christian. The question arises how they relate these cosmic powers to the Christian system of belief. One informant told me that God and the Sun are One, the Virgin Mary and the Moon are One, and Jesus was identified with the Morning Star. Indians were in reality worshipping the Trinity even before the Whites arrived. It was natural that they should do so, for the Indians are Children of Israel, descendents of Moses.

When I asked how this could be, I was told that the Indians are Lamanites and I was given, in broad terms, a Mormon version of sacred history. My informant, however, was not a Mormon. Hardly any Blood Indians are members of the Church of Latter-day Saints, in spite of the great strength of that church in the district. This does not prevent the Blood, however, from using Mormon ideas in their own sacred history. In discussions with several informants I learned that the Indians settled in America after receiving a prophesy that Jesus was later to be born as the

Son of God. They have been unjustly treated by the Whites for at first they owned all the land but today they are low down and the Whites high up. Justice will sooner or later be restored as long as the Indians continue to worship God in their own way. Specialists in Indian ethnography may consider data of this kind to be highly unrepresentative of the general pattern of Canadian Indian thought, but I was fascinated by the resemblance between these statements and New Zealand Maori beliefs that were very prevalent in 1880-1920 and are still held by a significant minority of Maoris today. (Cf. Schwimmer 1965)

I noted two interesting variants on the same theme. A Roman Catholic informant told me that in the past her church had taught that in the Sun Dance people were praying to the devil. More recently, the priests had dropped this approach because the people had been able to convince them that the prayers were really offered to a deity identical with the Christian God and that nothing un-Christian occurred during the Sun Dance.

Another informant argued that the Blood do not really worship more than one God, because Sun, Moon and Morning Stars are not really gods; they are men. It was only recently, since the coming of Christianity, so the argument went, that people began to call them "gods". A similar point was made to me by an informant who told me of a man, living North of Calgary, who *knows* (from a dream or revelation) that the sun is a man and the moon a woman.

These views resemble each other in that they all set up a system incorporating both Indian and Christian beliefs. They all contain, in addition, two protocols of religious behaviour, one of which applies to Whites, the other to Indians. Furthermore, it is made clear that Whites are excluded from the Indian protocol while the White protocol is of no concern to Indians, or may even be injurious to Indians. It is clear that those who define the Indians as "Children of Israel", or who ask a Catholic priest whether they are allowed to go on believing in Sun, Moon and Morning Star, do not have a system of belief that can be comprehended except in relation to Christianity.

The case of the prophet who proclaims that the sun is a man (and not a god) is a little more difficult. He is at least stating

an Indian belief of some antiquity (cf. Wilson 1909). Yet it is reasonable to ask why he considered the differentiation *man / god* to be important. I have to leave the answer to a scholar familiar with the Blackfoot language, where no doubt the relationship between these two terms is not the same as in English. Pending further study I would suggest that this cognitive system contains a double opposition, along these lines:

Whites	*Indians*
have class society	have egalitarian society
God controls universe	men control universe
do not worship men	do worship men (= equals)
(= equals)	

Let us now see how Indians make use of this scheme in symbolic competition. First, they posit that Whites believe their authoritarian society to be superior to the Indian society where all men are regarded as equals. This suggestion is made in considerable detail in Pelletier, n.d., and is sincerely believed in the Red Power movement. The Indians put forward as evidence that Whites always criticise Indian society as being "unorganised", because they do not recognise that any society can have organisation if it is non-hierarchical. Indians resent having their own community life criticised on these grounds, and being made to feel inferior because they have no formal hierarchies.

Secondly, Indians posit that Whites rank a monotheistic religion higher than a religion which makes no conceptual distinction between natural / supernatural. They are on sound ground in this respect, and resent that missionaries have so frequently compared Christianity to Indian religion to show the superiority of the former. In particular, missionaries have argued that it is idolatrous and sinful to worship *men* instead of God.

The various systems I have summarised in the last few pages may be regarded as strategically designed (no doubt unconsciously) so as to provide different and more advantageous scaling criteria. Certainly they go to a great deal of trouble to demonstrate that the organisation of the Sun Dance is equal to that of any White gathering. They maintain the highest decorum by White standards such as sobriety, cleanliness, tidiness and neat-

ness of dress and grooming, orderliness of the ceremonial and ritual, probity of financial management. Furthermore, they argue that a society where all men are free and equal is better than an hierarchically ordered society where men are the servants of other men. As this is indeed an ideal of the dominant society, they can easily convince themselves of the superiority of their form of organisation.

On the level of religious belief, one of several strategies is followed. The claim to be Children of Israel at once places the Indian on a higher level of sacredness than the White man. The Indian will advance several arguments in favour of this notion. He may argue from sacred history, borrowed from the Mormons and other sources. He may also argue that the Indian leads a life closer to the spirit of the New Testament, e.g. by being poor, by sharing his possessions, by loving his brethren, whereas the White man fails by these criteria. He may quote pollution, atomic wars, racism at home and abroad, as being contrary to Christian ideals, whereas the Indian slate, in these respects, is clean.

If the Indian claims the *identity* of the Christian and Indian Trinity, he is not directly claiming superiority for the latter. He is merely claiming that a Sun Dance is *as good as* a church. Yet such a statement contains far more of a challenge than Blood Indian Catholics appear to recognise. A comparison with the New Zealand Maori practice will make this clear. There the ceremonies are certainly still being performed, but they are always accompanied by Christian prayer conducted communally several times a day. Thus the ceremony is defined as secular and the sacredness of the occasion is supposedly derived from the Christian prayers. At the Blood Sun Dance, the latter are absent. This makes the Indian ceremonies far more significant from a religious point of view: their sacredness is placed on the same level as that of the Christian Church. Furthermore, it is claimed that *for Indians* the Sun Dance has a superior efficacy, just as Church has superior efficacy for Whites. This follows from the assumption that there are numerous blessings Indians can obtain from a Sun Dance but not from a Church.

This belief in superior efficacy may also be inferred from the millennialism present in Blood Indian thought. Indian millennialism assumes that God will invert the present world order

and restore to the Indians their rightful inheritance, *only if* they maintain institutions such as the Sun Dance. Withdrawal from the dominant White society, on these terms, must always be regarded as in some sense competitive. I do not question that withdrawal may at times be the best strategy for a minority, nor that the system of thought governing a withdrawing group may be profound and vital. I am arguing, however, that an anthropologist should not try to explain such boundary maintenance as the preservation of an heritage. Rather he should see it as the product of an attempt, by the withdrawing group, to resolve internal contradictions arising out of external impact.

d) *Structure and process in Blood ideology*

At this point let us briefly survey the method we have followed. Our concern was to analyse the contemporary Blood system of thought. We were not content, however, to present merely the folk model of this system, nor did we wish to reduce it to the model of a "culture of poverty". Noticing that informants, when asked about their system, almost invariably resorted to comments and criticisms of the system of thought of the Canadian dominant majority, we decided to include such comments and criticisms in our presentation of their system of thought. The data so obtained, when analysed, fell into two parts: expositions of "Indianness", and expositions of the dominant system as informants perceived it. The next step in analysis was to find relationships between the two parts. Setting the same elements, as occurring in the two sub-systems, side by side,[8] we found that in some cases the value assigned to them was congruent, in other cases there was an opposition between a high value given to the element in one sub-system and a low one in the other.

[8] I have assumed throughout that the social division symbolised here is an ethnic one, opposing Indians and Whites. This point, however, is sometimes questioned, e.g. by Kew (1962), writing about Cumberland House where the division is more explicitly described as a class division (upper/lower, ibid. 94-99). In order to settle this question we would need to study communities where some Indians make a larger income than some Whites. We could then see whether Whiteness is, or is not, a condition for admission to the upper class. My data from The Pas, Manitoba, suggest the principle of division is racial, at least in that locality.

For an example of a study based on a two-system model of the kind proposed here, see Schwimmer 1965, where the cognitive system of a community of Maori Mormons is described.

Where the two value systems are congruent, there is direct competition between the two social groups. Several instances of this were noted: the decorum reigning in the camp with regard to amenities, hygiene, dress, social behaviour was a modern feature evolved in direct competition with Whites. The postulating of the identity of the Indian and Roman Catholic Trinity was another instance where two religious systems were put in direct competition with one another.

Where the two value systems are opposed, this opposition results from symbolic competition set up by the Indians. Again, many instances have been noted, many of which oppose Indian identification with nature to White technology. Others oppose Indian brotherhood with White individualism and intolerance. Symbolic competition is used as a charter for an ideology of withdrawal. We have even noted supernatural sanctions that are said to threaten the Indian people if they give up their separate institutions and become polluted by White evil.

Two questions arise: why does an opposition ideology, such as that developed by the Blood Indians, engage in direct as well as symbolic competition? What determines whether, in respect of a specific element of culture, a policy of direct or symbolic competition will be followed? The answer to the first question is simple: as symbolic competition arises out of conditions of oppression and exploitation, and therefore in fairly desperate situations, people will always prefer to engage in direct competition whenever they are able. Wherever we find sympathetic mediators between White and Indian, and a degree of mutual understanding, we are likely to find institutions engaging in direct competition. This leads directly to an answer to the second question: an analysis of transactions between the Indians and White mediators will usually indicate why in a specific instance direct or symbolic competition was chosen. I shall illustrate this by a few examples.[9]

[9] Perhaps the most striking example of symbolic competition is the development of egalitarianism in Blood ritual. I have shown (see footnote 4) that the Blood Sun Dance was at one time a decidedly aristocratic institution, as the central figure was a woman whose family had to be very wealthy if she was to fulfill her duties. From an economic viewpoint, the Sun Dance was a redistribution of wealth by the chiefs or aristocrats to the people. Today, control has passed to one male and one female society, with com-

The decorum reigning in the camp with regard to amenities, hygiene, dress, and social behaviour contains some rather recent elements, and conforms to standards set by the Indian Agent and the Band Council. There are many opposition movements where these features, or some of them, might have become an object of symbolic opposition. Why isn't a Sun Dance conducted like a hippie love-in? Again, even if Indians were to conform out of fear of reactions from the Indian Affairs Branch, such conformity need not be more than desultory and grudging. I found, however, that these amenities and rules were so firmly accepted that they were represented to me as immemorial Indian traditions. Here, the reasons are several. The Indian Agent exercised no control directly, but only through the Band Council. The Band Council, again, did nothing that could have been interpreted as interference with the established sacerdotal control of the Horn Society. It made grants to the Horn Society and the Women's Society. These grants were applied, in part, to wages for a camp police (a head and three subordinates) which was to enforce the rulings of the Horn Society. The police was placed under the charge of a councillor, but this councillor was also, as it happened, president of the Women's Society, and as such had rightful authority in terms of traditional organisation of the camp.

In this instance, a sympathetic Indian Agent and a wise' Band Council had induced the Sun Dance authorities to adopt a policy of direct competition. The objective was to demonstrate to the sceptics of White Southern Alberta that the Indians can run a large public function at least as well as they can, even if White criteria are applied.

In postulating the identity of the Indian and the Roman Catholic Trinity, the Indians again followed the principles of direct competition, and again the explanation appears to lie in successful mediation. In this case a conflict of long standing undoubtedly existed, as the church traditionally forbade Cath-

paratively modest fixed entrance fees, and open to any member of the community who wants to buy his way in. The strongly egalitarian ideology of the Blood cannot be explained by economic causes alone. as elsewhere groups have long maintained an impoverished aristocracy. The Blood simply will not compete on a scale (wealth, social status) on which the White man occupies the highest position.

olics to attend Sun Dances. The priest stationed in the district in 1965 had changed this policy. Not only did he allow his parish- ioners to attend, but he even agreed to be made an Honorary Chieftain of the Blood Tribe, an honour which required him to be initiated at a Sun Dance.

We may thus explain the existence of two patterns in the interpretation of the Indian cosmic powers. As soon as the priest gave legitimacy to the Indian institution, a pattern of direct com- petition developed. If we compare the Roman Catholic position to the Mormon one in Southern Alberta, we notice a totally dif- ferent pattern of mediation. As Cardston is an important centre of the Church of Latterday Saints, this church is perceived by Blood Indians as an integral part of the dominant White Estab- lishment. The social relationships between Indians and Mormons are by no means better than is usual in the district; they may in- deed be even less cordial. If Indians entered the church, they could not be expected to be accepted on equal terms. Certainly, the Mormons would acknowledge Indians to be Children of Israel, but they consider themselves to be also Children of Israel, and superior because they are White. In this instance, the response took the form of symbolic competition, viz. an Indian claim that *only* the Indians are Children of Israel and thus superior to the Whites in holiness.

PART III

DIRECT AND SYMBOLIC COMPETITION:
TWO STRATEGIES

In describing the data from Blood Reserve, I presented them as disconnected scraps of ideology. This was not because I would be unable to present them as a "system". On the contrary, I think that such systematization would be among the easier an- thropological pastimes. It would also falsify the facts, because it is a very relevant fact that Blood Reserve, at the time of my visit, had no messianic leader, nor was any millenarian or other programme being put forward in a systematic way. There was

an implication of withdrawal in the various statements, but nothing was very explicit. Before my encounter with the community, centuries of contact with White power bearers had elapsed and one century of White rule. During much of that time, millennial movements of various types had spread throughout North America, especially South and West of the Blood hunting grounds. All these messages had been heard in one form or another, though we have no specific record of the Blood having joined any movement. Certainly we should not assume an ideological vacuum.

Some of the thoughts communicated to me appeared to be derived from some previous millennial movements, or from local attempts at Indian-Christian religious syncretism which had probably been long forgotten.[10] Some of the rhetoric of contemporary Indian political brotherhood movements had also left its mark, as might be expected seeing that such movements are frequently having meetings drawing Indian leaders from several provinces together. But, above all, the Sun Dance was a place where new revelations were being experienced.

One might think that the twelve days we spent watching the sun had little connection with the actual development of an opposition ideology. This activity seemed to stand outside the socio-economic conflicts which generated the ideology. Yet no opposition ideology whether religious or political can be generated in the absence of such signs and revelations, as they provide supporters with the only sound justification for committing themselves to the ideology and for making sacrifices in its service. Signs and revelations, whether or not they are mediated by a messianic leader, generate the symbols through which an ideology is communicated. The symbols which make up Indianness all flow from received or experienced revelation.

It is this symbolic content that, if incompletely understood, fosters the illusion of timelessness and the autonomous existence of an Indian (or Maori) cultural system. The one autonomous (or largely autonomous) element in these cultural systems is language, hence also semantics and semiotics. I have confined

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[10] It is in this broad sense that the emergence of the Sun Dance in North America in the 18th century might prove to be millennial. (See footnote 4).

myself, in the present essay, to only one aspect of Blackfoot semiotics, namely the meteorological one. I was concerned with Sun, Moon, Morning Star as symbols. Obviously, there are a great many other symbols among the Blackfoot which have entered into the formation of the Indianness ideology within the Black-foot-speaking tribes. These remain to be studied, and it is important that they should be. The statements made with the aid of these symbols were modern, but the symbols themselves are of some antiquity. There is, obviously, a tradition in revelations. Revelations are semiotically determined. A person's ability to understand signs is limited by his previous experience with signs. This limitation is not as severe as some have imagined: depending on a person's intelligence and insight, he may be an innovator in the reading of signs. Yet there are limits to effective innovation beyond which messages become incomprehensible.

Anthropologists may not, however, be content to confine themselves within this phenomenological type of enquiry. While the symbolic content of opposition ideologies is infinitely various, symbolic competition has constant features. A constant feature of symbolic competition is the development of a symbol system within which transactions with the dominant society are given, in general, a very low valuation.

Indians at the Sun Dance connected the disharmony that exists in the world today with the White man's failure to implement the Treaty. They regarded the Treaty as a kind of religious covenant. It was made by "full men" and not circumscribed by technicalities of law. It had "secret provisions" which were "never written down". The Indians ceded their land and put away their weapons, but the White man did not fulfil his promise to help the Indians to participate in the community on equal terms. Hence the low value the Indians place on transactions with the White man today.

At Mount Currie, I was roundly told that the best way of coping with the White world was not to collaborate in any change that was being proposed. This was a kind of consensus between a dozen informants interviewed separately. Their argument was that they were regarded as second class citizens. There-

fore they had to live on a poor reserve, with insufficient educa-
tion, unable to find jobs. Having been made into second class
citizens they might as well behave as such. It was up to the
government to redefine the status of Indians and fulfil its obliga-
tions; then the Indians would accept, in return, the changes that
were being advocated.

The crucial point is that inactivity in itself became a way
of paying back the dominant society. There seems to be a cult
of helplessness. Many in Mount Currie consider it un-Indian to
pay for improvements to sanitation or watersupply for one's own
house. One person who did this was refused a Band grant when
he wanted his water pipes replaced later. The argument was that
if the pipes were installed *privately* their replacement was not a
Band concern. But the Band gave such assistance to those who
had remained inactive.

This is a clear case of symbolic competition, where people
are scaled according to their success in exploiting the government
and other public institutions. By this criterion, the Whites rate
low in their ability to exploit, and the man who put in his own
water pipes also has a dangerously low rating.

For the applied anthropologist, the question must be how
symbolic competition can be replaced by real competition. Here,
the most hopeful fact is that in my own studies I found no com-
munity where real competition was actually absent. Actually,
the "dominant society'" is not perceived by Indians as a mono-
lithic whole. Distinctions tended to be made between the prin-
cipal power foci, such as: government, church, commercial com-
munity. Symbolic competition did not occur, in any case known
to me, with all of these power foci, though it mostly occurred with
one or more of them. The existence of alliances between Indians
and White power foci is not only hopeful for those concerned
with the future of the Indian, but also a valuable area of research
for applied anthropologists. We need descriptions of these
alliances, their genesis and their collapse in specific areas.

On Blood Reserve, such alliances existed with the Indian
Agent, the employment officer in Lethbridge, and the Roman
Catholic priest. Symbolic competition concentrated more speci-

fically on the commercial community. On Mount Currie, at the time of my visit (1964), the main alliances were with the Roman Catholic priest and certain sympathetic townspeople whose main contribution was to provide an enlightened integrated secondary school system. Symbolic competition concentrated on the Indian Affairs Branch. On a third reserve I visited, at The Pas, Manitoba, symbolic competition existed to a far lesser extent than in the others. Most of the population had been trappers until rather recent times. They had lived under very arduous conditions and were strongly convinced that life on the reserve was better than anything they had known previously. Nobody spoke of a lost golden age. These Northern Cree had plenty of reason for dissatisfaction in their social relationships with Whites, but they tended to meet their problems head-on, through direct competition. They would have been annoyed if anyone had suggested they were second class citizens.[11].

I do not know of much research that determines the relationships between Indians and the various White power foci. The relationships can be rather complex, if the Indian group is large and segmented so that each segment may set up its own distinctive alliances. Nicholas' study on factionism among the Iroquois (1965) comes closest to providing the type of data I have in mind. He distinguishes four factions (progressive, longhouse, Lower Layuga longhouse, Mohawk workers) each of which maintains a different pattern of alliances. The progressives, who had an alliance with the Christian church and with important governmental institutions, carried on direct competition with these allies. The longhouse faction lacked both the alliances and carried on symbolic competition with religious, educational etc. institutions, much as the non-Catholics in the Blood reserve were doing. The Mohawk workers are allied with the church but opposed to government-sponsored institutions, including the Band council.

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[11] Though my data on The Pas would have fitted the argument I have developed here, I have omitted them to save space. The data are complex because we have to consider the position of the Metis as well as the Indians, and because the White power structure was complicated by the rival activities of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Community Development branch of the Provincial Government. See also: Dallyn and Earle 1962, Langmuir 1964, Skinner 1911.

While symbolic competition among the longhouse faction con-centrates on the church, among the Mohawk faction it concentrates on the government, just like at Mount Currie.

If our analysis is correct, the Indians are by no means frozen in an attitude of symbolic competition. On the contrary, they are actively laying bridges, wherever possible, in the direction of White institutions and individuals with whom they can establish acceptable forms of social exchange. Relationships with such exchange partners are usually competitive, in the sense that a friendly rivalry is being conducted, as the Indians are keen to demonstrate their usefulness as partners. It is only where such exchange relationships fail — where the social cost of the partner-ship to the Indians far outweighs the social benefits — that negative reciprocity arises and the way is open to revelations leading to the discovery of the symbol system of an opposition ideology.

As such an ideology is, by now, traditional among Indians, it is extremely easy for Indians to fall back on symbolic com-petition. Yet symbolic competition, is only one of a set of open alternatives, and persists only in the absence of viable alliances. One may expect its incidence to be reduced with every alliance that arises. On the other hand, humiliations, abuses of power, and neglect set in motion the strategies of negative reciprocity, in-cluding symbolic competition. Opposition ideologies thus resemble another sanction which follows the breakdown of an exchange relationship, namely witchcraft or sorcery. The method of sanc-tioning, in both cases, is the reduction of the status and potency of the wrong-doer by symbolic and magical means.

The Sun Dance data show how the magic works. Certain meteorological data are interpreted by the group as meaning that the White man has polluted the universe. This is taken as justification for placing an avoidance taboo on the White man. Whether or not this brings about any social change is irrelevant. The hope is that eventually the magic will work and "justice", i.e. a relation of positive reciprocity, will prevail. The meteorological data, or some other set of symbols of magical potency, are essen-tial mediating links in this process. For this reason Indians, Maoris and similarly placed groups are anxious to hold on to

their store of symbols, without which the generating of opposition movements would be harder.[12]

Opposition ideologies held by ethnic minorities are useful in several ways: they often widen the range of alliances available to a group, as the ideology may be shared with other groups who have not hitherto been allies. These new allies may be Indian or White. They may thus break down the isolation which is one of the main reasons why they can be exploited and oppressed. Taking a longer view, opposition ideologies make an important contribution to civilisations by the potency of the symbol systems they perpetuate. Such diverse repositories of human wisdom would be lost, were the world ever to develop towards a "monoculture". It is more likely that mankind will keep these sources of revelation open as failures of justice will continue to occur. The question for anthropologists is whether they regard it as their professional duty to fill up the wells or to act as their guardians.

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[12] The best way of elucidating my point is to quote a paragraph I wrote some time ago, before I had reached the posit on I am taking in this paper: "The expressive aspect of Maori culture — the language, literature, arts and crafts, music and dance — should hardly be given the privileged position which many people, Maori as well as Pakeha, have given it. They are not the culture. The basis of Maori culture, as much as any other, l'es in its web of human relationships and in man's relation to the land in which his culture is rooted. In order to give these relationships meaning, structure and morally binding force, man creates symbol systems which are perpetuated in idioms of language, art and religion." (1968:46).

I would now call this paragraph naive. If so much emphasis is being placed upon the expressive aspect of "Maori culture" by *everybody*, I was certainly brash in trying to correct *everybody* on the basis of what I took to be an appropriate inventory for a "culture". I now recognise that the term "Maori culture" was deceptive in the first place; I was actually describing an ideology. As soon as this is recognised, the emphasis given to expressive aspects becomes comprehensible and reasonable, for we are concerned with the symbolic language in which people state their ideals.

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Gambling in Traditional Asia

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RÉSUMÉ

L'Asie traditionnelle est utilisée ici comme champs d'analyse comparative du jeu. Les sociétés asiatiques présentent de grandes différences quant à l'incidence du jeu et on peut mettre ces différences en correlation avec d'autres caractéristiques sociales, telles que le niveau d'évolution de la société et l'importance des jeux en général. Cet article fournit un cadre pour l'analyse comparative du jeu qui est ensuite appliqué aux données de l'Asie.

THE CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSIS OF GAMBLING

Traditional Asia is a useful setting within which to comparatively examine the cultural nature of gambling. Its various societies had widely differing intensities of gambling that can be related to other cultural features. This article begins with an approach to provide parameters for the cross-cultural analysis of gambling. That is followed by a survey of gambling in the major regions of Asia.

The word "gambler" first appeared in English in the early 1700's as a slang word used in reproach to cheats or reckless players. "Gaming" was earlier used to mean wagering on the results of events, and that in turn was derived from the Anglo-Saxon "gamenian," to sport or play. Today the most common definition of "gambling" is the playing of games for money or other stakes, to wager in games. Psychologists, mathematicians, and lawyers have added other dimensions to their definitions while colloquial extensions have simplified "gambling" to mean anything involving risks or uncertainty. Implicit in the colloquial

extension of meaning is the hypothesis that individuals and cultures that risk more tend to gamble more.

A high level of risk in the daily life of a people does not necessarily lead to the development of gambling. For example, the Eskimo, Melanesians, and Australians can be ranked as having had a high level of physical survival risks in their daily lives and yet lacked games for stakes. Many such simple societies did not have gambling. However, these same societies had relatively few games. They lacked board games, for example. The reverse correlation is true as well. There is some positive correlation between the fluorescence of games and the fluorescence of gambling.

A game is organized, competitive play with two or more sides, criteria for determining the winner, and agreed upon rules. This definition delimits a somewhat consistent sphere of activity and leaves out much simple play. A game is a culturally patterned form of competitive play in which winners are determined.

Several continua can be used to determine the extent to which games are gambling activities and to classify these activities. The following classification emphasizes continua that are useful in general cross-cultural, rather than specialized psychological, mathematical, or legal, comparisons.

One continuum is the value of the stakes involved in the game. At one extreme the stakes are primarily for indicators of score in games for amusement or the prestige of playing well, the stake considered as a token or prize rather than gain in and of itself. Light stakes are placed on the outcome of games in many cultures to ensure that a win is not simply a social good-will win, especially in games of strategy and physical skill in which the skilled person could let others win at his option. At the other extreme heavy stakes are involved, such as real estate, oneself as a slave (reported by Tacitus for the Germans), or one's wife as a prostitute (reported for historical Macao) or slave (reported for the Black Lolo in South China as late as 1943).

Another continuum is the temporal structuring of the game's occurrence. A game with a restricted temporal structure tends to be played only at seasonal or other temporally set times and

the temporal continuum ranges to unestablished times. Most cultures that do gamble have at least some set annual patterns for gambling activities. Even traditional China, for example, had a period of general license in gambling for about five days on the New Year's holiday. Since gambling went on the rest of the year there as well, it's gambling position was still loose in temporal structuring. It is useful to keep this feature separate from the general frequency or amount of gambling.

The third dimension is the personal-impersonal relations continuum applied to the participants of the game. That is, a personal relation tends to be intimate, functionally diffuse (carry other attributes than the specific activity), particularistic in membership criteria (play tending to be between specific individuals), non-rational (in this case, especially without an emphasis on gain in terms of economic rationality), and a social goal orientation. An impersonal rank is avoidant, functionally specific, universalistic in membership criteria, cognitively rational (gain is sought, the bet is a strong contract, and debts are collected), and an individualistic goal orientation. Personal gambling takes place within intimate, continuing, social groups, such as bridge clubs. The most extremely impersonal games are slot machines, Japan's *pachinko,* and other machine games. Modern retail marketing also uses a great many impersonal gambling techniques to advertise and sell products, especially in the form of lotteries.

The first three continua are focused on the cultural context of the game while the fourth continuum is in the structure of the game itself. By their nature certain games are more suited to gambling than others and this continuum attempts to draw out these differences. Gambling games tend to be short in duration of play; decisive in the determination of winners and high in physical or mechanical demonstration effect (usually as visual demonstration rather than verbal, intellectual , song games, etc.); and low in the physical skill required, moderate in strategy qualities, and high in chance determination. Insurance and the stock market involve gambling with attendant risk, stakes, and other features. However, they rank low structurally as games because the duration of play is long, winning is often not decisive, strategy tends to be high, and demonstration effect tends to be

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intellectual (except perhaps for the ticker tape and related means of written scoring). On the other hand, the stock market ranks high in features of the cultural context with a heavy value on the stakes, loose temporal character, and impersonal relations. The fifth continuum is simply frequency or amount of time that is used in gambling from rare to common.

The high level of each continuum is the intensive gambling side. This is the level which is normal operating procedure in modern gambling casinos (although some exclusive ones attempt at least a facade of personal relations), race tracks (although racing tends to be seasonal and is still rationalized as a means of selecting better breeding horses), and large lotteries (although lotteries are typically rationalized as means to raise money for charities). Small lotteries, in the forms of drawing lots and local raffles, can be quite loose in temporal structuring, whereas large national lotteries require a great deal of time to organize and advertise, so they are held in well defined temporal cycles.

In review, the continua for the cross-cultural analysis of gambling are as follows.

I. Cultural context.

1.   Stakes
     token value   great economic value

2.   Temporal structure
     set times   without set times

3.   Social relations
     personal   impersonal
     intimate, diffuse
     non-rational   avoidant, specific, rational
     particularistic   universalistic
     social goals   individualistic goals

II. Gambling structure.
     long, indecisive, skill   short, decisive, chance

III. Frequency
     rare   common

There is some evolutionary association between level of social complexity and intensity of gambling. Thus, gambling tends to be rare in band organized societies and common in state societies, the two extremes of cultural evolution. Historical diffusions and

traditions modified this association considerably in North America, where even some band societies gambled, and West Asia, where it was depressed among state societies by religious practices.

Judging from correlations between level of cultural evolution and forms of gambling, the evolutionary tendency of gambling in culture has been to start at a low level of intensity and expand in progressively more complex societies into the higher levels in an additive way. The development of higher levels of gambling in a culture does not usually replace or extinguish the low level, but adds new institutions on the old. For example, at a simple societal level we usually find only token prizes given at seasonal races between such social groups as moieties.

Complementary to the expansion in the kinds of cultural contexts and gambling structures is the institutionalization of gambling. Gambling becomes separated out from other cultural practices with attendant ritual, codification, and localization. The intense level of gambling receives the fullest force of this institutionalization, often being placed in a separate geographical enclave: Macao, Monte Carlo, Nevada, etc.

In band and tribally organized societies that gamble everybody gambles, although there is often a sexual division of games. These simple societies are relatively egalitarian, but in chiefdoms and archaic states gambling becomes more concentrated in the hands of upper classes who have the major control of economic surpluses. Gambling has been at times a useful mechanism in serving as one of the pressures on households to produce an economic surplus, particularly when class mechanisms can be brought to bear on production. Gambling debts, like the economic debts accrued in gift and ceremonial exchange and the tax and tribute of advanced societies, require households to produce beyond their needs. Also, as modern commercial marketing shows, gambling can be a useful stimulus to trade by involving the consumer in games with the retailer.

Gambling is also often useful for a society as a whole by serving as a proto-market mechanism in societies without markets or simply a means of distributing outside of the usual kinship channels. Gambling in China, which of course also had the markets and administrative redistribution mechanisms of a state

society, served as an exchange mechanism between *tsu* and other kinship groups which normally tended to be units of internal distribution. Chinese kinship distributions were centripetal or toward a center while gambling was centrifugal or outward.

A comparative study of games by Roberts, *et al.* (1959) defined games of chance, strategy, and physical skill. This study found that tribes nearer the equator and in thus warmer climates tended to have fewer games of physical skill. This is in line with evidence that physical games such as horse racing, archery, and wrestling and physical recreation in work such as communal felting and demonstrations of hunting and herding skills dominated the entertainment of North Asian cultures. When gambling does occur in connection with physical games, it tends to be of low intensity with the emphasis on the demonstration of the skill rather than the distribution of wealth. Thus one reason for the low intensity of North Asian gambling is probably the emphasis on physically active rather than sedentary forms of recreation.

Games of strategy are positively associated with the complexity of social organization so that hunting, fishing, gathering, and pastoral societies tended to lack games of strategy while no complex society lacked them. Games of strategy are more closely associated with gambling than games of physical skill, but less than games of chance which are highly correlated with gambling.

In addition to its evolutionary associations, the traditional culture areas of gambling and non-gambling were large, compact, and apparently due to consistent cultural diffusions. There was a virtual absence of gambling among the Eskimos, Australians, and Malayo-Polynesians. Gambling was absent among the Cuna of Panama and much of South America outside the Chaco and the Andes, where a number of dice games were played for stakes. Gambling was absent or low in intensity in East and South Africa and moderate in North Africa and greater West Africa, including the Congo. Other areas of moderate intensity were Europe, South and Southeast Asia, and North America. East Asia is the only area I would classify as generally intensive in its traditional or pre-modern period.

This is one point of comparison where the above analytical scheme is important. The *frequency* of gambling seems to have

been "common" in both North America and East Asia, but the gambling of aboriginal North America was less intensive in the dimensions of *cultural context* and *gambling structure* than that of East Asia. That is, North American gambling tended to be more moderate in the value of stakes, temporal structure, personal relations between gamblers, and gambling game structures.

Wide variations in the intensity of gambling occurred within these areas, in part correlated with their internal variations of evolutionary level. Thus, there was little gambling among the band-organized hunters and gatherers of Asia (such as the Chuckchee), but it flourished in the classical states of Egypt, India, and China after about 1,000 B.C.

The average inclusion of material on gambling is very small in the Human Relations Area Files, only about 1:5,000 or one note of some kind on one page per one thousand text pages processed. Thus, it is hard to make accurate comparisons between single small societies on gambling. The reporting of gambling has simply been too meager and too uneven. However, comparisons of large geographical regions of the world can be made. As we would predict, East Asia (particularly China) and North America have the highest proportions of their materials on gambling in the HRAF. North and West Asia have very low proportions of their materials on gambling. The materials there are on West Asia usually refer either to the Koran's proscriptions against gambling or the recent introduction of gambling by outside sources.

Olmstead (1962:172) described Southern China and Southeast Asia as one of the most intensively gambling regions of the world.

> "The 'gambling belt' extends from China through Thailand, Burma, and the Malay countries over into the Philippines, and, somewhat weakened, into the Indonesian islands; it dies out almost altogether in Polynesia. To the west it extends, somewhat weakened, into India, and again dies out or is choked out, in the Mohammedan east where very strong religious prohibitions prevail... Gambling is most prevalent in the central portion of this area — southern China, Burma, and Thailand. These areas tolerate and indulge in more gambling than almost any other area in the world, certainly more than any other agricultural and commercial economies with a sufficient amount of free wealth to make it a serious economic problem."

There is sufficient similarity in the games and the forms of gambling between Europe, Asia, and North America to warrant an examination of the evidence in favor of a diffusion to America. Gambling was probably not an extremely early trait complex, or it would be found among more South American societies, nor was it a very late trait complex, or it would be found among the Eskimo. Since many gambling games involve relatively non-perishable tools, such as the hand-game pieces made of stone or bone, a review of the archaeological materials with gambling in mind might help solve this diffusional history.

Gambling does not diffuse easily from one culture to another, like technological innovations such as matches or potatoes. It is integrated or woven into the pattern of cultures, active in its social functions, and in terms of demonstration effects is of questionable practical value so that we would not expect it to diffuse readily.

There are some correlations between the intensity of gambling and such things as kind of subsistence economy, wealth system, or religion. Intensive agriculture and well developed market systems seem to correlate with gambling. On the other hand, "Puritanical religions, like the stricter sects of Protestantism and Buddhism and the main stem of Mohammedanism may sanction athletic sports and tolerate the 'innocent' playing of games as harmless, but they consistently oppose the emotional involvement that comes from playing for stakes." (Kroeber 1948:553). Given the strictures against gambling in the U.S.S.R. and China, we should add puritanical communism to this list.

Probably as important as an emotional involvement that is not in line with the religion is that playing for stakes is an emphasis on materialistic, rather than religious, values. It represented a new way in which the materialistic market system penetrated intimate life and thus upset traditional, religiously sanctioned, economic relationships. Band and tribal societies, which of course lack market systems, do not generally disapprove of gambling, although they may joke about the foolish or unskillful gambler.

Where it has been opposed it is the intensive level of gambling that is most often opposed. It is this intensive level of gambling that might weaken cultural integration, social solidarity, and the

conservative features of culture generally. Gambling is a form of economic distribution that often cuts across the traditional channels of economic distribution. It brings in the possibility of an outflow of goods that are not scheduled by the basic social groups of society: families, clans, etc. Thus, although the resulting redistribution may be economically useful for the society as a whole, it will be opposed because it cuts across traditional forms of social organization. There seems to be a tolerance of gambling in both simple band societies and complex capitalistic societies, where the individuation of economic decision making is extreme, and an intolerance in the intermediate and communist societies, where kinship and other groups dominate the economic decision making. A variation on this association will be discussed in the case of traditional China where gambling flourished in a society with strong kinship groups.

SOUTH AND WEST ASIA

The early Vedic hymns of India describe gambling for cattle on chariot races and dicing. One of the few secular poems in the Rig-Veda is the lament of a gambler who is unable to tear himself away from dicing and lots, although he is aware of the ruin he is bringing on himself and his family. The tale is of King Nala who could not stop gambling and lost his kingdom with charmed or loaded dice and then won it back with fair dice. Loaded dice, trick dice boxes, and sleight of hand by the caster are all referred to.

Cock fighting was probably the original reason for domesticating chickens and it has survived as a form of gambling in the Indian area from its inception, probably in the Indus Valley around 2,000 B.C. Along with dicing, it is one of the earliest forms of gambling. Today some Moslems gamble over cock fights in the area while Hindus avoid it because it involves the taking of life.

Cubical dice, a perfect gambling device, was probably developed in the Euphrates River valley around 1,000 B.C. (with the 6-1, 5-2, and 4-3 on opposite sides, the combination that is used virtually everywhere today) from earlier forms of dice, such

as the astragali or sheep knuckle bones. India probably received cubical dice in the sixth century A.D., from where they were diffused to China with their characteristic red markings in the seventh century A.D. The India peoples developed many board games, such as *pachesi* (other gamblers, the Aztecs, developed the remarkably similar game of *patolli*) and chess (around the sixth century A.D.). South Asia was later divided into relatively non-gambling Islamic and gambling Hindu parts. In recent times card playing in licensed clubs and horse and dog racing have developed for the upper classes while the lower classes play various dice games. The police can arrest anyone found publicly playing for money with cards, dice, or bird or animal fights.

In West Asia, except for recent developments in several urban centers gambling rarely exceeds a low level of intensity. The only references to things which approach gambling in the Old and New Testament are to races with prizes and the use of lots as a decision making device.

Lotteries were held in Old Testament days for at least four purposes (The New Chain-Reference Bible 1934). They were used to discover the guilty party in criminal cases. Lots were used to find God's man for high public office: Saul to be King of Israel, the schedule of priestly functions in the temple, and Matthias elected to fill the place of Judas. The Promised Land was apportioned among the Twelve Tribes of Israel by lot. And lots were used to select the sacrificial goat. The only gambling use of lots in the above cases are the apportionment of land and offices, but the level of gambling in even these cases is low with the emphasis on the supernatural control of the lottery outcome or the practical aspects of a mechanical decision making device. This latter is suggested in Proverbs 18:18, "The lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty."

Islam is cited as the most striking case in which a religion attempted to freeze a culture as of a given moment, which caused some spotty diffusions. While playing cards diffused from China they struck quick roots in Europe, but passed Islam by. Kroeber (1948:495) wrote "... printed playing cards, which are first mentioned in China in 969, suddenly appeared four centuries later (1377-79) almost simultaneously in several European countries

— Spain, Italy, and Germany; and incidentally, they were accepted with unbounded enthusiasm. Geographically, either the Mongols or the Mohammedan nations might have been the transmitters to Christian Europe; but since Islam forbids all gambling, it left no evidence if it was involved."

Neither Islamic nor Mongolian cultures took over Chinese cards or card games. The form of the deck, the number of suits, the numbering within the suits, the "hands" or scoring combinations, etc. that Europe adopted was quite selective. That is, out of the great range and variety of Chinese cards and card games, a rather limited set diffused to Europe. It is not necessary to postulate this diffusion as occurring through a whole culture that gambles. The traders and caraveneers, whether they were Chinese, Mongolian, Islamic, or Europeans, operated on the social and moral peripheries of their constituent societies and moreover had a kind of sub-culture of their own, probably including a particular set of Chinese card games in vogue in northern China in the fourteenth century.

Khadduri and Liebesing (1955:88) translated verse 216 of the Koran as "They will ask thee concerning wine and gambling. Say in both is sin and advantage to men. But the sin thereof is greater than the advantage." The unlawfulness of gambling activities are estimated in terms of their resemblances to selling activities, that is, whether it is an honest sale or not. They write "Usury, the taking of a 'use' for money, and gambling are regarded as opposite types."

Ali's note (The Holy Quran n.d:241) on gambling reads as follows.

> "*maisir*: literally, a means of getting something too easily, getting a profit without working for it; hence gambling. That is the principle on which gambling is prohibited. The form most familiar to the Arabs was gambling by casting lots by means of arrows, on the principle of a lottery: the arrows were marked and served the same purpose as a modern lottery ticket. Something, e.g., the carcase of a slaughtered animal, was divided into unequal parts. The marked arrows were drawn from a bag. Some were blank and those who drew them got nothing. Others indicated prizes, which were big or small."

The following verses from the Koran also apply to gambling.

Sura 5, Verse 74: (Forbidden) also is the division
                   (Of meat) by raffling
                   With arrows that is impiety.

Sura 5, Verse 94: Satan's plan is (but)
                   To excite enmity and hatred
                   Between you, with intoxicants
                   And gambling...

In Iran there is betting on lotteries, wrestling, and other games. In 1951 one writer reported that due to the influence of American movies "well-to-do Persian women with emancipation are gambling... it became quite common to see them losing thousand of *tomans* per night at poker and running tables at houses of their friends," (Suratgar 1951:141). Masters (1953-207) wrote that the higher Arabic officials and officers in northern Iraq often gamble, especially at poker, bingo, and cock fights. In recent Afganistan there appears to be a moderate level of gambling. M. Bell (1948:24) reported gambling on the outcome of rifle shooting in 1911-1912. Dollot (1937:254) mentioned the festival for the laundrymen guild in which there is betting over buffalo fights with high stakes. Wilber (1962:129) wrote as follows.

> "Chief among national games is *Boz Kashi* or goat wrestling. A goat or calf is beheaded and the body thrown into a ditch, from which it is to be taken to the goal by any one of scores of swift riding horsemen competing in teams... In the settled communities, visiting, card games, and conversation are favorite diversions. The men and boys visit in the evening after dinner, sometimes spending their time playing cards or gambl:ng on cockfights and quail fights. A favorite game among the men is a guessing game played with small objects hidden under wooden cups on a tray."

NORTH ASIA

Gambling tends to be of low intensity in North Asia. The Chuckchee are traditionally described as lacking games of strategy and the Ainu as lacking both games of chance and strategy. The Chuckchee, however, picked up gambling games in recent historical times. Sverdrup (1938:107) described the opening of an annual market in 1920 in Pansileika where some 150 to 200 Chuckchee and 30 to 40 Lamuts came to meet the Russian traders who bought reindeer skins and furs. While waiting for the market to open

some of the Chuckchee "spent the night playing cards with the Russians, of course for 'money'." Bogoras (1904-09:273) wrote of his stay among the Chuckchee from 1890-1901.

"Gambling games are little known among the Chuckchee. I was told that among the Maritime Chuckchee on the Arctic shore there is a simple game played for stakes, which consists of throwing a small piece of gristle against a large flat stone so that it will rebound high in the air. The one who catches the gristle gets the stakes, which are usually matches, copper caps, and similar small objects... At the present time many camps and villages have learned to play cards from their Russian neighbors or from American whalers. Among the Reindeer Chuckchee of the Kolyma, passionate gamblers may now be met who have lost their all in play against more clever Russian neighbors."

Working from Chinese sources on the "nomadic Tartars previous to the conquests of Ghenghis Khan", Parker (1924:136) wrote that among the Eastern Turks living in Kansu around 600 A.D. the men were fond of playing dice. Riasonovsky (1926: 70) discussed a 1793 Southern Buriat clan's legal document with articles against gambling with cards and dice. Maiskii (1921:146, 224), on the other hand, wrote that the Mongols "never play at gambling games and there exist no games for money" while the Russians in Mongolia play cards with "passion and abandon" and "More than one bankruptcy of Russian firms in Mongolia has had its origin at the card table." Winners in the Mongolian sports of archery, wrestling, and horse racing may be judged and given a small prize. The contrast between the Chinese who lived in Mongolia but despised physical exercise and played cards while the Mongols were physically active has often been commented on.

Among the Kazakhs, "When a dispute arises in the division of land or meat over the inequality or parts, they 'throw dice'. Each of the participants in this division lays a twig, which he has separated from others by cutting it off, into the skull cap of an outside disinterested person. Then this person takes out the twigs and lays them on the corresponding sides." (Grodekov 1889:224). This is the use of a lottery technique in dividing meat like that described for the Arabs and specifically condemned by Sura 5, Verse 74 of the Koran.

"The Kazakhs lay a wager as to which of two persons is right, or else on the accomplishment of something, for example, not sleeping for a

certain number of days, etc. In a combat or in a competition of two singers the observers, divided into part es, sometimes lay a wager on the victory of one singer or the other... If they staked a sister and she is ashamed to marry because of a lost wager, then her kalym can be paid in her place... they dispute about an object seen at a distance, for 2-3 rubles. Bii Sultan Kanæv compares wagers to games of chance, for example, cards, which incidentally are known only to urban Kazakhs." (Grodekov 1889:252).

On certain occasions such as escorting a bride, the birth and the circumcision of a son, Moslem holidays, the arrival of a welcome guest, and even funerals and memorial services the Kazakhs hold race games with prizes. A person arranging such entertainment throws a kid or another young animal on the ground with its head cut off. Participants in the game try to bend over without sliding off the horse, lift the kid up and race away, while the others chase and try to take it away. The victor carries the kid to some village where he throws it before the tent of the person he wishes to honor. Races with a kid similar to this have been described earlier as "goat wrestling" in Afghanistan and are widespread among Asian pastoralists.

EAST ASIA

One finds more gambling in the East Asia zone of Chinese influence. The Koreans traditionally gambled with cards, dice, dominoes, lotteries, and even such things as oxen fights, kite battles, and the fall of a rake. The Japanese probably had less gambling than the Koreans or the Chinese in traditional times, but they have had more in the prosperity of the last twenty years. Gambling on majong is traditional and most villages have a majong club. Pachinko, a kind of upright pinball machine adapted for gambling, was developed in Nagoya in 1947 and subsequently spread in licensed parlors throughout Japan. The Japanese bet heavily on all kinds of sanctioned races: horses, motorboats, motorcycles, and particularly bicycles. Both government and retailing commercial lotteries are held. An annual lottery by the postal service brings together the traditions of New Year's greetings in the form of a personal calligraphic note and a present, in this case a post card entry in a national lottery.

For the Sino-Tibetan border peoples in the 1930's there are descriptions of betting on cards, dice, *majong,* and a race of floating bowls with candles in them. Bell (1928: 96, 131, 265 and 1946:20) described Tibetan gambling for heavy stakes with dice and domino games, especially among merchants. He (p. 49) also said that the settlement of grazing divisions in Chumbi Valley in Tibet were settled three times each summer by throwing dice. Ramsey (1890:84) described a lottery in Western Tibet in which "Each man takes a stick and marks it, the sticks are all put into a bag together and a disinterested person draws out one stick, and the owner of it wins the raffle."

Traditional Southeast Asia is a mixture of indigenous, Indian, Chinese, and Islamic cultures so that several gambling traditions have competed side-by-side. There is little evidence, however, that the area has been very creative in the development of new forms of gambling. Cambodia now has a state lottery and a casino for foreigners. In Thailand, "Gambling is permitted on 15 specified games, including cock fighting, fish fighting, horse racing, lotteries, *mah-jong,* and dominoes. Gambling is not permitted on 41 specified games, among which are slot machines, baccarat, bingo, poker, and games involving cruelty to animals (such as tortoise racing, in which fires are lit on the animals' backs to increase their speed)." (Wykes 1964:343). Malaya is predominantly Islamic so that there are greater pressures against gambling, but Kuala Lumpur, Ipoh, and Penang have betting in horse racing clubs. Singapore is predominantly Chinese so there is much more gambling, particularly in lottery games such as *chap ji kee,* where the bettor tries to guess the daily name or number from a list, and the numbers game.

Gambling has an ancient history in China and it seems to have flourished there until it was repressed by the current communist government. One pervasive Chinese gambling trait has been gambling over the outcome of fights between trained animals: quails, thrushes, crickets, and even fish. Two bottles, each with a fish in it, were placed alongside each other. When the fish grew angry with each other they were put into the same bottle where they fought it out. Two crickets were put on a flat tray with a deep rim and were tickled on their heads with a hair until they got mad and charged each other.

We know from the *Han Shu* that cock fights, dog and horse races, and several other sports were gambled on at least as long ago as 200 B.C. Swann's (1950:300-301) translation of *Han Shu* 24 B:15b includes the following.

> "So Chung (115 B.C.) stated that among younger members of well-established families in government service and of honorary rank, and among the rich, there are those who matched cocks in combat, raced dogs and horses, (engaged in) bird shooting and hunting, or gambled in games of chance, throwing into confusion (the ways of life of) the common people. Then summons were made for those who were breaking ordinances, and several thousand persons were dragged in one by the other, and they were called '*chu-sung* convicts'. Those (guilty) who presented wealth obtained the privilege of government service as *lang* Gentlemen at Court. (In this way) recommendations for (men to be made) *lang* fell into decay".

Swann (p. 461) finds that *po,* the name of a game that is mentioned in the fourth century B.C. was used for gambling and games of chance generally. *Po* "seems to have been a game played with a board on which were moved six men to a player... according to six pieces of wood... probably thrown much like dice of today." There are Chinese ceramic figures from the Han dynasty that show the playing of *liu-po,* a dice game with notched four-sided sticks as well as other dice.

Early Western writers presented a picture of extensive gambling in China. Giles (1876:76) described the gambling he observed in his travels in China during the middle of the nineteenth century.

> "In private life, there is always some stake however small... In public, the very costermongers who hawk cakes and fruit about the streets are invariably provided with some means for determining by a resort to chance how much the purchaser shall have for his money. Here, it is a bamboo tube full of sticks, with numbers burnt into the concealed end, from which the customer draws; at another stall dice are thrown into an earthenware bowl, and so on... The worst feature of gambling in China is the number of hells opened publicly under the very nose of the magistrate, all of which drive a flourishing trade in spite of the frequent *presents* with which they are obliged to conciliate the venal official whose duty it is to put them down."

Another description was given by Douglas (1894:82) eighteen years later.

"At breakfast-time workmen stream out of their places of employment, and throw dice or lots for their meal at the nearest itinerant cookshop. Coolies, in moments of leisure, while away the time with cards and dice as they sit at the sides of the streets, and the gaming-houses are always full of eager excited crowds, who are willing to lose everything they possess, and more also, in satisfaction of the national craving... One of the commonest games is known as *fantan*... Quail-fighting, cricket-fighting, and public events are also made subjects of wagering, and the expected appearance of the names of the successful candidates at the local examinations is a fruitful source of desperate gambling."

In the latter half of the nineteenth century a moral stand against gambling was widespread. In certain villages the operation of a gambling house was considered to be a serious civil offense. In practice, it depended on one's position within the class structure. Children of all classes were generally discouraged from gambling, except perhaps during the New Year's celebrations. Except for the compulsive gambler, who was even a kind of joke rather than a criminal or evil person, the lower classes generally accepted, participated in, and enjoyed gambling. The elite differed primarily in the kinds of gambling they would participate in: *majong*, lotteries, and other higher status forms of gambling. Both classes gambled at Chinese chess. The lower classes gambled more with dice, dominoes, and guessing games such as *fantan*. Buck's (1930:414-415) data on 2,866 farm families in six provinces showed that 23% in North China and 40% in East Central China had gambling debts.

It is clear that the New Year season was a period of general license for gambling when all kinds of games were enjoyed. Children often received a present of money wrapped in red paper at this time which they could gamble with or spend in any way they chose. Cable and French (1927:98) described the New Year gambling in Northwest China.

"...the main street was converted into one long casino for the purpose of gambling, each croupier spreading a table bordered by cash strings on red cords, and to these tables the townsmen and villagers flocked to enjoy the excitement of play for high stakes. For three whole days the crowds were so dense that no horse traffic of any description could pass. On the flat mud roofs the women gathered in swarms to watch the fun."

Hsu (1948:26) reported on "West Town" in Yunnan Province.

"Until 1943 three gambling dens did a thriving business... One was in the home of a police detective; a second was in the home of the headman of a pao; the third was located in one of the clan temples. In the first den were gathered middle-aged and younger people who went in for big stakes, which in 1943 often ran into five figures. In the second den were gathered players of all age levels who went for smaller stakes. In the third were gathered younger people only, and the stakes ran about the same as in the second den. The games played always included *ma chiang* and poker. All visitors whether they played or not, received free hospitality — food, drink, and a pipe of opium if desired. Apart from gambling in these dens, West Towners enjoy three days of general license in gambling every New Year... From all these sources of amusement women are entirely excluded."

In trying to explain slow economic growth in terms of the lack of business entrepreneurship or speculation among the Chinese, Hsu (1953:307) developed the thesis that, while both Americans and Chinese were inveterate gamblers, the Chinese were not speculative in gambling and looked to gambling more for recreation among a group of friends. "...while Americans bet on practically everything, from sports to presidential elections, the Chinese prefer games with familiar and well-defined situations, such as mahjong or *tien chiu.*" They play with certain tools, they sit in definite positions, they know each other, and they meet regularly. He said that Chinese gambling, like Chinese society, is collective, not individualistic. The Chinese did bet on just as wide a range of phenomena as the Americans, but they are Chinese and not American cultural phenomena. Sports, in the sense of active physical sports, do not have the same sphere of significance in Chinese society as they do in America so it is quite logical that, as Hsu pointed out, gambling on sports strikes the Chinese as immoral. On the other hand, the British and Americans felt that the Chinese practice of betting on the outcome of the official examinations was immoral. Also, only a tiny segment of the nineteenth century American population would, as many of the nineteenth century Chinese, wager for breakfast or bet on fighting fish, quail, or crickets. Fei and Chang (1945:81), in fact, said that gambling is sometimes considered to be a speculative business enterprise as well as a diversion. The following is an example of this enterprise.

In the 1940's in China a very popular gambling game was chess. A man would simply set up a chess board by the side of

the road or a street anywhere and challenge the bypassers to a game. He would put several chess pieces on the board in certain positions and invite an opponent to take either side for a wager. This is of course not Western but Chinese chess, although they are similar to each other, both being derived from India. While games of considerable skill, such as chess, are not generally used for gambling, this variation provided the necessary "well-defined situation." It is also a kind of entrepreneurship.

Lin (1935:172) made precisely the opposite argument to that of Hsu.

> "The Chinese are a nation of individualists. They are family-minded, not social-minded and the family mind is only a form of magnified self-ishness... They do not indulge in sports... They play games, to be sure, but these games are characteristic of Chinese individualism. Chinese games do not divide the players into two parties, as in cricket, with one team playing against the other. Teamwork is unknown. In Chinese card games, each man plays for himself. The Chinese like poker, and do not like bridge. They have always played *mahjong,* which is nearer to poker than bridge. In this philosophy of mahjong may be seen the essence of Chinese individualism."

Bridge has been played for generations in the student culture of China. Also, majong really is a composed, complex game that requires cooperation. The fact that the Chinese do not form opposing teams probably has more to do with Chinese social structure, such as the absence of moities, than with a lack of teamwork due to strong individualism. However, Lin is correct in writing that the Chinese like poker. This American card game has been the most popular media of gambling in Chinese culture in recent years in both China and among Chinese Americans. The older games from China predominate among the Chinese in Southeast Asia. The poker decks that are used are European in design and the names of the hands in poker are transliterations of the American terms, such as something like *furu has* for "full house." The irony of this is that China invented playing cards, suits, runs, three or four of a kind, and as we can see in the game of majong, an early kind of "full house." Perhaps that is why poker is so popular in China. The game has come back to China by way of Europe and then America in a faster form more suited for gambling.

The Western criticism of China for its lack of physical re-creation is in part inaccurate because Chinese children did play a number of active sports. In fact, China developed such games as rope jumping, tug-of-war, rope swings, and badminton, as well as kites, stilts, pop-guns, water guns, and the see-saw. They also played games found elsewhere such as tops, string figures, puzzles, stick horses, wrestling, and a kind of football. It is true, however, that the Chinese adult usually turned to sedentary games (Culin 1958). Within this cultural context of sedentary games and intensive gambling we find the traditional world's most creative fluorescence of gambling games.

China developed playing cards, dominoes, *majong* tiles, and other card-like gaming pieces. *Fantan* is a Chinese guessing game that uses small circular objects, usually coins. Lotteries in China derive from divination practices in which a number (usually 80) of arrows or wooden splints were cast. "Pick-up-sticks" came from this same tradition. Variations of Chinese lotteries led to "the numbers" lottery, bingo, and keno. Cubical dice diffused from India to East Asia with a red three and a red four, but for some reason the red marking was shifted from the three to the one. In most of the East Asian dice games the throws are named and ranked. Dominoes are derived from dice, developed probably in China around 900 A.D.

CONCLUSIONS

The data on gambling in traditional Asia suggests several correlations, particularly around the contrast between the low level of gambling intensity of West and North Asia and the high level of East Asia. Intensive gambling seems to be associated with intensive agriculture, which reaches an extreme in the gambling climax area of south China. This contrasts with the more pastoral orientations of North and West Asia. Gambling is associated with the sedentary adult games of East Asia, rather than the more physical entertainments of North and West Asia. The general East Asian license for gambling around New Year's probably developed at that time of the year in part because it is

the most sedentary season in the annual cycle of agricultural work.

All of the ancient riverine, agricultural civilizations of Asia had gambling, but West Asia seems to have lost most of its gambling traditions with the rise of the more pastoral-oriented traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. These religious traditions opposed the more urbane, commercial, and sedentary pleasures of the earlier Tigris-Euphrates, Egyptian, and Indus civilizations so that gambling never flourished in later West Asia. Gambling was opposed in West Asia because it was too much of a commercial, rather than agrarian, kind of activity. Gambling was opposed in East Asia too, but only when it was excessive and socially irresponsible. In places like China gambling was opposed when it seriously disrupted the traditional, more kinship oriented, channels of economic flow. As a part of its opposition, gambling in state societies tends to be pressed to various kinds of peripheries: geographical, as in the use of special enclaves (Macao, Monaco, Nevada, etc.) and casinos; legal, through special licensing or graft arrangements; and temporal, as in the wide open gambling of New Year's celebrations in China. The contemporary pressure against gambling by the communist government seems to come from an expression of that tradition, accelerated by the anti-materialist, hard work, and anti-commercial ideologies of communism. Now the traditional intensities of gambling have reversed between the two extremes of the continent, with an expansion in West Asia and a sharp contraction in mainland China.

Cultural schemes may find a useful role for gambling in recreation and in stimulating new fields of speculation. Thus, through the playing of gambling games people can learn about capital formation and the use of strategy in risking wealth. The primary function of gambling is entertainment and other things are secondary elaborations or extensions. In terms of culturally patterned individual motivations, people may gamble to earn money, to dominate others or fate by winning, etc. In terms of kinds of games, in Western cultures people with competitive personalities tend to prefer man-against-man games such as blackjack, assertive males prefer craps, with its pitches and shouts; and women tend to prefer passive games such as roulette. While Asian cultures do not include blackjack, craps, or roulette, similar per-

sonality correlations probably apply to Asian games. Beyond this individual level there are cultural functions and the stimulation of entrepreneurship seems to have been one of these. Thus, growing commercial societies have often had strong gambling traditions.

The forms of gambling in state societies differ according to social class. Thus, compared to the lower classes, the upper classes of traditional Asia generally gambled more intensively in terms of the value of stakes, but not as intensive in gambling structure. That is, their games were longer, less decisive in the determination of winners, and required more skill than those of the lower classes. For example, dicing is almost universally associated with the lower classes while horse racing has strong upper class connotations in Asia.

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Parent-in-Law Avoidances of Northern Athapaskans and Algonquians

ROLAND E. FISCH

RÉSUMÉ

Cet article fait l'analyse des habitudes de formalité et de circonspection qui prédominent dans les relations sociales entre les beaux-parents et les enfants des peuples Athapaskan et Algonquin du nord. Les explications génériques traditionnelles telle que "la peur de l'inceste" ne suffisent pas à bien décrire ces coutumes. On peut mieux comprendre ces proscriptions chez les Athapaskans et les Algonquins si on les considère comme résultant des rapports qui existeraient entre la possibilité des conflits de rang et le besoin de coopération économique.

INTRODUCTION

Parent-in-law avoidances can be defined as prescriptions of patterned formality and circumspection between parents-in-law and children-in-law. Such relationships have worldwide distribution. Many anthropologists have postulated blanket explanations of parent-in-law avoidances, but parent-in-law avoidances have not been studied intensively by anthropologists. This paper supports the hypothesis that the parent-in-law avoidances of the Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian Indians of Canada and Alaska cannot be readily explained in terms of "blanket explanations" such as "incest fear." This paper partially fulfills Lowie's repeated plea (1920:107; 1948:86) for a study of the social contexts in which parent-in-law avoidances occur within a category of societies related by geographic and historic ties.

The first section of this text is a summary of some well-known anthropologists' views concerning avoidance relationships. The second section of the text is a discussion of the relationship

between methodology and the principle theories of the origin of avoidance. The third section of the text is a study of the social context in which the typical Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian male to male parent-in-law avoidance occurs. The fourth section of the text is an explanation of the extensions of avoidance rela- tionships from the typical male to male parent-in-law relationship in accordance with uxorilocal and virilocal residence. Finally, the conclusion of the paper contains a summary of Northern Atha- paskan and Algonquian parent-in-law avoidances and their rela- tionship to the focal male to male parent-in-law avoidance. This pattern of extension of avoidance is nearly the opposite of that predicted by "incest fear" theorists. I conclude that Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian parent-in-law avoidances cannot be explained in terms of "incest fear."

REVIEW OF PAST STUDIES

Incest Fear

Frazer (1913:77-81, 84, 95; 1911 III:331-4), Freud (1912: 30-33), Rivers (1924:66), Murdock (1949:273-277), Stephens and D'Andrade (1962:134-138), and Driver (1966:134, 141) postulate that avoidance relationships are the result of "incest fear." According to this theory an individual's strong sexual attrac- tion to his opposite-sexed parent is marked by a deeply internalized incest fear. This strong sexual attraction is extended to opposite- sexed parents-in-law and opposite-sexed siblings who are not protected by deeply internalized incest fear. These less strongly internalized incest fears must be bulwarked with avoidance rela- tionships as external precautionary measures. Opposite-sexed parents-in-law are the focal points of avoidance. All other avoid- ances, even avoidance relationships between individuals of the same sex, are extensions from the two focal opposite sex parent- in-law avoidances.

Parsons (1916), Reichard (1938), Lowie (1920:84-97, 101- 107; 1948:85) and Thomas (1937:214) are outspoken critics of the incest fear theory. Parsons (1916:289) challenges incest fear theorists with a long list of hard to explain Melanesian male to

male avoidances, Reichard (1938:268) and Lowie (1948:85) attack the incest fear theory for its failure to explain avoidance between individuals of the same sex. Thomas (1937:210-234) not only compiles a long list of male to male and female to female avoidances but reports that such same-sex avoidances are sometimes practiced in the absence of cross-sex avoidances. Thomas also notes a long list of avoidance practices (including the ritual intercourse between a man and his avoided mother-in-law) which are difficult to explain in terms of incest fear.

Functionalism

Tylor (1889:247-248) postulates that avoidance relationships arise as status marking devices between an individual and his spouse's natal family. Similarly, Parsons (1916:286-289) finds avoidances to be rooted in rigid status relationships (such as the relationship between affines, pairs of brothers and fathers and sons in certain areas of Melanesia). Reichard (1938:228) suggests that Southern Athapaskan, and Plains and Prairie Siouan and Algonquian avoidances arise from the status implications of economic obligations. Eggan (1955:75-81) suggests that formalized kin relationships originate as mechanisms which provide some degree of cooperation between individuals whose relative kin statuses dictate conflict. Radcliffe-Brown (1940. 1952) considers most of these factors in his statements about functional interdependencies concerning social disjunction and social conjunction. Briefly, Radcliffe-Brown (1952:91-92) has said that avoidances arise from the coincidence of statuses which simultaneously involve both cooperation and competition.

Geographic and Historic

Lowie (1920:84-97, 101-107) is not impressed by psychological and functional explanations of the origins of avoidances. Rather he concerns himself with geographical and historical factors which might effect, limit, or determine the distribution of these phenomena. Driver (1966:144-147) also considers ways in which geographical and historic factors might effect the distribution of patterns of North American parent-in-law avoidance.

RELATIONSHIP OF METHODOLOGY TO
PRINCIPLE THEORIES

Incest Fear

The method of this paper with respect to the incest fear theory involves the listing of data which seem to negate basic principles of the "incest fear" theory. For example, in his statistical study of North American parent-in-law avoidance Driver (1966:141) cites only eight societies in which a man avoids his son-in-law but does not avoid his daughter-in-law. He lists twenty-six societies in which a man avoids his daughter-in-law but does not avoid his son-in-law. Driver concludes that since the cross-sex avoidance is more common than the same sex avoidance, "cross-sex avoidances appear to have evolutionary and historical as well as psychological priority. Same-sex avoidance apparently arise from them by extension..." Although for North America in general it may be more common for a man to avoid his daughter-in-law than his son-in-law, the reverse is true for Northern Athapaskans and Algonquians. A man avoids his son-in-law but not his daughter-in-law among the Cree (Mason 1967:49; Franklin 1823:63; Skinner 1914:72; Curtis 1928:74; Godsell 1938:109; Honigmann 1956a:61), Chipewyan (Curtis 1928:41), Kaska (Honigmann 1954:77; 1959:516), Northern Tutchone (MacNeish 1957:50), Teslin (McClellan 1961:111) and Sarsi (Curtis 1928: 107-108, 161; Honigmann 1956b:33). I find no report of a Northern Athapaskan or Algonquian society in which a man avoids his daughter-in-law but does not avoid his son-in-law. Using Driver's criteria (see above) one might conclude that Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian father-in-law to daughter-in-law avoidance arises by extension from father-in-law to son-in-law avoidance.

Driver (1966:134) and Stephens and D'Andrade (1962:137-138) contend that fear of incest between a man and his mother-in-law is the primary cause of all avoidance relationships. However, a Chipewyan man must avoid his father-in-law, but specifically does not avoid his mother-in-law (Curtis 1928:41). Similarly, Honigmann (1956a:62-62) notes that an Attawapiskat Cree man avoids his father-in-law more strongly than he avoids his mother-

in-law. The Slave, Tahltan, Ahtena, Teslin, and Sekani allow a man to marry his mother-in-law upon the death of his father-in-law (Petitot 1891:389; Honigmann 1946:72; Emmons 1911: 99; Teit 1956:149-150; Jenness 1937:54; McClellan 1961:110-114). The data indicate that for many Northern Athapaskan and Algonquians a man's relationship with his mother-in-law depends upon his relationship to his father-in-law.

Functionalism

Many functionalist arguments depend upon the principle that rules of behavior arise from previously existing behavior. According to this principle the previously existing behavior enforces the new rule of behavior, and the new rule of behavior reinforces the old behavior. I avoid the pitfall of logical circularity of functionalism by concerning myself with interrelationships of avoidances with other elements of Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian culture rather than with the origins of avoidances.

Geographic and Historic

The Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian are a geographic and historic unit. The geographic unity of those peoples depends on their common residence within a single contiguous ecological formation. Their common economics, based on trapping and trading, reflect their common history. The geographic and historic unity of the Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian makes generalizations about their cultures possible. A large portion of this text arises from general impressions gained from a wide reading of the literature and from casual contacts with Algonkin, Ojibwa and Cree Indians in Quebec and Ontario. (I spent the summers of 1960, 1961, and 1962 in the company of Mattawa Algonkins and "half-breeds" travelling by canoe in Northern Ontario. During that time I visited the Ojibwa and Cree villages at Bear Island, Nakina, Skibi Lake, Miminiska Lake, Fort Hope, Ogoki, and Fort Albany.) I believe, for example, that Knight's (1968:57-58) description of the division of labor by age at Rupert House is a good description of the general Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian pattern of division of labor by age.

SOCIAL CONTEXT OF THE MALE-MALE
PARENT-IN-LAW RELATIONSHIP

Uxorivicinal Residence

Carrasco (1963) suggests the use of the adjective "uxorivi-cinal" to describe the rule of post marital residence by which a man is required to live in the vicinity of his parents-in-law. The rule of uxorivicinal residence dictates that a man must live near his parents-in-law but does not exclude the possibility that he may live with his own parents. A man who weds a woman of his own vicinity must fulfill the prescription of uxorivicinal residence, but he may also happen to practice virilocal residence. The prescription of uxorivicinal residence, although it can be easily masked by a statistical preference for virilocal residence, is an important key to the understanding of Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian parent-in-law avoidances. McClellan (1964:9) explains the rule of uxorivicinal post marital residence and notes the possibility of virilocal residence.

> Most of the Athapaskans whom I know seem to structure the marriage situation primarily in terms of the son-in-law's obligation to care for the wife's parents until their deaths, not a matter of initial matrilocal residence, even though this is the usual consequence. It is really a con-tinuation of an attitude which begins with 'bride service.' After the death of the wife's parents, or if another son-in-law elects to care for them, the couple may return to the locality where the husband grew up (McClellan 1964:9).

There is a long list of references to the obligation of a Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian son-in-law to reside near and provide for his father-in-law: Malecite (Mechling 1958:31-35); Abenaki (Hallowell 1926:130; Montagnais (Burgess 1944:3; 1945:10; Leacock 1955:34); Nascapi (Turner 1894:276; Lips 1947:421); Ojibwa (Jenness 1935:99; Rogers 1962:B30; Dunning 1959: 121-122); Cree (Mason 1967:49; Honigmann 1956:62-63); Plains Cree (Mandelbaum 1940:246); Chipewyan (Curtis 1928:41; Birket-Smith 1930:68); Beaver (Jenness 1932:384; Goddard 1916: 221); Slave (Honigmann 1946:69-70, 85, 162; Helm 1961: 67); Yellow Knife (Mason 1946:32; Pike 1892:121); Satudene (Osgood 1931:77-88); Sarsi (Curtis 1928:107-108; Jenness 1938: 23-26; Sekani (Jenness 1937:53-54); Kaska (Honigmann 1949:

129, 193, 199; 1954:131-133); Tahltan (Emmons 1911:28, 98-99;
Teit 1956:146); Tanajna (Osgood 1937:164); Kutchin (Balikci
1963:28, 43-44; Osgood 1936:164); Upper Tanana (McKennan
1959:118-120); and Ahtena, Southern Tuchone, and Tagish
(McClellan 1961:108-109; 1964:9).

Status Implications of Economic Tasks

The economic cooperation involved in a son-in-law's obliga-
tion to his father-in-law and the status implications of this obliga-
tion are related to Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian avoid-
ance relationships. Dunning (1959:88-89) describes one way in
which status implications seem to arise from the nature of certain
economic tasks and become attached to kin relationships among
Northern Ojibwa.

> Throughout the variety of the work cycle there are jobs differing in
> prestige. On an ordinary canoe trip, the position of sternman, while on
> a shooting expedition the bowman, is the one of prestige. Elder brothers
> always take the position of higher status. In winter on the trail, the
> senior man drives the dogs, while his junior runs ahead to break trail.
> And when walking to the post in summer or winter, the elder brother
> goes first, and is dealt with first by the company trader. Sometimes,
> although he enters first, he directs his juniors to be dealt with first, in
> order that he may keep abreast of gossip and perhaps dominate the
> conversation in front of the store. When the group of trappers have
> finished selling furs and buying supplies, the senior person of the group
> leaves first to lead his dog team or carry off his supplies.

General Impressions of the Division of Labor by Age

The son-in-law is obliged to provide meat for his father-in-
law's families (Honigmann 1949:79, 193). His constant quest
for moose, caribou, or bear take him to remote hills, mountains, and
swamps along the watersheds which form the boundaries of his
father-in-law's hunting territory. The country in which the young
son-in-law travels is often so rugged that it is impossible for him
to use a canoe or sled. His hunting keeps him away from home
for days or even weeks at a time and he sleeps alone in the cold.
The quest for meat may require so much of his time that he has no
time to devote to trapping profitable fur-bearing animals (Leacock
1954:25, 36-37).

A man with a young son-in-law is freed from the task of hunting large game animals and can concentrate on trapping profitable fur bearers (Honigmann 1949:129). The major stream at the center of his hunting territory is the home of beaver, otter, and mink and serves as a natural highway for either canoe or sled. Thus, he travels comfortably on his daily rounds of his trapline and returns home every night to the warmth of his family.

But, eventually the father-in-law grows old, must restrict his trapping activities, and loses part of his masculine status. He traps only in the most accessible or productive parts of his territory and spends much of his time at home making and repairing snow shoes, dog sleds, canoes, etc., for his son-in-law (Leacock 1954:34). As he grows older still he rarely leaves sight of home, and must cooperate with boys and young women in lowly activities such as snaring muskrats and rabbits, or tending fish nets. As a final stage in the loss of his male status an old man may be reduced to gathering wood and preparing hides, activities which involve co-operation and equality with young girls and old women. As the father-in-law ages the son-in-law gradually spends more time trapping. The son-in-law accumulates more and more masculine activities until he acquires a son-in-law and can restrict his hunting activities and concentrate on trapping (Knight 1968:57-58).

EXTENSIONS OF THE MALE-MALE PARENT-IN-LAW RELATIONSHIP

Uxorilocally Coresident Pairs

I have described some of the grounds for conflict between an uxorilocally resident son-in-law and his father-in-law. As a stranger in the household the son-in-law becomes involved in an intense competition with his father-in-law. This tension seems to be directly related to the wide-spread father-in-law to son-in-law avoidance relationship (see Table I). A father-in-law and son-in-law must cooperate in at least some economic activities, and this avoidance relationship is not entirely practical. Tension and com-petition between two men might well be a factor in the way in which the men relate to each other's wives. On page 185 of this text it is noted that a Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian man's

relationship with his mother-in-law seems to depend on his rela-
tionship with his father-in-law. I feel that the Northern Atha-
paskan and Algonquian avoidance relationship between a man and
his mother-in-law has functional value as a check to the status
conflict between a man and his father-in-law. The Northern
Athapaskan and Algonquian division of labor according to sex and
age requires little economic cooperation between a man and his
mother-in-law. Therefore, a man's mother-in-law avoidance is a
more practical marker of his relationship to his father-in-law than
his father-in-law avoidance. On the basis of the minimal need for
economic cooperation it might be predicted that the son-in-law to
mother-in-law avoidance would be the most widespread Northern
Athapaskan and Algonquian parent-in-law avoidance (see Ta-
ble I).

Virilocally Coresident Pairs

In societies where virilocal residence is statistically common
a man often works for his own father on his father's hunting ter-
ritory. Although conflict between the father and son may be less-
ened by their constant association, father-son avoidances are prac-
ticed among the Kutchin, Ahtena, Tanana, Tena, Attawapiskat
Cree and various Ojibwa groups (Slobodin 1962:42; McClellan
1961:116-116; Honigmann 1956a:60-61; 1959:971; Landes 1937:
30; Brown 1952:59; Bott 1949:48-52, 60-67; Dunning 1959:111).
Since a man's relationship to his father-in-law dictates that he
avoid his father-in-law's wife, it might be predicted that a man's
relationship to his son-in-law would also dictate that he avoid his
son-in-law's wife. Practicality might limit avoidance between a
man and his daughter (son-in-law's wife) due to the economic
cooperation of old men and young women. In fact in some North-
ern Athapaskan and Algonquian societies (Ahtena, Tena, Tanana,
Kutchin, Attawapiskat Cree, and various Ojibwa) a man does
avoid his daughter (McClellan 1961:116-117; Slobodin 1962:42;
Honigmann 1956a:60-61; 1959:971; Landes 1937-30; Brown 1952:
59; Bott 1949:48-52; 60-67; Dunning 1959:111). Thus the data
provide confirmation of the theory that mother-in-law avoidance
is an extension of the father-in-law relationship. In a few Northern
Athapaskan and Algonquian societies (Kutchin, and various
Ojibwa) the relationship between a mother and her own daughter

mirrors the competition between a father-in-law and son-in-law and the conflict is reflected in mother-daughter avoidance (Slobodin 1962:42; Honigmann 1956a:61; Landes 1937:30; Brown 1952:59; Bott 1949:48-52, 60-67; Dunning 1959:111). This avoidance relationship is rare and is usually obscured by a bond of constant association and economic cooperation. As might be predicted, the father-son relationship is further marked by avoidance of each other's wives. Although an old man may cooperate in economic activities with young women, a man avoids his son's wife (see Table I). Similarly, although the relationship is tempered by long and close association, among the Kutchin (Slobodin 1962:42), Tanana (McClellan 1961:116-117), Attawapiskat Cree (Honigmann 1956a:60-61), and Ojibwa (Landes 1937:30; Brown 1952: 59; Bott 1949:48-52, 60-67; Dunning 1959:111) a man avoids his own mother (father's wife). Economic cooperation often links a woman and her daughter-in-law in such a way that avoidance is extremely impractical (Mandelbaum 1940:233). Mother-in-law and daughter-in-law do avoid each other in many societies, but this is the least common parent-in-law avoidance (see Table I).

CONCLUSION

I have shown that Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian parent-in-law avoidances can be explained in terms of the inter-relation of status conflicts and the need for economic cooperation. Reports of avoidance between a man and his son-in-law are far more common than reports of avoidance between a man and his daughter-in-law (see Table I). A man does not avoid his son-in-law because of "incest fear." The avoidance between a man and his son-in-law depends upon the functional need to reduce the tension and conflict of their relationship. A man may also avoid his daughter-in-law, but the frequency of this avoidance practice is limited by the economic cooperation which often unites an old man and a young woman (see Table I). A woman has almost no opportunity to engage in economic cooperation with her son-in-law, and avoidance between a woman and her son-in-law is wide spread (see Table I). A woman and her virilocally resident daughter-in-law are tied by almost constant association and econ-

omic cooperation, and mother-in-law to daughter-in-law is the least common form of parent-in-law avoidance (see Table I). The pattern of the extension of Northern Athapaskan and Algonquian is nearly the opposite of that which is predicted by the "incest fear" theory! These avoidances cannot be understood in terms of "incest fear."

I have shown that incest fear does not cause the parent-in-law avoidances of the Northern Athapaskans and Algonquians. The Northern Athapaskans and Algonquians are human. Therefore, incest fear cannot be the cause of the parent-in-law avoidances of humans in general. At least, it seems that the whole question of the relationship between incest fear and parent-in-law avoidance should be investigated more deeply.

TABLE I — PARENT-IN-LAW AVOIDANCES OF THE NORTHERN ATHAPASKANS AND ALGONQUIANS

+ indicates presence of the avoidance

— indicates absence of the avoidance

O indicates no report of the avoidance

Column I	Column II	Column III	Column IV
Structured status competition between father-in-law and son-in-law is frequently marked by avoidance. This relationship seems not to be due to incest fear.	Economic cooperation between father-in-law and daughter-in-law reduces the practicality of avoidance between members of this pair. According to incest fear theorists this avoidance should be far more common than father-in-law to son-in-law avoidance.	Almost no economic cooperation unites the mother-in-law to her son-in-law, and this is the most practical avoidance. Incest fear theorists say that all avoidances must arise from this relationship. Both theories predict this avoidance to be common.	Strong ties of economic cooperation unite the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law and greatly reduce practicality of avoidance between the pair.

4

Column I Column II Column III Column IV

	Column I	Column II	Column III	Column IV	
Athapaskans in general	O	O	+	O	Jenness 1932:369
Kutchin	+	+	+	+	Slobodin 1962:42
Tanana[1]	+	+	+	+	McClellan 1961:116
Ahtena[2]	+	+	+	—	McClellan 1961:105
Northern Tutchone	+	—	+	—	MacNeish 1957:50
Teslin[3]	+	—	+	—	McClellan 1961:111
Tahltan	O	O	+	O	Emmons 1911:98-99; Teit 1956:144, 150
Tstsant	O	O	+	O	Jenness 1932:369
Kaska	+	—	+	—	Honigmann 1949: 130-131; 1954:77
Hare	+	+	+	+	MacNeish 1960:290
Slave	+	+	+	+	Honigmann 1946:64
Beaver	+	+	+	+	Goddard 1916:221-222; Harmon 1905: 250, 269, 295
Sekani	+	+	+	+	Jenness 1932:384; Harmon 1905:250, 269
Bulkey River Carrier[4]	+	+	+	+	Harmon 1905:250, 269
Chipewyan	+	—	—	—	Curtis 1928:41, 148

[1] McClellan states that "avoidance of affinal relatives was the 'worst' especially that between a mother-in-law and son-in-law" (McClellan 1961-116). Thus she seems to imply other affinal avoidances.

[2] McClellan states that an Ahtena man is obligated to serve and hunt for his father-in-law (McClellan 1961:108-109; 1964:9) and she states that among the Ahtena the strength of avoidance between two people is proportional to the strength of the obligation of one to care for the other (McClellan 1961: 108). Thus she seems to imply father-in-law to son-in-law avoidance.

[3] The Teslin are included here because they seem to be Tlingitized Athapaskans.

[4] Harmon lived with the Nipigon Ojibwa, Cree, Beaver, Sekani, Bulkey Carrier, and Central Carrier; he reports that except for the Central Carrier, all of the groups with which he was acquainted practiced the avoidance of all parents-in-law by all children-in-law.

	Column I	Column II	Column III	Column IV	
Sarsi	+	—	+	—	Curtis 1928: 108, 161; Honigmann 1956b:33
Plains Cree	+	+	+	—	Mandelbaum 1940:233
Cumberland House Cree	+	—	+	—	Franklin 1823:63
Eastern Woods Cree-Montagnais	+	—	+	—	Skinner 1911:57, 72
Western Woods Cree	+	—	+	—	Curtis 1928: 41, 74, 156
Southern Manitoba Cree	+	—	+	—	Godsell 1938:109
Oxford House Cree	+	—	+	—	Mason 1967:49
Plains Ojibwa	O	O	+	O	Tanner 1820:146; Hilger 1959:124; Howard 1964:70
Rainy Lake Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Landes 1937:25-30
Berrens River Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Dunning 1959: 121-123
Minnesota Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Brown 1952:59; Bott 1949:48-52, 60-67
Nipigon Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Harmon 1905:250, 269, 295
Sachigo Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Rogers 1962:B32
Bearskin Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Rogers 1962:B32
Big Beaverhouse Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Rogers 1962:B32
Big Trout Lake Ojibwa	+	+	+	+	Rogers 1962:B32

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Adaptation of Whites
in an Alaska Native Village

DOROTHY M. JONES

RÉSUMÉ

L'auteur présente un aspect relativement négligé des études de communautés en Alaska. Les conditions de vie dans le village étudié sont assez dures: un climat difficile, la pauvreté des moyens de communication, le manque de contact avec la population Aleut, des tensions dans les relations sociales entre blancs dûes à la compétition sur le plan du travail. On trouve que les blancs sont en mesure de fonctionner efficacement parce qu'ils ne sont que de passage dans ce village et qu'ils vivent de leurs rêves futurs, en valorisant leurs liens affectifs avec l'extérieur.

Alaska native villages attract numerous social scientists interested in primitive cultures or primitive cultures in transition, but few have examined the social adaptations of whites who live in these villages.[1] So I decided to. I asked these questions: What are the characteristics of whites who migrate to a northern native village, and why do they come? How do they cope with isolation, long stormy winters, and the absence of commercial forms of entertainment? What kinds of social relations evolve in the absence of any long-standing social ties in a predominantly non-white community? How does limited opportunity for occupational mobility within the village affect their adjustments? Do they bring ways of living from their former places of residence or do they innovate in the new environment? I examined these questions in

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[1] Canadian anthropologists have directed more attention to whites living in native-white settlements but these studies do not deal specifically with the white's adjustment to the north and the native settlement. Cf. Hawthorne, et al. (1958), Chapter 6; Ervin (1967); Vallee (1967); Cohen (1962); Fried (1963); Honigmann and Honigmann (1965).

a two-month participant observation field study of Rocky Bay,[2] a predominantly Aleut village.

To convey the findings of the study, this paper deals with the following topics: (1) village setting, (2) the people and why they came, (3) the stress of environment, (4) interpersonal relationships, (5) work relationships, and (6) social adaptations.

VILLAGE SETTING

Rocky Bay is a small fishing village situated on a remote island. Air transport is the only means of passenger access and a small aircraft calls several times weekly. Supplies arrive by a ship on a monthly schedule. But arrival of both planes and ships is regulated by the characteristically stormy weather conditions.

Aleuts lived at Rocky Bay in earlier times but it was uninhabited at the time of recent settlement in the late 19th century[3] when cod fishing stations were established. Until the late 1940's only a few families lived in the village to work the small cod stations and salmon salteries. Shortly after World War II, a major fisheries enterprise was introduced and the population grew to its present size of 400. Of these 400, 317 are Aleut, 16 are other non-white, mostly Alaska Eskimo and Indian, and 67 are white.[4]

The white population of Rocky Bay falls into two groups. One includes whites married to natives, of which there are 14; and the other comprises members of all-white families numbering 53 (38 adults and 15 children). Intermarried whites generally adhere to a more "native" social pattern than other whites. Therefore, they are excluded from this discussion.

The only road in the village, built along a rise overlooking native residential sections, connects the town to the airfield. The large majority of whites lives in the heights along the road or near

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[2] To protect the identity of the informants, I have used a pseudonym for the village and omitted certain details about the village setting such as precise location and the name of the local economic enterprise.

[3] Hrdlicka (1945) p. 39.

[4] I have not included transient whites such as college students who work at the fish processing plant during the summer.

company facilities on the waterfront. Most publically used buildings are also located in white residential sections.

Rocky Bay has many modern facilities including local and long distance telephone service and a community-wide water and electric power system. Most of the frame houses in which both whites and natives live have indoor plumbing and major household appliances. Other community facilities include a school (covering the first nine grades), fundamentalist church and associated health clinic, post office, city hall-jail house, bar, liquor store, market, cafe, and two movie houses.

The Rocky Bay fisheries company is part of a larger organization with stations in southwestern Alaska. Company headquarters are located in the state of Washington. Since its inception in the late 1940's, the company has retained a monopoly on fisheries production in Rocky Bay. It now processes several marine species which allows nearly year-round operations. As the central employment source in the village, the company provides direct and indirect employment for roughly 90 percent of the native labor force (primarily fisherman and unskilled fish processors) and 75 percent of the white. The company directly employs about 90 persons and indirectly employs, through the purchase of fish, about 100.

In addition to operating a fish processing plant, the company owns the majority of land in the village, a considerable amount of housing, and it owns and operates all utility services, a movie theater, the market, and the liquor store.

With two exceptions, whites hold every higher level job (management and technical) in the company. Whites also occupy every position of authority in the village — magistrate, state trooper, fish and game enforcement officers, preacher, nurse, school principal, and teachers.

In 1966, Rocky Bay incorporated as a fourth class city under Alaska law.[5] Council membership has been predominantly white. In 1971, five of seven council members were white.

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[5] Fourth class cities have no financial or administrative responsibilities for schools and assessment powers are limited to sales tax. *Alaska Statutes,* Title 29, Chapters 10, 15, 20, and 25.

Though whites comprise only 16.7 percent of the village population, they possess dominant power in the village — to hire, fire, give or withhold credit (at the company store), make arrests, impose sentences, and control council decision making.[6]

THE PEOPLE AND WHY THEY CAME

Rocky Bay whites are predominantly old American; only two are foreign born; most of the others are third or fourth generation American. Aside from three Catholics, they are Protestant, and the majority of Protestants participate (to greater or lesser extent) in the one church in the village.

For 16 of the 21 white families, Rocky Bay constitutes the first Alaskan experience. Three adults originated in the deep south; and the remainder, in the northcentral and northwestern United States, with the largest proportion coming from the state of Washington. Fifteen of 37 adults have rural farm or small town (under 5,000) backgrounds.

Whites do not generally consider Rocky Bay a permanent habitation. Most leave after a short period of residence in the village. The median years of white residence is two and the mean is 3.5.

Rocky Bay whites have an atypical age distribution (Table 1). Note the shrinkage in the 10 to 19 year old group and the mushrooming in the 20 to 30 year old and 50 to 60 year old groups. This peculiar age distribution suggests that whites with preschool or primary grade children and those with grown children are attracted in greater numbers than those with children in the 9 to 12 year old or adolescent age group.[7] Two factors may account for this. One is the absence of a local high school. The other is the probable reluctance of white parents to send children to a predominantly native school especially as children near the age

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[6] White control of major resources is common in northern native-white villages and settlements. Cf. Hawthorne, *op. cit.;* Cohen, *op. cit.;* Honigmann and Honigmann, *op. cit.;* Jones (1969); Dunning (1959).

[7] A similar age distribution characterizes the white populations of other Aleut villages I have studied.

for sex and dating relationships. Whatever the cause, the presence of two groups of white adults widely separated by age and stage in family life cycle limits the choice of white friends in an already restricted field, and thus adds to the stress these whites experience in the new setting.

TABLE 1

Age Distribution of Rocky Bay White Population*
and U.S. Population**

Age	Rocky Bay Whites Percent	U.S. Population Percent
0-9	20.8	21.5
10-19	7.5	16.8
20-29	30.2	12.1
30-39	13.2	13.7
40-49	3.8	12.6
50-59	22.6	10.1
60-69	1.9	7.5
70 plus	0.0	5.7
Total	100.0	100.0

* Intermarried whites are not included.
** Source: U.S. Census of Population, 1960, General Population Characteristics, U.S. Summary, Table 45, p. 146.

If we use occupation and income as criteria for determining position in the social class hierarchy, then the majority of Rocky Bay whites are middle class. Table 2 shows that nearly two-thirds of white males are employed at entrepreneurial, managerial, professional, or technical levels. Incomes reflect this occupational distribution. While precise data are lacking, mean annual family incomes for whites can be estimated between $12,000 and $13,000. This figure is effectively higher if we consider the multiple fringe benefits associated with company employment (these will be elaborated later). Despite high living costs in Alaska, these

fringe benefits reduce living costs below those of the places Rocky Bay whites formerly lived.

The central organizing theme of these whites' lives is the Protestant work ethic — hard work, self reliance, mobility, self improvement, and disapproval of dissipation.[8] Their dreams concern higher status jobs, larger salaries, larger houses, accumulation of other material symbols of success, and enough in savings or investments to assure a comfortable retirement.

Most white adults in Rocky Bay had only limited skills for achieving their mobility aspirations in the places they formerly lived. Twenty-four of 37 adults have no college; 9 of the 24 are high school drop outs; and 11 of the 20 males received no training for a specific occupation.

TABLE 2

Occupational Distribution of Rocky Bay White Population
(over 21 years of age), 1971*

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Self-employed	1	0	1
Management	4	1	5
Professional**	4	1	5
Technical	3	1	4
Skilled labor	4	2	6
Fishing	4	0	4
Unskilled labor	0	4	4
Total	20	9	29

* Intermarried whites are not included.

** Other than the school principal, teachers are not included in this category. No teachers were in the village during the field work and most from the previous year had permanently moved from the village.

Lacking the credentials and training necessary for achieving their mobility aspirations, these persons sought opportunities in

[8] For a description of the Protestant work ethic, see Anderson (1970, pp. 151-154).

out-of-the-way places. Rocky Bay offered unique advantages. To attract personnel to a remote location, the Rocky Bay company offers higher level jobs and higher salaries than persons could usually obtain elsewhere. Individuals without formal training can work as company engineers and manual workers can become foremen.[9] Most whites hold better jobs in Rocky Bay than in their former locations. For example, before he came to Rocky Bay, one assistant manager of the store was a truck driver, and another was a bus driver; a company engineer was a construction worker; a foreman was an unskilled laborer; the manager of the airline station was a bartender. Even some of the persons with training experienced a rise in status on moving to Rocky Bay. A seminary student, for example, was hired as preacher, and a relatively inexperienced teacher was hired as principal. For most, the move to Rocky Bay meant a change from working class to middle class status or from lower middle to upper middle class status.

Certain living costs can be substantially lower in Rocky Bay than in the places from which whites came. The company pays travel expenses to and from the village. (Travel expenses from the village are contingent on an employee remaining for a minimum of one year). Annual vacations for high level employees include transportation costs. In addition, company employees receive low rent housing (roughly $50 monthly) and free utilities. Most whites keep food costs low by ordering in bulk quantity from Seattle. (Seattle prices are lower than those in Rocky Bay and ordering by caseload constitutes a savings over purchasing single items.) The virtual absence of commercial forms of entertainment and food contributions from fishermen further reduce living costs. One couple who came to Rocky Bay to save for a business were able to live on $280 a month, about half of what they spent in their former place of residence.

Before migrating, limited opportunities for career and financial advance constituted the white's central source of stress which is not to say they were dissatisfied with other aspects of their

[9] The tight job market in the U.S. apparently has not altered this situation judging, for example, from the fact that company engineers in 1971 had no formal training.

lives. On the contrary, most regretted leaving homes, relatives, long-standing friends, and congenial life styles. The remarks of a woman hired as assistant store manager are illustrative:

> We hated to leave X. Two of our married children and our grandchildren are there, and our friends for years. And we do so love our house. It is a dream house. We saved for it for years. I hope the people who are renting it take good care of the garden. You should see our grounds.

At this point, she showed pictures of her children, grandchildren, house, garden, and grounds, then continued:

> But we couldn't seem to get ahead. Since the children are grown, we've both worked. Jim drove a truck for a cleaning establishment and I worked at Woolworth's. But neither of us could go much higher in our jobs and the money just didn't stretch far enough. We have big house payments and we're paying on a boat and trailer. And we want to do some more landscaping and buy a bigger trailer. We figure we'll stay for two years, maybe one, we'll see.

The majority of whites consider Rocky Bay an undesirable location and plan to remain for a limited period of time. Only six whites consider it their permanent home. Two are single adults: one finds enhanced opportunities for relationships with members of the opposite sex in Rocky Bay, and the other has no binding ties elsewhere and has come to think of Rocky Bay as home. A fisherman and his wife who find the Aleut people congenial and enjoy the similarity of Rocky Bay to the European fishing village in which they were born and raised also plan to remain. Then there is an older couple who initially came to Rocky Bay to build the fundamentalist mission and whose primary concern is the growth of the mission. Later, I shall discuss differences in the adaptations of these six persons and the other whites.

THE STRESS OF ENVIRONMENT

Whites emphasize three primary sources of strain stemming from the environment of a northern native village: (1) the absence of a road system, (2) the absence of a shopping center and nearly all forms of commercial entertainment, and (3) the "cabin fever" syndrome. Evening or weekend drives and vacations

in a trailer roaming the country were integral aspects of the former life styles of a majority of whites. Regardless of length of residence in the village, whites seldom adjust to the absence of a road system. There are alternatives, of course. One can explore a vast wilderness on foot, camping expeditions, and boat excursions to nearby islands. Only a few whites engage in such activities, primarily those who plan to remain permanently in the village. Other whites fail to find or even seek compensations for this felt deprivation.

The absence of a shopping center (the one market features groceries and a few sundries) and of commercial entertainment constitutes a stress for a minority, chiefly young women who have lived a short time in the village. For the majority, mail order shopping represents an interesting rather than an onerous experience. It can serve as an entry to social relations when women meet to examine and exchange catalogues. But the big excitement occurs when large mail orders arrive, casting a Christmas-like spell on the day. Similarly, lack of commercial entertainment concerns mainly the young and recent arrivals who deplore the absence of bowling alleys and television. But the majority infrequently complain about the absence of such facilities.

While nearly every white alludes to cabin fever, few consider it a serious frustration. Rocky Bay is located in the subarctic and therefore does not experience severe cold. But the winters seem dreadfully long, sometimes extending from October to June. Wind, rain, and snow storms are common. And heavy fogs frequently blanket the area. The weather station at nearby Cold Bay recorded a 20-year average of 12 clear days per year (defined as a 24-hour period with less than seven percent cloud cover).[10] During the winter months, people feel confined to their quarters and mobility to the outside is severely restricted. Mail and mail order purchases may be delayed for weeks. The supply ship may miss its monthly call. And people may have to postpone vacations from day to day sometimes stretching into weeks while awaiting the arrival of an airplane. I did not observe the operation of the

"cabin fever" syndrome in Rocky Bay because field work was conducted in the summer months. However, informants indicate that, by and large, people learn to live with these stresses. Employed persons continue to work. Children attend school. And housewives emphasize solitary creative activities — knitting, embroidery, and the production of various forms of art.

Neither cabin fever nor the other stresses imposed by the environment appear to cause maladaptation or migration. But they are indirectly related to both in that they generate an intense compensatory need for social relationships in a situation of restricted social opportunities (or so whites perceive it).

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

Whites do not come to Rocky Bay specifically to enhance their social lives. But the environmental stresses of the Aleutians, separation from relatives and long-standing friends, and residence in a culturally different place engender an intense need for friendship. Whites' most frequently mentioned complaint and the one most often associated with an interest in moving from the village is the lack of social life, friendliness, and friends. "This is a horrible place socially. Even downtown where we all work together, nobody seems to want to get together," was a typical lament.

The most plentiful source of potential friends, of course, is the Aleut community, but the majority of whites discount this source. Two factors could explain white disinterest in Aleut friends: cultural differences and white racial attitudes. Most people tend to associate with others like themselves, in this case, with others from the same culture group. But in Rocky Bay cultural similarities between whites and many Aleuts are striking.

There are, indeed, signs of cultural differences between whites and some Aleuts. The most visible signs of these differences appear in orientations to drinking, sex, work, and money. Aleut drinking may assume the form of periodic benders during which persons drink precisely to get drunk and make no effort to conceal the signs of drunkenness. The bender may last as long as

the combined capital of the party.[11] By contrast, when whites of Rocky Bay drink, they seek to appear prudent, sober, dignified, and in control of themselves at all times. The casual and open attitude toward sex among some Aleuts[12] also conflicts with white middle class *ideal* norms about sexual fidelity in marriage and secrecy in pre and extra marital sex relations. Cultural differ- ences also appear in orientations to work and money. In contrast to the white's dominant valuation of hard work, self improvement, and accumulation of material objects, some Aleuts place a higher emphasis on traditional values of cooperation and egalitarianism. These Aleuts may eschew fishing competition and may see little reason for working after earnings are sufficient to purchase needed or desired items. If they possess more money than needed, and, at times, even if they do not, they may place higher value on a period of leisure and abandon or on sharing their larder with friends in the bar than in acquiring additional cash or material objects.

But these signs of cultural differences are not necessarily characteristic. Over half of the Aleut adults do not drink exces- sively or go on benders. Many Aleuts manage money similarly to whites. Sexual fidelity appears as common as sexual promis- cuity. In fact, Rocky Bay is a highly acculturated village. Un- like some other Aleut villages, there is little evidence of traditional cultural forms such as the chief system, traditional ceremonies, the Russian Orthodox church (the Russian Orthodox church had become integral to Aleut culture), steam baths, fish camps, or subsistence hunting and fishing. Virtually all Rocky Bay Aleuts speak English, have attended American schools, and wear western clothes. About half of the Aleuts are phenotypically white. Nearly every male is a commercial fisherman; many own their vessels. Mean annual family income for Aleuts in 1971 can be estimated at $10,000, probably higher than that for any other Native village in Alaska. About half the Aleut homes are large and in excellent repair. And a small proportion of Aleuts participates in the

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[11] Berremen (1956) and Jones (1969), pp. 176-178 describe similar drink- ing patterns in other Aleut villaaes.
[12] Berremen (1953), pp. 230-236 described a similarly open and casual attitude toward sex in the more traditional Aleut village of Nikolski.

Protestant church in the village which most whites also attend. Given the propensity of individuals to seek friendships with persons similar to themselves, one could understand social separation between whites and traditional Aleuts or impoverished and alcohol-prone Aleuts. But in Rocky Bay where many Aleuts adopt similar life styles to whites, where income differences betwenn members of the two groups are not substantial, and where even color differences are obscure in many instances, a foundation for friendship exists.

It is not cultural differences between whites and some Aleuts that keep the two groups socially separate. Rather, racial biases and preconceptions cause whites to attribute negatively valued behavior to the Aleut group en masse. I am dealing with this issue in another paper. Here I want to point out that whites tend to judge Aleuts in terms of previously held beliefs about the inferiority of other racial groups. They tend to seek evidence that supports their racial preconceptions and to discount the preponderant evidence that contradicts them. If whites hear tales about three sexually promiscuous Aleut women, they tend to conclude that Aleuts en masse are sexually promiscuous. If whites see one drunken Aleut, they tend to forget the 12 quietly sober Aleuts they saw in the same day. Similarly, if a white sees one dirty Aleut home, he tends to stereotype all Aleuts as dirty. Most whites in Rocky Bay perceive Aleuts as drunkards, clannish, dirty, unambitious, improvident, non-assertive, stubborn, promiscuous, irresponsible, and lacking in respect for law and property. Clearly, whites would not seek association with people they perceive in such negative terms.

This is not to suggest that Aleuts await overtures from whites with open arms. Aleuts show a similar pattern of social avoidance of whites. They generally exclude whites from their social affairs and infrequently make social overtures to whites. But it is important to point out the difference when whites avoid Aleuts and when Aleuts exhibit similar behavior. As decision leaders and dominant members of the community, white avoidance of social relations with Aleuts is an offensive act conveying contempt. Aleut exclusion of whites is defensive and self protective based on a lifetime experience with racially prejudiced whites and resentment at white control of major community resources. Once

social separation between racial groups is set in motion, it proceeds with self-perpetuating certainty.

In sum, white adults do not anticipate and their experiences once in the village do not encourage the seeking of friendships with Aleuts. This reduces the potential source for primary group relations to 37 white adults.

One would expect a close knit group given the cultural homogeneity of these 37 persons — similarities in religion, regions of origin, nativity, class position, racial attitudes, life styles, immigrant status in the village, and especially a common need for friendship. But this is hardly the case. Interpersonal relations among whites resemble those described for socially atomized societies, characterized by isolation from one another, suspicion, hostility, contention, and the failure to develop cooperative associations beyond that of the immediate family.[13] Backbiting and gossip frequently dominate interviews and social visits. Interpersonal conflicts are widespread. Housewives may quarrel over a mix-up in the wash day schedule. (Residents of one area use a common washing facility.) Fellow workers may develop intense conflicts regarding their respective areas of jurisdiction and authority. These antagonisms may become so severe that participants refuse to speak to one another and others not directly involved in the conflict feel compelled to choose sides. An uninvolved individual may find that if he speaks to one antagonist, he looses access to the other and the other's allies. Under these conditions, individuals may succeed in finding several friends, though loyalties frequently shift, but there are few associations beyond this level other than the immediate family. The church has no membership organization that regularly supports its activities or raises funds; nearly all church funds as well as program direction come from the parent organization in the eastern United States. Cocktail parties and evening socials involving neighbors, fellow workers or fellow church participants are infrequent. Whites have neither formed conventional associations in which they formerly participated nor evolved new ones in the new setting. Other than work, the only formal secondary group relations occur

[13] See Balikci (1968); Piker (1968); Spielberg (1968); Honigmann (1968); Levy (1968).

at city council and school board meetings, but here too, inter-personal antagonisms may influence proceedings more than the issues at hand.

What produces such fractionation and splintering among a group of individuals who bemoan the restricted social life in the village and who identify it as a central source of adaption stress? Divisions based on age and stage in family life cycle have already been mentioned. The majority of adults, 27 of 37, are divided into two age groups — one between 20 and 30 and the other between 50 and 60. Clearly members of one age group may find friendships with members of the other uncomfortable or uninteresting and may not pursue them. But this would not account for widespread hostilities or the failure to develop personal relationships with members of the same age group.

Differences in drinking orientations may also affect group formation. With four exceptions, whites are evenly divided between social drinkers and teetotalers. Though the majority of whites attend the fundamentalist church, the most com-mitted members do not use alcohol. Social drinkers use alcohol in moderate amounts, usually limiting themselves to several drinks in an evening. Members of each group, the social drinkers and the teetotalers, anticipate discomfort when they consider parti-cipating in evening socials with members of the other, and con-sequently, avoid them. But again, this division could account for separation between teetotalers and social drinkers, but not for contention, the failure to develop group associations, or the failure to form ties with those having similar orientations to drinking.

There are also residential divisions among Rocky Bay whites. Eight white families live in the downtown section near company facilities, another nine live in the hill section overlooking native residential sections, and four families live in native sections. But these residential separations would not seem to explain the isolation of whites from one another. It is only a short walk from the down-town section to other areas of white residence. Most people in Rocky Bay make this trek daily or more often.

If divisions based on age, residence, and drinking orientations fail to explain the socially atomized relations in Rocky Bay's other-wise homogeneous white group, then what does?

WORK RELATIONS

While whites are initially attracted to Rocky Bay for financial and career gain, there are few opportunities for further advance within the village. The company is virtually the only employment source and its hierarchy has only a few slots. Above the level of manual workers, there is only a superintendent, assistant superintendent, two store managers, two assistant store managers, a bookkeeper, a radio operator-secretary, three foremen, and three engineers. The advance of a member at any of these levels depends not only on talent per se but on job turn-over, that is, for one to move up the ladder a superior must leave or be terminated. Consequently members at each level operate under the two-pronged tension of limited opportunities to move up in the hierarchy, and insecurity stemming from the threat that others at lower levels will replace them. Antagonisms and conflicts are intrinsic to this situation.

Crozier, in an analysis of the relations between groups in a bureaucracy, pointed out that each group, to enhance its power in the organization, struggled to enlarge the area upon which it has some discretion and to limit its dependence on other groups, accepting such dependence only when it proved a safeguard against another and more feared one[14]. While Crozier's analysis referred to larger organizational units than the Rocky Bay company, the power relations he described appear to underlie most of the work-related interpersonal disputes among Rocky Bay whites, and even some that occur outside the work setting.

The relations between the company store managers and assistants are illustrative. In the course of about eight months, the store managers developed antagonistic relations with five assistant managers, culminating in the termination of all five. Incessant conflicts erupted over seemingly trivial matters that participants and others attributed to personality clashes. Protagonists were charged with being perfectionistic, overly demanding, dominating, resistant to authority, and so forth. But the underlying factor appears to be managers' fears of being replaced. This is

[14] Crozier (1964), p. 56.

suggested by their refusal to grant any decision prerogatives to assistant managers, thereby masking whatever talents the assistants might possess. The assistants, apparently eager to demonstrate their competencies, became rebellious and sought support from customers and others. At that point, managers apparently tried to provoke their resignations by subjecting them to incessant criticisms and public rebukes.

The store managers' power is enhanced by the company superintendent's dependence on them. The superintendent, of course, is in the top occupational slot in the village so his competitive field lies outside the village, with counterparts in other company branches. The Rocky Bay superintendent has an advantage over some of his competitors. He operates ancillary enterprises which, if they show profit, can reduce his overhead costs below those of competitors. Therefore, he supports the store managers in nearly any act so long as they continue to increase store profits. This is his primary interest, not the effects of a tight credit policy and high prices, and not the bitter intra-organizational disputes managers' policies and behavior provoke.

When highly mobile people compete for a limited number of jobs within the village, antagonisms and rifts are bound to develop. These conflicts transcend the protagonists and draw in other persons whose occupational interests are indirectly involved. One's neighbor's or fellow worker's advancement may prevent his, and their failures may enhance his. Therefore, spectators to disputes may become intensely involved in who wins or loses a round, and may try to influence the outcome for their future prospects may rest on it.

Clearly, a situation of limited opportunities for advancement in the village among mobile, ambitious people creates an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust that discourages close interpersonal relations. Rather, it produces the social atomism described above.

SOCIAL ADAPTATIONS

Given certain hardships stemming from the environment of a northern native village, isolation from relatives and long-stand-

ing friends, atomized and tension-producing social relationships, and fierce competition in work relations, how do these persons adjust? Are they mentally ill or malfunctioning? On the contrary, Rocky Bay whites show no sign of mental breakdown or inability to perform essential social roles. In work, they are reliable, competent employees and earn more than the average U.S. resident. In family relations, their marriages remain intact — roughly 80 percent of adults have never been separated or divorced. Their children show no signs of neglect, disturbance, or malfunctioning. And women are either economically productive or engage in creative activities in the home. Moreover, these whites assume civic responsibilities. What accounts for the discrepancy between the intensely frustrating conditions of their work and other social relationships and their effective functioning in terms of economic, family, and community responsibilities?

The central reason: they view their residence in Rocky Bay as a brief interlude, a stopping off place, one of the necessary hurdles to attain more ultimate goals. To the upwardly mobile white who came to Rocky Bay to further his career, loneliness, boredom, isolation, antagonistic social relations, and demeaning work relations represent but a pause in a life for which he has more gratifying dreams.

Rocky Bay whites dull the pain of contemporary frustrations and deprivations not only by dreams but by rooting their psyches outside the village. The conversation of nearly every adult centers around parents, adult children, grandchildren, long-standing friends, the house they hope to pay off in Seattle, the trailer and boat they plan to purchase after putting in their Rocky Bay time, and the vacations they plan when their bank accounts mount. While living in Rocky Bay, the white's primary attachment is to the past, ties to the outside, and future rewards.

As mentioned earlier, there are exceptions to this modal adaptation — the six whites who consider Rocky Bay their permanent habitation. These individuals have lived in the village far longer than others: a mean residence of ten years compared to 3.5 for the white population at large. They have learned to exploit the environment and enjoy hiking, beach combing, boat trips to nearby islands, and the challenge of mastering physical hard-

ship. Most in this group have developed new interests in Rocky Bay such as photography, boating, and research into the history of the area. Three of the six have native friends and the other three appear to have substituted civic activities, e.g., church and council, for primary group relationships. The adaptations of these six persons represent a direct response to the immediate environment. They abandoned some of their former ways of living and evolved new ones appropriate to a northern native village. By contrast, the majority of whites, on finding former standards and models of living inapplicable, do not try to modify them but simply reject the village. Their adjustments are successful not in terms of a creative response to a new environment, but in terms of forebearance and staying power while they put in their Rocky Bay time.

SUMMARY

We have described a group of assertively mobile whites who possess limited skills for mobility in dominant society terms of training and credentials. Thus they seek opportunities for financial and career gain in out-of-the-way places such as the remote Aleut village of Rocky Bay. A harsh physical environment, the absence of most forms of commercial entertainment, and isolation from relatives and long-standing friends produce a strong need for social affiliation and friendship which is frustrated in the village. White racist attitudes preclude the formation of bonds with Aleuts despite life style and value similarities between whites and a substantial proportion of Aleuts. And fierce competition in the economic arena, stemming from limited opportunities for continuing advancement within the village, prevents the formation of cooperative alliances and close interpersonal relations with members of their own group. Despite these stresses, Rocky Bay whites adapt rather well in terms of performing essential social roles as breadwinners and family members and in assuming civic responsibilities. Their adaptations reflect not a response to the environment or people of the village but to their view of Rocky Bay as a way station leading to future rewards. Therefore, they can tolerate their short stay in Rocky Bay, neutralizing frustrations by focusing on ties to the outside and dreams of the future.

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Une enquête socio-démographique auprès des Indiens de la Baie James: 1968

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SUMMARY

In this paper, a socio-demographic study of the Indian population of the James Bay area is presented. In the summer of 1968, the authors conducted a survey in six Northern communities: Attawapiskat, Fort Albany, Moosonee, Fort George, Fort Rupert, and Moose Factory. The methodology is explained and the characteristics of the population interviewed are given. Finally, relevant hypotheses based on preliminary findings are discussed.

INTRODUCTION

La population indienne de la Baie James fait maintenant les manchettes des journaux canadiens à la suite du dévoilement des projets de la Baie par le gouvernement québécois. En 1968, alors que cette population était encore presque totalement ignorée du point de vue démographique, une équipe dirigée par A. Romaniuk[1] a effectué une enquête socio-démographique auprès de cette population. Les Indiens de cette région offrent un double intérêt pour les

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[1] Cette équipe comprenait à l'origine Robert Chénier, Francine Croteau, Victor Piché, tous étudiants à l'Université d'Ottawa.

démographes: d'abord, isolé géographiquement, ce groupe d'Indiens a été moins affecté par les influences étrangères et vit encore dans un milieu écologique naturel. Ensuite, cette population représente un cas de plus en plus rare où la fécondité est demeurée du moins jusqu'à tout récemment une fécondité naturelle, c'est-à-dire non affectée par des méthodes modernes de contrôle des naissances. Il est donc intéressant du point de vue démographique d'étudier une population qui offre autant de particularités écologiques, géographiques et culturelles. Il va sans dire qu'une telle connaissance s'avère essentielle du simple point de vue du développement économique étant donné les nombreux projets gouvernementaux qui viendront transformer la matrice sociale et économique de la population de la Baie James.

La première partie de cette communication présente l'enquête socio-démographique surtout du point de vue méthodologique: le questionnaire, l'interview, l'échantillon des villages et enfin la population enquêtée. La deuxième partie traite des recherches présentement en cours à partir des données recueillies notamment sur la fécondité, la migration et la situation et les perspectives démographiques de la population de cette région.

I — L'ENQUÊTE

A. Questionnaire

Le questionnaire utilisé comprend cinq points majeurs couvrant les caractéristiques fondamentales de la démographie des Indiens de cette région.

(1) *Composition du ménage:* Cette section du questionnaire touche les données individuelles fondamentales de chaque membre du ménage, qu'il soit absent temporairement, résidant régulier ou résident temporaire. Une personne absente temporairement est simplement définie comme une personne faisant partie du ménage mais absente de sa résidence habituelle au moment de l'enquête. Une personne résidente temporairement est une personne présente dans la maison au moment de l'enquête mais qui provient d'un autre village. L'introduction de la variable "statut résidentiel" per-

met de recueillir des données vitales sur la migration, par exemple, aux résidents réguliers (ou habituels), on demande combien de temps ils ont vécu dans le village et quelle était leur résidence habituelle. Pour les temporairement absents, on demande combien de temps ils sont et seront partis, la raison de leur absence et l'endroit où ils vivent présentement. Enfin, aux résidents temporaires, on enquête sur la durée de leur séjour, la raison de leur visite et l'endroit où ils vivent habituellement.

Les autres questions concernent l'âge et le sexe des individus, leur "parenté" avec le chef de famille, la date de naissance et le statut marital.

(2) *Fécondité:* la section sur la fécondité est divisée en trois et ne concerne que les femmes âgées de 14 ans et plus, de tout état matrimonial. Premièrement, il s'agit des questions d'ordre socio-économique: religion, éducation de la femme et de son époux, l'occupation et le revenu de son époux. De plus, certaines questions déjà posées dans la section précédente sont répétées pour fins de vérification. Deuxièmement, toutes les grossesses sont enregistrées à partir de la première jusqu'à la dernière. L'histoire des grossesses comprend une série de questions sur chacune d'elle: date de l'accouchement; résultat de l'accouchement (né vivant, mort-né, fausse couche ou avortement); où l'accouchement a eu lieu; qui a assisté la mère à l'accouchement (médecin, etc.); est-il encore vivant; sinon, date du décès; si l'accouchement s'est terminé par une fausse couche, mort-né ou avortement, à quel mois la femme a-t-elle perdu son bébé. Troisièmement, plusieurs questions sont posées sur les attitudes et la pratique de la planification familiale, de même que sur l'allaitement et les tabous sexuels.

(3) *Histoire matrimoniale:* pour chaque individu marié et membre du ménage, on retrace l'histoire matrimoniale. Pour chaque état matrimonial ou mariage, on demande: la durée du statut matrimonial; le type d'union conjugale; comment s'est terminée cette union; et l'âge du mari. De plus, certaines questions touchent l'âge idéal au mariage et les opinions sexuelles pré-maritales.

L'histoire des grossesses combinée avec l'histoire matrimoniale permet i) d'analyser les facteurs de la fécondité dans une perspective longitudinale, ii) d'introduire les variables intermédiaires

de la fécondité (Davis & Blake, 1956) et iii) d'utiliser une tech-
nique d'analyse plus dynamique que celle conventionnelle des
taux de fécondité. En effet, grâce aux données sur les intervalles
intergénésiques, il est possible de construire des modèles de proba-
bilité d'agrandissement de la famille et même éventuellement des
tables de vie fertile (Bourgeois-Pichat, 1965; Hoem, 1970; Pool
& Wright, 1971). Des modèles similaires sont également possibles
pour la vie conjugale (Laing & Krishnen, 1971).

(4) *Migration:* ici également, c'est dans une perspective
dynamique que les données sur la migration sont recueillies. En
fait, c'est toute l'histoire migratrice des hommes dont il est ques-
tion ici. Pour chaque différent lieu de résidence (commençant avec
la résidence actuelle et remontant dans le passé) on demande: la
durée dans la résidence actuelle; les motifs du déménagement, et
le type de migration (individuelle ou familiale). De plus, il a paru
intéressant de demander aux hommes enquêtés d'énumérer (i) tous
les voyages faits en dehors de la Baie James au courant des cinq
dernières années et les raisons de ces déplacements et (ii) tous
les voyages effectués à l'intérieur de la Baie James durant les 12
derniers mois de même que les raisons de ces déplacements. Aussi,
étant donné l'importance des programmes d'éducation du gouver-
nement fédéral sur la migration des jeunes étudiants, on a enquêté
sur l'âge, le sexe et l'endroit de l'école de chaque enfant fréquen-
tant une école à l'extérieur du village. Enfin, une dernière ques-
tion extrêmement importante a été inclue: "si vous en aviez la
chance, quitteriez-vous la Baie James pour aller vivre dans une
ville: si oui, où iriez-vous et pourquoi; si non, pourquoi préférez-
vous vivre ici". Cette question pourrait s'avérer révélatrice dans
le contexte actuel du développement de la Baie James et de l'effet
que cela pourrait avoir sur les Indiens de la région.

Comme pour la fécondité et la vie conjugale, le caractère
rétrospectif des données sur la migration se prête bien à une
analyse probabilistique à l'aide de modèles stochastiques (McGin-
nis, 1968).

(5) *Mortalité:* une seule question constitue la section du
questionnaire sur la mortalité. Il s'agit de recueillir le nombre de
décès survenus durant les 12 mois précédant l'enquête et pour

chaque décès, le sexe, la date de naissance, la date du décès et
où le décès a eu lieu. De plus, la mesure et l'analyse de la mor-
talité peut être abordée indirectement à partir des décès parmi les
enfants mis au monde par les femmes à divers âges. Cette tech-
nique récente de la "survie des enfants" a déjà montré que les
données rétrospectives sont d'une grande utilité pour mesurer la
mortalité (Brass et al. 1968; Harrington, 1971).

B. *Interviews*

Les interviews ont eu lieu dans la langue "Cree" avec l'aide
d'interprètes choisis sur place. La formation des interprètes com-
prenait d'abord une explication très détaillée de l'enquête et de la
signification exacte de tous les mots de chaque question. Ensuite,
le questionnaire était traduit en langue Cree, traduction qui était
contrôlée par une série de tests. Par exemple, on indiquait à un
interprète une question quelconque qu'il devait traduire en Cree
et un deuxième interprète devait la re-traduire en anglais. De cette
façon, l'interprétation exacte des termes employés était assurée.

Il fallait ensuite contacter les autorités du village afin d'obtenir
la permission d'interviewer la population. A cette fin, un enquêteur
se rendait avec son interprète chez le chef du village pour (i) lui
expliquer les buts de l'enquête; (ii) demander son autorisation;
et (iii) procéder à un premier interview dans sa propre résidence.
Une fois le projet accepté, le chef avertissait ses conseillers les-
quels transmettaient la décision au reste de la population. Et alors,
chaque demeure était visitée (voir section sur l'échantillonnage).
Afin de faciliter la tâche des interprètes, i.e. de les habituer à se
présenter dans les maisons et de pratiquer la traduction, la décision
fut prise d'interviewer en premier lieu les membres de la famille
des interprètes.

Un interview-type pouvait se dérouler comme suit: d'abord,
on s'adressait le plus souvent à la femme du foyer, la plupart des
hommes étant absents au travail ou ailleurs. On commençait par
recueillir les données fondamentales sur la composition du ménage;
i.e. concernant tous les membres de la maison qu'ils soient rési-
dents réguliers, résidents temporaires ou absents temporaires. Cette
cédule nous permettait alors de déterminer tous ceux qui devaient

être interviewés subséquemment dans la maison. Ainsi, pour la section "fécondité", toutes les femmes âgées de 14 ans et plus étaient interrogées directement; ce n'est pas la femme du ménage qui répondait pour elles. En fait, une fois la première section terminée, le rôle de la femme du ménage comme informatrice l'était également. La troisième section sur l'histoire matrimoniale s'adressait à toutes les femmes âgées de 14 ans et plus de même qu'aux hommes de 15 ans et plus. Les questions sur la migration étaient adressées uniquement aux hommes de 15 ans et plus. Enfin, la section sur la mortalité était adressée à un membre de la famille, habituellement l'homme ou la femme du ménage.

L'on peut s'interroger sur le rapport interprète-enquêté, et donc sur la validité des réponses. Plusieurs "checks" étaient prévus pour minimiser les biais: (1) étant donné la nature de l'enquête, il était possible de vérifier chaque donnée du point de vue de la logique interne soit en comparant l'histoire reproductrice d'une femme avec son histoire matrimoniale, soit en examinant les intervalles entre les naissances. Pour les questions d'opinions, cependant, ce "check" devient extrêmement difficile. (2) La critique des données à l'aide de sources externes était également possible. (3) Le choix et la formation des interprètes étaient très sévères. (4) De plus, on peut inclure le fait que plusieurs Indiens ont collaboré à l'enquête ce qui donnait confiance aux personnes interviewées.

Une illustration montrera comment sans cette collaboration les réponses auraient pu être nulles. Dans un des villages enquêtés, un des interprètes choisis exhortait les gens de ne pas répondre aux questions et comme le tout se passait en langue Cree l'enquêteur ignorait ce qui lui arrivait soudainement. En effet, plusieurs personnes refusaient catégoriquement de répondre. Devant ce nombre anormal de refus, les enquêteurs ont soupçonné quelque chose d'étrange. Effectivement grâce à l'aide de certaines personnes (dont le chef lui-même) on apprit que l'interprète en question semait toutes sortes de rumeurs à notre sujet. Finalement, après de nombreuses démarches auprès de la population par le Conseil Indien et les missionnaires, l'enquête put se terminer avec un grand succès. Cette anecdote banale en soi montre comment un simple petit fait peut mettre en jeu toute une enquête.

C. Echantillonnage (des villages indiens)

Etant donné que l'étude portait sur une région bien spécifique, celle de la Baie James, trois villages indiens ont été choisis de chaque côté de la Baie. Du côté ouest (Ontario), Moosonee s'imposait en tout premier lieu. Ce village peut être considéré comme la véritable métropole de cette région. Il est impensable d'enquêter sur cette région en ignorant Moosonee: c'est le centre nerveux des activités de la région. Ensuite en se dirigeant vers le Nord, trois villages contiennent le gros de la population indienne: Fort Albany, Attawapiskat et Winisk. Pour des raisons d'ordre financier, de temps et de transport, Winisk a été éliminé.

Du côté ouest également, Moose Factory devait être choisi tant en raison de sa population nombreuse que pour l'importance due à l'hôpital gouvernemental et aux bureaux du Ministère des affaires indiennes qui y sont installés.

Quant à l'est (Québec), quatre villages se situent le long de la Baie: Fort Rupert, East Main, Paint Hills et Fort George. Fort George et Fort Rupert ont été choisis parce qu'ils représentent les populations les plus nombreuses.

Donc, deux critères surtout sont à la base du choix des villages: un critère numérique et un critère géographique. Comme il fallait enquêter le plus grand nombre d'individus possibles, les villages aux populations les plus importantes ont été choisis. En plus, il fallait enquêter des deux côtés de la Baie. Il est possible de se baser sur ces critères puisque la population enquêtée offre une très forte homogénéité, surtout du point de vue démographique: il s'agit d'Indiens vivant presque tous dans les mêmes conditions écologiques, économiques et sociales.

A l'intérieur de chaque village, les enquêteurs frappaient à toutes les portes. Puis, dépendant de la section du questionnaire, différents individus étaient interviewés (voir section sur les interviews). Evidemment, les chercheurs devaient s'attendre à des refus tant au niveau de toute la maison (refus de laisser les enquêteurs entrer) qu'au niveau de certains individus à l'intérieur de la maison. De plus, le pourcentage de refus pouvait varier d'un village à l'autre. Faisons donc le bilan et, en même temps, il sera possible de déterminer l'étendue finale de l'échantillonnage et, partant, de la validité ou représentativité.

D. *Population totale enquêtée (recensée)*

Le tableau I récapitule les statistiques pour tous les villages visités.

TABLEAU 1

Population totale enquêtée par sexe et village

Village	Homme	Femme	Total
Moosonee	263	244	507
Moose Factory	287	259	546
Fort Albany	151	132	283
Attawapiskat	187	151	338
Fort Rupert	198	184	382
Fort George	318	304	622
Total	1404	1274	2678

Ces chiffres expriment le nombre de personnes au sujet desquelles certaines informations ont été recueillies dans la première partie du questionnaire (composition du ménage). En tout, 2678 personnes ont été enquêtées.

Dans chaque village, un certain nombre de foyers ont été rejoints alors que d'autres ont refusé de participer à l'enquête (Tableau 2).

TABLEAU 2

Foyers visités et pourcentage de refus, par village

Village	Nombre de foyers visités	Interviews (en %)	Non-Int. (en %)
Moosonee	97	69.1	30.9
Moose Factory	103	76.7	23.3
Fort Albany	56	78.6	21.4
Attawapiskat	81	75.3	24.7
Fort Rupert	63	73.0	27.0
Fort George	74	77.0	23.0
Total	474	74.5	25.5

Diverses raisons expliquent les refus:

1. Maisons fermées soit pour la saison, soit au moment où les interviewers étaient sur les lieux;

2. personnes sourdes, muettes, etc.;

3. personnes trop vieilles;

4. personnes malades (mentales et autres);

5. refus pur et simple.

Dans l'ensemble, 74.5% des foyers ont accepté de répondre aux questions. Cependant si l'on élimine les foyers où il s'est avéré inutile de procéder à des interviews (personnes déficientes mentalement, personnes absentes, etc.), le pourcentage des refus "pur et simple" est bas, ce qui est encourageant, compte tenu du fait que cette population était déjà "saturée" et donc hostile à notre enquête, comme c'est de plus en plus le cas d'ailleurs pour la recherche en général au Canada (Burch, 1972).

II — RECHERCHES PRESENTEMENT EN COURS

De ce qui précède il apparaît que l'enquête a permis de réunir une quantité considérable de données socio-démographiques pour entreprendre des recherches approfondies de la population de cette région. Pour le moment, les auteurs préparent deux études spécifiques, l'une sur la fécondité et l'autre sur la migration, et une étude générale de la situation et les perspectives démographiques de la population de la Baie James. Ce qui suit est une brève présentation de ce programme de recherche.

A. *Fécondité*

Cette étude présente un double intérêt. D'abord, ainsi que l'enquête a permis de relever, les pratiques de limitation volontaire des naissances sont peu fréquentes chez cette population. En conséquence, on a affaire ici à une fécondité que l'on peut appeler "naturelle" et il serait intéressant de connaître quels en sont les facteurs déterminants tant biologiques que socio-culturels. Nous avons en effet ici un cas particulier dont l'étude pourrait jeter des lumières sur les comportements procréateurs des populations ne pratiquant pas les limitations volontaires des naissances. Nous comptons surtout analyser les intervalles inter-génésiques pour lesquelles l'enquête offre des données détaillées.

Bien que cette population ne pratique pas la limitation des naissances d'une manière systématique, on est néanmoins frappé de constater que le taux de natalité chez cette population comme d'ailleurs en général chez les Indiens du Canada n'est pas aussi fort que les taux observés dans beaucoup de pays en voie de développement. Ce taux pour les Indiens du Canada se situe approximativement de 45 à 50 naissances pour mille habitants (Romaniuk & Piché, 1971) alors qu'il approchait autrefois chez les Canadiens français, comme chez beaucoup de populations en Afrique, des niveaux aussi élevés que 55 et même 60 pour mille (Henripin, 1954). Il importerait d'étudier quelles sont les particularités dans les comportements procréateurs des Indiens pour expliquer ce paradoxe apparent, ce qui sera possible grâce aux données de l'enquête. D'une part, les données provisoires révèlent que le mariage y est quasi universel et qu'à peine 4% des femmes restent définitivement célibataires. On est également frappé par la grande stabilité des mariages: le divorce est en effet extrêmement rare. Les incidences de la stérilité sont aussi très faibles puisque seulement environ 3% des femmes n'ont donné naissance à aucun enfant. Enfin, l'assistance gouvernementale qui est en fonction de la taille des familles devrait inciter les couples indiens à avoir une progéniture aussi nombreuse que possible. A en juger par les intervalles intergénésiques particulièrement courtes chez cette population (selon les calculs préliminaires, l'intervalle moyen entre les naissances vivantes successives serait de 25 mois) on pourrait en effet s'attendre à une très forte progéniture. En fait, ce n'est pas le cas. Bien sûr leur natalité est beaucoup plus forte que celle de la population canadienne en général, mais elle n'est pas comparable aux anciennes populations canadiennes-françaises ni aux populations Africaines peu affectées par la stérilité (Romaniuk, 1968).

D'autre part, on est frappé par l'âge moyen relativement tardif auquel la femme indienne contracte le mariage (22.7) et l'âge moyen à la naissance de son premier enfant (21.9). Il est intéressant de constater qu'elle termine sa vie procréatrice relativement tôt puisque l'âge moyen à la dernière naissance est seulement de 38.7. C'est dire que la vie moyenne reproductive de la femme indienne est relativement courte, soit de 16.6 ans. Ceci peut donc expliquer une progéniture moins nombreuse que celle à laquelle

on pourrait s'attendre compte tenu du fait que nous sommes en présence d'une population à fécondité naturelle.

Ces problèmes et d'autres font l'objet en ce moment d'une étude systématique.

B.   *Migration*

Les mouvements de population représentent un aspect majeur dans le changement démographique et écologique. En fait, la migration est souvent un symptôme important du changement social puisqu'elle affecte à la fois les milieux qui reçoivent les migrants et les milieux qui les fournissent. Dans la Baie James, cette variable devient capitale étant donné son lien direct avec le développement économique. Les données provisoires suggèrent au moins deux tendances significatives: (1) La migration interne qui indique le mouvement de la population à l'intérieur de la Baie James montre que certains villages (v.g. Attawapiskat et Fort Rupert) sont en train de se vider littéralement alors que d'autres reçoivent une population pour laquelle les emplois font défaut (v.g. Moosonee). (2) La direction de la migration se fait du nord au sud; il n'existe aucun mouvement est-ouest ou ouest-est.

Par ailleurs, plusieurs autres hypothèses méritent d'être vérifiées: (1) Certains villages qui sont géographiquement plus rapprochés des centres urbains de l'Ontario et du Québec (v.g. Moosonee et Moose Factory) sont des tremplins de migration externe (i.e. en dehors de la Baie James). (2) Il y a une sélectivité de la migration en fonction de l'âge et du sexe. (3) Les motifs économiques sont à la base de la plupart des mouvements migratoires tant internes qu'externes. (4) La migration scolaire (i.e. des jeunes qui fréquentent une école en dehors de la Baie, comme c'est le cas d'ailleurs de la plupart des jeunes Indiens) est une migration permanente. En effet, ces jeunes ne peuvent trouver un emploi à la mesure de leur qualification qu'en dehors de la Baie James. Bref, voilà une série d'hypothèses qui méritent l'attention tant pour leur intérêt sociologique et démographique que pour leur portée économique.

Ce programme de recherche sera couronné par une étude d'ensemble de la situation et des perspectives démographiques

dans le contexte des transformations économiques et sociales qui sont en cours dans la région.

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Aspects of Religion
in Southern Baluchistan

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RÉSUMÉ

Dans le monde musulman, des croyances et des pratiques religieuses locales cœxistent avec l'orthodoxie islamique. Cet article analyse certains aspects de l'interaction entre une "grande" et une "petite" tradition de cette sorte en la région de Makran du Baluchistan du sud, ou Pakistan de l'ouest. On y décrit la secte (prophétique) *mahdiste* du Zikrism, des mystiques religieuses variées et un exemple de culte d'un saint. Les caractéristiques de la religion Makrani sont vues comme le résultat de certains événements historiques particuliers, comme des adaptations fonctionnelles, au style de vie pastoral et nomade d'une grande partie de la population, et, plus généralement, comme une illustration de l'hétérodoxie religieuse rencontrée à l'intérieur de l'Islam.

INTRODUCTION

It is generally recognized that the codes and prescriptions of the world's orthodox or "great" religious traditions may co-exist and interact with diverse local beliefs and practices or "little" traditions. Ideally, neither dimension can be fully understood without a consideration of the other. Westermarck (1914) and more recently Von Grunebaum (1955), among others, have emphasized this heterodoxy in Middle Eastern Islam. To further illustrate this feature of the Muslim world, the present paper describes aspects of religion among a little known people enclaved in a setting of Islamic orthodoxy — the Baluchi speakers of

Makran District, southern Baluchistan, Pakistan. An attempt is made to relate selected features of Makrani religious life to local cultural and historical contexts as well as to more generally Islamic phenomena.

GENERAL

Makran is an arid tract of deserts and mountains, 23,000 square miles in size with a population of approximately 150,000. Bounded on the south by the Arabian Sea, on the east by the rugged peaks of the Jhalawan region, on the north by the desert of Kharan and on the west by Iranian Baluchistan, Makran is one of the largest, least populated areas in all of Pakistan. Baluchi, an Iranian tongue, is the primary language and *lingua franca*, while smaller numbers of people also speak Brahui — a Dravidian language — or Jadgali — a Sindi derivative. Intensive irrigation agriculture, based on the utilization of sub-surface water, supports substantial sedentary populations in the valleys of the Rakshan and Ketch rivers — northern and central Makran respectively. In these areas emphasis is on date palm cultivation, while the dry and barren hinterland supports a scattered population on combinations of pastoralism and rainfall-based cereal cultivation.

Makran frequently has encountered external powers, from Alexander's Macedonians, through the medieval Arabs and the eighteenth and nineteenth century Brahui Khans of Kalat, to the British and Pakistanis. However, until the early twentieth century the rigorous environment prevented effective rule by outsiders, and local authority was vested in indigenous elites known as *hakim*, the most notable of whom are the Gitchkis, a powerful lineage claiming descent from an immigrant Sikh or Rajput. From the ranks of the Gitchkis came the *sardar* or paramount chiefs of Makran who were based in the populous irrigated tracts of Panjgur in the Rakshan river valley and Ketch in central Makran. The *hakim* stood at the apex of a stratified social order whose middle range was made up of various named tribes of *Baluch* agriculturalists and nomads, while a lower stratum was composed of negroid slaves and menials known as *hizmatkar*.

The British policy of indirect rule in Baluchistan — the so-called "Forward Policy" pioneered by Sir Robert Sandeman in the late 1800's — coupled with a stark and forbidding terrain, served to keep Makran relatively more isolated from outside influences than were most other areas of south Asia. While recent Pakistani administrations have attempted to play an increasingly pervasive role in the area, many aspects of traditional political organization survive. In the context of the present paper, the same holds true for traditional beliefs, customs and attendant social organizational forms. In the religious sphere, while the majority of Makranis are Sunni Muslim (*nemazi*) and under the jurisdiction of orthodox clergy (*mullah and qazi*), extra-establishment or non-establishment forms of worship and religious leaders continue to be significant.

ZIKRISM

During the seventeenth century, the non-orthodox sect of Zikrism became important to the political and religious history of Makran. The Zikris were followers of a sect founded in the fifteenth century by Said Mahmoud of Jaunpur, a *Mahdi* — or Islamic messiah — who travelled extensively and drew many converts in the northwestern sector of the subcontinent. Tradition states that he came to Ketch, near the present town of Turbat in central Makran, preaching for ten years and converting the entire populace before his death in the early 1500's. However, it is more likely that the faith was brought to Makran by a number of the disciples of the *Mahdi* and not by the *Madhi* himself (Field 1959:60).

Although the Zikris call themselves Muslims, orthodox Sunnis regard them as idolotrous, superstitious, and cut off from the mainstream of orthodoxy. Indeed, many Sunnis characterize the Zikris in their midst as *Kafir* or infidels. Zikris believe that the authority of the Prophet has been superseded by the *Mahdi* and normal orthodox prayer forms have been substituted by *zikr*, their own version of daily prayer ritual. Ramadan, the month of daily fasting which constitutes one of the pillars of universal Islam, is

not observed by the Zikris. On these and other grounds, the doctrines of Islam and Zikrism are opposed.

Near Turbat in central Makran, the mount of *Koh i murad,* the supposed home of the original *Mahdi,* remains as a place of pilgrimage or *hajj* for the Zikris. The annual pilgrimage to *Koh i murad* takes place at the end of the Muslim *ramadan* when Zikris from as far as Karachi (where many Makranis migrate for work) gather on a plain about five miles southeast of Turbat at the base of the holy mountain. There is a small village nearby which is inhabited throughout the year by a few Zikri families who are in charge of maintaining the place of worship. The primary holy area (*kaaba*) for worshippers consists of a large plateau, about one half mile on a side, and a steep hillock overlooking a small dry basin which fills with water only during the sporadic and meagre rainfalls typical of Makran. This entire area is surrounded by a low wall of loose stones. Orthodox Muslims are not permitted beyond this wall and Zikris must remove their footwear once they enter its environs.

While the annual *hajj* is the focus of Zikri public ritual, and the occasion for the massing of thousands of followers encamped near the spot of pilgrimage, there is a resident community of spiritual leaders in Turbat responsible for the collection of dues, largely in the form of sheep and goats since most Zikris are pastoral nomads.

The historical connection between the rise of Zikrism and political events in Makran is clear. The establishment of the sect is linked to the rise in power of an indigenous Makrani tribe, the Buledis. By the mid-eighteenth century, the Buledi ruler of Ketch district had quit the Zikri faith, but was supplanted in political dominance by the spiritual leaders of the Zikris, Mullah Murad and his son Malik Dinar Gitchki who incited a revolt and wrested the main fort of Ketch from the Buledis. Subsequently, they became established as supreme authority in two other major centers of Makran, Panjur and Tump (Ross 1868:41).

While they maintained a political base of some strength, including the ability to call men to arms and collect revenue, independent rule by the Gitchkis was shortlived. In the last half of

the eighteenth century they were subjected to the force of the Brahui Ahmedzai Khans of Kalat from eastern Baluchistan. From that point until the emergence of the nation of Pakistan following the partition of the subcontinent, the political history of Makran was dominated by the Khans of Kalat and the indigenous Gitchkis, with the vacillations of power between the two set off by the intervention of the British who signed a number of treaties with Kalat beginning in the mid-nineteenth century.

Important changes in the religious affiliation of the Makrani populace took place at the time of Brahui interference. Under Nasir Khan of Kalat who first threatened Gitchki hegemony, the son of Malik Dinar Gitchki was reconverted from Zikrism, until then the dominant faith in the area, to Sunni Islam. This change in religious allegiance was spread to large sectors of the population until Zikrism found itself in its present low estate.

This situation can be contrasted with events elsewhere in Baluchistan. Salzman (1972), describing the history of Iranian government contact with the warlike Baluch tribes of the Sarhad plateau of Persian Baluchistan, notes that with the early twentieth century establishment of government control over the tribes the Baluch intensified their devotion to Sunni Islam as a means of retaining their cultural identity vis-a-vis the newly dominant Shia Persians. In the case of Makran, the conversion of the populace to Sunni Islam and the decline of Zikrism occurred for different reasons. Whereas in Iran religion became a means whereby the Baluch could continue to set themselves off from their Shia rulers, the indigenous Gitchki elites of Makran, in contrast, wished to curry favor with the ascendent Khan of Kalat, Nasir Khan, who, as a fanatical Muslim, viewed his campaign against the then Zikri Makranis as nothing less than a jihad, or holy war, against infidels. By converting to Sunni Islam and forcing their followers to do likewise, the Gitchkis of Makran managed to remain enough in the good graces of the Khan and his successors to retain a high degree of local autonomy. That is, religion was a means of assimilation into the dominant power structure, not differentiation from it as in Iran. And so Zikrism — a uniquely Baluch religion — never achieved an ethnically unifying stature.

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In spite of its political vicissitudes, the Zikri faith today still retains a practicing body of followers, principally among the nomads in the desolate mountains of southeastern Makran.

The cultural as well as religious status of Zikrism is often considered "backward" from the viewpoint of sedentarizing and modernizing forces; for if the Zikris are looked down upon by villagers who consider themselves in the mainstream of orthodoxy, then their often nomadic existence is equally denigrated by those adhering to a sedentary way of life. *Pahwal,* the villagers' terms for all nomads, Sunni or Zikri, is a contemptuous one, with connotations similar to "hillbilly".

The survival of Zikrism among the nomads of Makran is consistent with data elsewhere in the Islamic world where the nomads' mobile way of life is particularly conducive to religious heterodoxy or laxity, due to their relative removal from the sedentary population centers which otherwise would subject them to pressures to conform to more orthodox forms of worship (through social opprobrium and the presence of orthodox clergy).

Along these lines, Thesiger (1959:230) notes that the *Ikhwan* brotherhood of the puritanical Wahhabi sect in nineteenth century Arabia was eager to sedentarize the nomadic Bedouin clans since their migratory way of life was viewed as incompatible with the spiritual supervision required by the austere and strict Wahhabi doctrines. Similarly, in describing the Basseri nomads of southern Iran, Barth (1961) notes a pronounced *de facto* lack of formal religious or ritual observance despite nominal allegiance to the Shia great tradition. Further, Evans-Pritchard, discussing the rise of the Sanusi religious brotherhood in Cyrenaica (1949:69-70) notes that among oasis dwellers the religious role of the Sanusi *marabtin* or saints was far more pronounced than it was among the hinterland Bedouin tribes. The latter, although providing the bulk of the membership of the Sanusi order, perceived the movement and its head in a primarily secular light — as a leadership nexus uniting otherwise fractionalized nomad clans against common enemy invaders, such as the Turks, and later the Italians.

Correspondingly, in the case of Makran it appears that Sunni Muslim nomads are far less concerned about the ritual aspects of

contact with Zikris than are Sunni villagers. Whereas most of the latter say that they will not accept food from a Zikri, eat from the same bowl, or eat an animal killed by a Zikri, nomads appear less concerned about these matters. An expressed ideal of casualness and mutual good will which unites the "countrymen" (*mulki mardom*), or inhabitants of a nomadic territory, extends to the Zikris within the territory. One of the present authors has seen, for example, a young Zikri nomad come to visit the camp of his good friend, a Muslim; finding him absent, as well as the other male camp members, he stayed to visit and eat with the women of the camp. This is strongly suggestive of the lack of tension which ideally ought to exist among "countrymen", since, like all Muslims, the nomads of Makran are deeply concerned about shielding their women from social "outsiders" (c.f. the notion of *purdah*). The relative ease with which Zikris and Muslim nomads from a common territory intermingle, even between the sexes, indicates that shared territoriality is more important to the status of social "insider" than common religious belief (Pastner 1971).

In sum, although not all nomads in Makran are Zikris, nor are all Zikris nomads, the perpetuation of the faith is clearly dependent upon the survival of a nomadic population which, in spite of not being totally independent of sedentary institutions either economically or politically, is logistically capable of maintaining an otherwise dissident religious sect.

FAKIRS

Fakirs (Baluchi *Pakir*), the holy mendicants typical of Islam, are present in Makran. Frequently bizarre in their physical aspect and dressed in gaudy but tattered rags, they may be seen wandering through the oasis bazaars with prayer staff and begging bowl.

The Makranis distinguish between three varieties of holy beggar. The *wali Allah* is believed to be touched by God and is often an obviously mentally and physically aberrant individual. *Kotubi* are more normal in their behavior and conform strictly to orthodox religious practices such as regular prayer. Among the notable Makrani *kotubi* are the Hajji of Zahui and the Fakir of

Kalag. Thirdly, the *abdal* is a holy fool, often a once normal individual who received a dramatic mystical experience which thereafter altered his behavior.

One well known *abdal* is Hajji Nur of Mand. He is said to have lived as a nomad for fourteen years trying to receive some divine power. No sign was given, allegedly because he refused to study under an *abdal,* instead claiming that his spiritual mentor was a *dohluk* bush. But one day this bush blew away and when Hajji followed it into a ravine, he spied four Caliphs eating sherbert. They adopted him as a disciple and since that time he is reputed to have manifested divine power.

Another famous *abdal* is Dad Rahmin of Panjgur who at one time was a government clerk and shopkeeper. It is claimed that he once bested the *kotub* of Kalag in an argument by turning into a giant snake. In the Panjgur bazaar, one of the present authors saw him eat a mixture of ink, snuff, cigarettes and cotton balls, ostensibly to flagellate his spirit. At the same time he delivered a trance-like speech in which he told his listeners not to fear martial law (which had just been declared in Pakistan in March 1969) because he was their protector and master. Onlookers came to him in order to be touched and blessed.

An elderly Panjguri describes his personal experience with Dad Rahim:

> Once when my child was sick I called Dad Rahim. He said to take some bean pods and rub them all over the body. Where could I get the pods without being a thief? Dad Rahim was angry and said I was a liar and abused me a lot. Then he left my house and wouldn't sit there. Later on I was walking on the road near the graveyard and saw a lot of people sitting. They were wearing white robes and sitting as if in prayer. Dad Rahim was speaking to them and rubbing two bones together. Over his head was a lantern. When I looked again he was gone and I knew he was a saint.

> Another time he came to my house and told me to bring tea. Many others were there too. I said I had no sugar. He said: "What do I care for sugar; bring tea anyway". So I did and it was as sweet as if it had sugar. Also there were some six animals, like dogs, but with long fur and big heads — not really dogs. And they came to Dad Rahim and ate from his hand. When I told my friend to come and see, he couldn't see anything.

Fakirs are placed in a supernatural hierarchy. Below the Prophet and his Caliphs there are said to be four Sultans, one in each corner of the world. Next in order are four *Kotubs* and below them are the *abdals*, four of which are in Syria. Twenty of the *abdals* are adult and twenty are innocent children, and each week these twenty die and others take their place.

THE SHRINE OF PIR OMAR

Pirs are the saints of Makran. Often the heroes of folklore, their burial places are shrines (*ziarat*) where pilgrims come to invoke the saint's aid in curing illness or solving other assorted difficulties.

In the desert six miles south of the oasis of Panjgur stands the shrine of the Pir Omar. This tiny oasis comprises a verdant grove of date palms and several garden plots nourished by a fresh water spring. About twenty kin-related *jalyrop*, or hereditary custodians of the shrine, live there. In addition to tending their crops, the custodians receive alms from the pilgrims who drink the water and eat the earth around the shrine, both of which are said to have curative powers.

On the edge of the cultivations stands the actual burial place of the *pir*. A mud wall surrounds a bier which is bedecked with embroidered garments and the horns of ibex. A weathered stone slab proclaims the names of the Gitchki chiefs of Panjgur who, in return for a share of the alms, have protected the shrine since the eighteenth century.

The legend of the saintly Omar, as related by the leading *jalyrop*, dates back to the time of the warrior Tumor (the Baluchi name for the fourteenth century Tatar conqueror Tamerlane). The Tatar war bands, having penetrated the geographical bastions of Makran, caused much of the populace to flee to the site of the present oasis shrine where the headman, Omar, had a reputation for sanctity and spiritual power. When the Tatar commander demanded that the refugees be surrendered, Omar invited him to a parlay (*majlis*). As today, the discussion took place on a woven

palm mat. When the Tatar leader was seated, Omar called upon Allah who caused the mat to enfold the warrior, preventing him from moving. In recognition of Omar's power, the Tatars with-drew, and, after his death, Omar was considered a saint and his village a shrine.

DISCUSSION

The development of Zikrism in Makran and the continuing significance of "folk" religious personnel are consistent with the general history of Islam throughout the Middle East. While or-thodox faith has stressed the achievement of knowledge of God through legal interpretation and reliance on obedience, devotion and worship, non-orthodox and local forms of Islam have attempt-ed to affect personal communication with God. In Makran, for example, while the *mullahs* and *qazis* of the settled areas represent formal authority (governmental as well as religious since they also act as judges and teachers), the fakirs operate within the realm of personal mysticism and supernatural power.

Sufism, developed in Persia during the eleventh century, is the best known example in the Muslim world of the attempt to gain knowledge of God in ways not always acceptable to ortho-doxy, although reconciliation between formalism and emotionalism has at times been achieved. The *marabouts* of North Africa and the *dervishes* of Persia are other localized instances where ascetics and mystics on the Sufi pattern have emerged. In some areas, these personalized religious practitioners ultimately have rigidified their devotional practices and organized into formal brotherhoods, as among the Sanusi of Cyrenaica (Evans-Pritchard 1949). The recognition of saints, such as the Makrani *pirs,* in the Islamic religious hierarchy is also similar to traditions such as Sufism; a mystic being recognized as a saint when he can perform miracles which document his intimacy with God.

Zikrism can be regarded as an example of the missionary functions of mahdist cults in Islam as well as a particularized regional variation which not only deviates from religious ortho-doxy but has political ramifications as well. Just as the appearance of Zikrism in Makran was linked with the rise of Buledi rule, its

demise accompanied the insurgence of the Sunni Khanate of Kalat into Makrani politics.

Increasing modernization and secularization in Islamic areas are nominally accompanied by the decline of saint cults, superstitious belief and local "folk" leaders along with greater reliance on orthodox practices and clergy. The perpetuation of Zikrism among the nomads of Makran, the least modernized sector of the population, attests to this correlation. Even among the settled villagers of Makran, a continuing usage of non-orthodox, "little" tradition institutions, such as saint worship, signifies the marginality of Makran and the persistance of the "little" within the more Islamically orthodox traditions of the Pakistani nation.

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Books Reviews

"Homo Industrialis" vs *"Homo Pre-Industrialis". Proper Peasants, Traditional Life in a Hungarian Village.* Edit Fél and Tamás Hofer. Wenner-Gren Foundation Anthropological Research Series. Aldine, Chicago in cooperation with Corvina, Budapest. 1969. 440 pp.

It is with almost carnivorous ferocity that *"homo industrialis"* attacks, subdues, disembodies, absorbs and annihilates groups of *"homo pre-industrialis"* even in most recent history, and in spite of all the humanistic rhetoric modern man managed to fill his libraries with. Patterns of colonialism, neo-colonialism as well as "internal colonialism" are still very much with us, even after they have been thoroughly discredited in the "official" value structures of most societies, following the great "adventures" of the twenties, thirties and fourties. "Modern" and "advanced" human groups use their "superior" technology, like shiny, new, lethal industrial toys against other groups which are on differing levels or routes of development without and within their societies. In this respect America's Vietnam involvement is akin to Stalin's agriculture-collectivization drives: millions of peasants get killed by technologically better (or simply: differently) equipped and trained members of industrialized groups. In the final analysis even the official ideological excuses are similar. Oppression in the Union of South Africa, as well as in China, mass murder by the Soviet Secret Police as well as by American soldiers, programmed destruction of peasant cultures in Cambodia and in Hungary are usually carried out in the name of economic, military, protective, defensive, historical "necessity". It is as if *"homo industrialis"* would say to *"homo pre-industrialis"*: "I will make you happy even if it kills you" — and then kills him or, what amounts to almost the same thing, destroys his way of life in the "best" tradition of the early religious-military converters-colonizers.

The main body of the research material in the book under review was collected before the Hungarian village of Atány has undergone some radical changes, the book's "ethnographic present" refers to the year of and immediately preceding 1951. By the time the actual book was written, about ten years later, the peasant village was of a completely different nature. The authors refer to these changes only on five pages of this 440 page monograph in a eulogy-like Epilogue.

"(This study) is the portrait of a Hungarian village during the moments preceding fundamental change when the institutions were still living and working..." Today this portrait is no longer typical of Atány; it has become a historical document... "The program of the government to annihilate the social stratum of well-to-do *gazda-s* (self-sufficient farmers) as such has also been realized at Atány; their houses were confiscated, and several were imprisoned..." The general collectivization of the Hungarian peasantry was begun in

1958; Atány's' turn came in February 1959. All the fields were put under the management of the cooperative farms, except for 120 *hold-s* (160 acres)... "Plowing is done with tractors, as is much of the harvest in dry years... There are hardly any horses in the village now..." Since the beginning of the 1950s the extended families have dissolved rapidly, owing to the burden of pro-gressive taxation and compulsory delivery of agricultural products to the state. The traditional organization of labor by families has become extinct in the cooperatives; the members of a family are assigned to different brigades and tasks, according to their age and sex. More and more of the young people turn to industry for employment and move to the towns permanently. The average age of the members of the cooperative is 57 years. The weight of recent events has produced rapid modernization and urbanization of the Atány peasantry. Young persons from the village are now able to adjust easily to an urban environment. Modernization and urbanization have produced many notable benefits for the villagers in the form of better health standards, school-ing, ease of communication, and manufactured goods. However, the transition has been possible only at the expense of the traditional way of life."

Beyond nostalgic lamentations over the passing of the old way of life, there also exist some valid questions which are still unanswered by sociology, anthropology, history, economics and political science, such as: when, how fast, by what methods and at what cost should societal changes be induced so as to benefit not only some future generations ("ultimate bliss" in some remote, future was always used to justify suffering in the "Valley of Tears" of the present) but also the present members of a society? These questions are also implicit in *Proper Peasants*. For the necessity of change in the case of Atány was not at all obvious. This village, as shown by the extensive research in the book, was a stable, integrated, well-functioning, viable community, capable even to absorb, and to adapt to former, slower, more "spontaneous", less forced but far-reaching historical changes.

The main body of the book contains a detailed anthropological study (more exactly: ethnography) of the traditional peasant culture of Atány, of the structural relationships among the elements of this culture, and of the nature and function of its various social institutions. After giving a general description of the village's past, geography, agriculture and population, the authors provide a detailed and analytic portrayal of the family as an institution, of the network of social relations, of the way of life and the social strata, and of the com-munity as a whole, in four parts.

The research, which the monograph is based on, is thorough-going and exhaustive, covering every aspect of human life in Atány. The researchers knew what to look for (they have studied more than a hundred other Hungarian villages previously) and they used their experiences excellently. Their visits, interviews and participating observations were evidently well planned and they gained the ready acceptance of the people they were studying. They operated as a male-female team and this, too, had its advantages: at certain phases of the funeral rites, for example, only females are allowed to be present, while

in other situations only males are welcome. The authors state that their study is a "portrait" and, indeed, as the reader goes through the various chapters, he is able to almost enter the life of the people, develop a "feel" for the social atmosphere, begin to identify with individual men, women and children. The tone of the study is very fortunate: it manages to be sympathetic without losing objectivity, it is compassionate without condescension, vivid without dissolving into a string of anecdotal narrative, the authors are parsimonious with their illustrations, yet succeed in conveying real life. The book still leaves one slightly dissatisfied in one area, the study doesn't answer the theoretical and empirical questions: what follows from the analyses, what do we do with the findings, where do we go from here? The study shows us what *is* (or, rather, what *was*) but does not indicate, speculate, theorize, compare, contrast to imply what could be, will be, should be. To put it differently: the study portrays *being* but not *becoming,* like every portrait, it conveys an idea of how the subject looked like at the time the picture was made. True, this monograph could be likened to a painted rather than a photographed picture — it is infinitely more than just a direct depiction — still, one feels that except for the brief Epilogue one is left entirely to one's own devises regarding any broader, deeper, predictive conclusions. The authors are not entirely at fault in this area, it is the genre which doesn't allow too much flexibility beyond analytical description. Perhaps the only alternative for Fél and Hofer could have been to alter the form of ethnography enough to allow for themselves more opportunity to present their conclusions.

The first appearance of the village's name occurs in a document dated 1407, but it may have already existed as far back as in the tenth century. In 1951 the village consisted of about 3,000 people living in 729 houses and work- ing a land of about 13,000 acres. At the time of the study, Atány was already an atypical Hungarian village in that its society and culture were more homo- genous and integrated than that of most other villages in the country or even in the immediate geographic vicinity, its archetypal institutions remained re- latively untouched. After a detailed analysis of this traditional, and yet not isolated, social organization, the authors theorize that the basic unifying element of the community of Atány was its uniquely strong and intricate human interrelation system. "The network of human relations, comprising all the various connections of kinship, neighborhood, friendship, and economic co- operation, is closer and stronger in Atány than in most Hungarian peasant villages. Perhaps it has been this strong, dense network of relations which has acted as a wall, preserving the uniformity and continuity of Atány's particular local culture." Atány's is a system where every act, every word, every piece of clothing, every nail in a horse's shoe, every bench in the church, every hour of every day signals something beyond itself and, most importantly, of course, this signal-system is known to all the members of the community, thereby making not only detailed communication possible about practically everything that a person is, but also reinforcing every person's knowledge about himself. Upon seeing a young man dancing in front of a music band at Atány, for example, *homo industrialis* may be able to conclude only that this youngster is having a good time. In this village, however, such an episode

may mean a rite of passage representing in a microcosm the entire complex social system. "Youths stand in front of the musicians to perform the *verbunkos,* the bachelors' dance, at different times because when a youth does so it is a sign to the whole village that he has attained the status of bachelorhood by first fulfilling several conditions. The first of these is the performance of certain agricultural tasks, such as plowing and mowing. Ferenc Orbán, for example began bachelorhood at an early age. When he was not yet fourteen years old, he bought two bottles of beer with the money he got for some eggs and offered a drink to the elderly hired harvester who was teaching him how to reap... In the same year he also plowed alone, and consequently his father allowed him to cut his own bread. Thus he had already passed several requirements of bachelorhood and was ready to stand in front of the band and perform the bachelors' dance."

In the last twenty-five years Hungarian society has undergone rapid and radical changes: from a semi-feudalistic agrarian society it has become a socialistic, predominantly industrial, urbanizing society. This change was chiefly politically motivated, dictatorially enforced, bureaucratically inhuman, overseen by the everpresent occupying Soviet military forces. There is no question about it: the Atány's had to change sooner or later, just as the inept, unresponsive and rigid political and socio-economic organization was ripe for a revolution by the 1940's. But the methods of change meant death, misery, jails, loss of freedom, loss of livelihood and loss of human dignity for millions of the population who have begun to be able to breathe a little easier only since the mid-sixties. And the proud, self-sufficient Proper Peasant of Atány, for whom agricultural work was a vocation and an art, can no longer find his place in the land which meant everything to him.

> "The older people try to find a place in the changing Atány world; they have become uncertain, lacking the support of the traditional order. They get their wheat allowance from the cooperative farm, and most of them bake their bread at home, but this wheat is not the same as the wheat they used to grow themselves in the old days. As a former *gazda* put it, "we don't know when it was sown, or the time when it was reaped; the wheat is just brought. One feels there is no summer anymore. Formerly we saw that people were harvesting, meals were being carried out to the fields for the reapers, the crop was gathered in, carts went and returned, stacks were piled in every yard. Now everything is all alike. It seems as if we were not in the same world where we used to live."

If there is an implication to be found in ethnographic portraits such as the *Proper Peasants,* it may be that desirable ends and goals of social change justify only humane means and that the ultimate measure of the skill, wisdom, strength and creativity of *homo industrialis* may be his capability of undertaking societal changes while, in the meantime, assuring dignity to those not as powerful as him.

<div align="right">Károly NAGY</div>

Vie juive traditionnelle. Ethnologie d'une communauté hassidique. Jacques Gutwirth. Ouvrage publié avec le concours du C.N.R.S. Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, Collection Grands Documents No 32. 1970. 491 pp., ill., maps.

The author provides us with a minute study of one Antwerp based hassidic community. Since little work has been previously devoted to studying such groups the book is a welcome addition to our knowledge of traditional Jewish life, past and present.

The hassidic movement originated in the XVIIIth century in Eastern Europe and is characterized by the cult of the hereditary chiefs (*rebbes*) heading each religious community. After the end of World War II, most of the survivors of this denomination migrated for socio-economic reasons to Western Europe, America and Israel where they were faced with the problem of retaining their identity and their way of living. The book studies a group of "Belzer Hassidim", as they are known. Belz is a Polish town which was the spiritual centre of this community whose members were found throughout Poland and Hungary. After the war the survivors of this group, like other Hassidim, migrated to New-York, Montréal, Jerusalem and Antwerp. In Antwerp they recreated all the conditions which could enable them to practice their faith with minimal interference from the outside world. The hassidic faith is, in fact, a mode of living which, when adhered to, is in contradiction with many aspects of what we regard as necessary to make a living. This accounts for the choice of the migrants' new professions. They are almost all employed in some branches of the diamond trade which allows them to keep up with an exacting religious calendar, thoroughly analysed here with its historical roots. The Hassidim live within their own secular and ritual time and this would conflict with occupations not carried out near their *chtibel*, the cult and meditation room, where members are expected to spend a great deal of time.

All profane and mundane affairs external to the community are to be avoided: newspaper reading, radio listening, television watching are, in theory, banned and since the teaching of non religious subjects is to be scorned the male children are to be sent to the community private school where secular matters are kept to a minimum. The girls are given more practical education for several interesting reasons that are well explained.

To show visibly their distinctiveness the members stick to a rigid bodily appearance and vestimentary code. There are variations to the ideal type, some kind of accommodation to the here and now, for the community is willy nilly integrated in Belgian society but outside personal contacts with the gentiles nevertheless come to a minimum, people of other Jewish denominations less commited than the Hassidim to the sacred books being the mediators between the Hassidim and society at large.

Despite all these restrictions the members travel a great deal usually by plane, to see relatives abroad, to raise contributions for their social works and to make the pilgrimage to the grave of their last spiritual chief who died

in Jerusalem after his flight from Poland. This pattern of travel, as the author shows, is the continuation of an old tradition dating back to the Middle Ages where the faithfuls were used to visit relatives as well as their spiritual chief. Only the distances covered by the journeys have changes but, as we are told, the Hassidim never leave their own world. They leave their community to travel to a similar one where pre-war former friends, now scattered, are met. The cohesion of the community is further enhanced by a religious school established in the fift'es in Jerusalem where children of the dispersed groups are sent to further their religious studies.

In contrast to jet travel abroad there is little or no travelling at home except when necessary for professional reasons. Car ownership is frowned upon; since everyone lives near the religious centre, itself situated near the headquarters of the diamond trade, the possession of a car is seen as a super-fluity which could only lead to dissipation.

The spatial, economic, religious and social aspects of th's hassidic group, all analysed in depth in the book, would form a closed system but for economic reasons this "genetic code of tradition and Jewishness" as the author qualifies it, only endures through the subtle interplay between hypertrad t'onalists and hypotraditionalists, both groups closely depending upon one another to give an approximation — a very close one as the book shows — to the ideal model.

This work, densely packed with significant details, could be recommended to anyone interested in anthropology but those to whom it will become a reference book are scholars interested in Jewish studies, religious studies, urban anthropology and minority groups.

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Adoption in Eastern Oceania, ASAO Monograph No. 1. Vern Carroll (editor). Honolulu: Univers:ty of Hawaii Press, 1970. ii-422 pp. $10.00.

This monograph, the first published under the auspices of the Association for Social Anthropology in Oceania (ASAO) consists of a series of data oriented articles on the phenomenon of adoption in Eastern (Hawaiian, Society, Tahitian, Tuomotuan) and Western (Nukuoro, Kapingamarangi, Banaban, Gilbertese, Ponape, Romonum) Polynesia with addit'onal contributions on Rotuma and the Northern New Hebrides, an Introduction defining the concept of adoption and an Epilogue on the psychological and jural aspects of parent-hood regarded in a transactional frame.

Vern Carroll, in his Introduction sets the theme of the volume by answer-ing his question, "What does 'adoption' mean?" Beginning with a working definition of adoption as "any customary and opt'onal procedure for taking as one's own a child of other parents, Carroll then contrasts adoption in Oceania with adoption in the United States and in doing so he notes several differences: (1) "Whereas American adoption is often a transaction involving

total strangers, adopt'on in Oceania is generally a transaction between close relatives," (2) Oceanic adoption "is not characterized by formal legal procedures," (3) "Whereas American children are generally put up for adoption by their natural parents, Oceanic parents rarely 'put up' their children for adoption," (4) "adoption of children by single ind'viduals rather than couples is not uncommon in Oceania," (5) "American adopters are most often childless, while adopters in Oceania frequently have children of their own," (6) frequency of adoption in some Ocean'c societies is comparatively high, (7) "Oceanic adopters seem much less choosy about the physical attributes of the child they get," (8) "The social attributes of the child's natural parents... are generally of great importance to Oceanic adopters," (9) "Prospective adopters in Oceania are rarely denied the privilege of adopt'on because of economic circumstances, ill-health, or personality characteristics," (10) "In Oceania the natural parents are considered generous in giving up their ch'ldren for adoption; it is not the case that they are unwilling or unable to keep their own children," (11) "In Oceania, the interests of the parents, rather than those of the child, are considered paramount. There appears to be l'ttle effort to sever legal and social relations between a child and his natural parents" (pp. 5-6).

In sum, "there is little substantive comparison which is possible between the adoption complex in Eastern Oceania and that in the Un'ted States" (p. 7). Given this extensive comparative variability in the content and form of adoption, no comprehensive definition of adopt'on appears either feasible, possible, or desirable at this time and, in fact, such an attempt would probably be "a hopeless task" (p. 7).

Adoption, as a phenomenon, then is not to be studied in its own terms but rather within "a general theory of k'nship" (8) and the principle utility of the definition of adoption as originally proposed is its "heuristic value" (p. 8). " 'Adoption' is a complex construct embracing notions of 'child' and 'parent' and the attendant constellat'ons of rights and duties which are not distributed identically across cultures. Furthermore, 'adoption' (whatever it may involve), is only one of several methods of establishing 'as if' kin relations, cf. fosterage, ritual kinship, and the establishing of kinship bonds other than those of parent-child." Hence, Carroll concludes, "As an analytic tool the term 'adoption' may prove to be quite use'ess; as a descriptive term it appears to be indispensable" (p. 11). As may be expected from these preliminaries and, more generally, in any set of data oriented papers, more topics for future research are revealed than are resolved.

The first chapter is on "Traditional and Modern Adoption Patterns in Hawaii" by Alan Howard, Robert H. Heighton Jr., Cathie E. Jordan, and Ronald G. Gallimore. In this chapter the authors document the historical significance of a variety of adoptive practices in Hawaiian culture and offer an explanation for its continued significance among modern Hawaiians.

In spite of increased economic hardship and deculturation from the traditional Hawaiian patterns, frequent adoption has survived. The authors, in

a well reasoned analysis, conclude that the consequences of Hawaiian child-rearing patterns (resulting in high dependency needs) and accompanying ideology of nurturance and cooperation promote the continuation of adoptive practices. These dependency needs are met by adopting young children. Adopting is also socially rewarding for the adopter who "gains status for taking care of dependent others" (p. 50).

In the next chapter, Anthony Hooper discusses "Adoption in the Society Islands." Here Hooper approaches the phenomenon of adoption from both ideational and statistical viewpoints, describing first the normative (value) system and then the observable events of adoption in two Tahitian communities of the Iles Sous-le-Vent, Maupiti and Murifenua.

Adopted children are lexically distinguished from natural children; i.e., the fed children from the true children. Residence is neither a sufficient nor necessary indicator of adoptive status; many children who live with relatives other than their natural parents are not regarded as adopted and it is also the case that a child living with his natural parents may be the adoptee of others. Significantly, "children, like land and personal names, are regarded as resources to which rights are held by categories of people claiming a common ancestor" (p. 58). Children are also a form of old age insurance; in a sense, the food fed a child incurs a reciprocal obligation on the child.

Maupiti, with 657 inhabitants in 102 households has 53 adopted children (8% of the total population) while the more economically prosperous community of Murifenua has an adoption rate of only 3.6%.

In Maupiti, 32 of the 53 adopted children are two generations younger than their adopters. While both communities may be characterized by a common household developmental cycle, the relative poverty of those in Maupiti is reflected in migration of young adults as wage-laborers with a consequent disruption of household developmental sequence. Maintenance of the household as an economically viable unit is seen as requiring the importation of members (and their labor) to replace the migrants; it is, as Hooper says, "a very flexible, adaptable means of 'social substitution'." (p. 69)

Robert I. Levy discusses "Tahitian Adoption as a Psychological Message." After a brief survey of the types of reasons (e.g. economic, social, political) given for adoption in the ethnographic literature of Oceania, Levy suggests that we look at some psychological aspects of adoption regarded as a communication event, i.e. as a statement regarding the fundamental nature of interpersonal relations.

Levy's premise is that "cultural forms affect individual personality not only through processes of internalization during the personality development of children, but also through their continuing maintenance effects on older individuals" (p. 74). This premise is based on recent conclusions from the work in sensory deprivation. It is an intricate argument concerning the requirements for continued personality integration. These 'requirements' may be reformulated as models of optimum cognitive complexity maintained by internal

psychodynamics dependent (to a large extent) on the presence and perception of external realities. These realities (eventings) may also be characterized as models of variable complexity retaining a variable symbolic load. The loads may be seen as message inputs from the reality of adoptive events.

Levy's data are derived from a village of 284 people living in 54 households including 34 (of 166 individuals 19 or under) adopted children living in 25 of these households.

Through the analysis of extensive psychodynamic interviews, Levy demonstrates that "*all* parent-children relationships will tend to be seen as contingent" (p. 82), that is, it is not regarded categorically that biological parents will raise their own children; that they *may* do so is contingent upon no one else's asking to raise the child. In his conclusion, Levy presumes "that the nature of the parent-child bond is perhaps the most powerful statement to members of the group on both the affective and cognitive levels as to the nature and possibilities of person-other (including non-human object) bonds" (pp. 85-6). Adoption, then, is the primary mechanism for "delivering the message that there is no relationship which is *not* conditional" (p. 86).

In "Adoption on Rangiroa Atoll, Tuamotu Archipelago," Paul Ottino regards adoption as one of several methods by which individuals are redistributed among descent groups for the purposes of "maintaining a total number of individuals and a sex ratio more suitable to familial and economic needs, including those of defense" (p. 88).

Ottino adopts a combined ethnohistorical and structural form of explication to account for a continuing high rate of adoption. Through case illustration, he demonstrates that "adoptions are related to pre-existent adoptive ties and are made on this basis rather than on the basis of consanguinal ties" (p. 96) and are made in accordance with an ideology prescribing the maintenance of a localized land holding residential unit.

Vern Carroll also adopts an informational point of view toward "Adoption on Nukuoro" and stresses that as a message what adoption communicates "is that relatives are interdependent and that the maintenance of this network of interdependency must take priority over the wishes of individuals... 'adoption' reiterates not only the principle of 'group solidarity' but emphasizes the particular dimensions of this solidarity" (p. 152).

Carroll's analysis commences with the semantics of adoption noting that Nukuoro linguistically discriminate three varieties of adoptive events. He then proceeds to contextualize adoption by providing an ethnographic account of Nukuoro adoption and the various goal-motivations behind this practice. However, since the goals are almost never achieved the question then becomes; why does the practice persist. Carroll perceptively demonstrates that the social values attached to the act of initiating adoption "is of such importance that the events following are of little immediate import" (p. 145). Overtures to adoptive events serve principally to reinforce the kinship obligation of sharing.

Willingness to share one's own children is the most sincere manifestation of this ethic. Whether the children are actually transferred is irrelevant.

In a most workmanlike manner, Michæl D. Lieber delineates the cultural, social, and individual involved in "Adoption on Kapingamarangi" emphasizing in particular the set of emotional, social, and economic motivations that give rise to the custom.

The Banaban, of "Banaban Adoption" by Martin G. Silverman, are Gilbertese-speakers from Ocean Island who purchased land and settled on Rambi Island, Fiji. Silverman places the meaning of Banaban adoption within the context of Banaban blood and land symbology; "kinship is symbolized in terms of both blood and rights in land... Both land and blood are 'natural', essential, and divisible..." (p. 211). Adoption is finalized only when title to phosphate-rich Ocean Island land is inherited by the adoptee and agreed upon by members of the adoptor's kindred. Silverman gives numerous cogent examples as proof of his thesis.

Henry P. Lundsgaarde's contribution emphasizes "Some Legal Aspects of Gilbertese Adoption." Lundsgaarde approaches Tamana (Southern Gilbert Islands) adoptive practices through an analysis of eight legal transactions in order to reveal their ideal modes of conduct. These modes are then contrasted with real behavior and the motivations for adoption as stated by informants.

In "Adoption, Guardianship, and Social Stratification in the Northern Gilbert Islands," Bernd Lambert provides data and comparative analysis of guardianship, siblingship and adoption with respect to divided rights in land use and contrastive status levels, demonstrating that guardianship is analogous to complementary filiation.

In "Adoption on Ponape," J.L. Fischer, utilizing data from his fieldwork in 1950-53, concerns himself with the type of fosterage that is most similar to western notions of adoption. In his conclusion he isolates three factors that contribute to high adoption frequencies: (1) adoption functions as a mechanism to stabilize sociopolitical arrangements; (2) it also functions to maintain "an optimum population level... as a part of the sociopolitical arrangements"; and, (3) "given a rather dense population with a dependence on some form of horticulture, there is a need for preventing the grossly uneven accumulation of inherited land rights through the working of random irregularities in genealogies" (p. 304).

Ruth G. Goodenough commences her presentation of "Adoption on Romonum, Truk" by noting that 10.9% of the total population is adopted and that this is much more frequent than it used to be due to a "skewed fertility distribution" (p. 316). One-third of the women have had no children; adoption redresses this imbalance. In the concluding portion of her chapter, she takes up the question of rewards and motivations for adoption. After assessing Trukese personality structure, she determines that, as with the Hawaiians, adoption is due to a "dependency inversion," i.e. unfulfilled dependency needs (p. 331), though Trukese rewards are broader than those of the Hawaiians.

In sum, "adults without children are cut off from an opportunity to play the culturally valued role of nurturer" (p. 332). The resolution for childless couples is adoption.

Alan Howard approaches "Adoption on Rotuma" from the standpoint "of the decisions people make regarding the allocation of children" (p. 343). Decisions may be either normative or strategic. A normative decision is one which allows "no alternatives to what is agreed upon as being correct" (p. 346) while a strategic decision is based upon a choice between "several equally respectable possibilities" (p. 346). Normative decisions may be stated in terms of cultural principles while strategic decisions must "take into account psychological variables as well as cultural principles" (p. 346).

In keeping with this analytical procedure, Howard presents his data on Rotuman adoption and constructs a model of the principles involved in arriving at decisions to adopt.

H. W. Scheffler employs his incisive analytical talents in a re-examination of W. H. R. River's thesis that genealogical connections are socially insignificant for Mota and neighbouring islands in the New Hebrides. Scheffler, in "Kinship and Adoption in the Northern New Hebrides," successfully demonstrates that Rivers' "argument is mistaken on at least three counts." The significant point in Scheffler's rebuttal of Rivers' thesis is that the sort of reasoning employed by Rivers as to the priority of "social kinship" has misled generations of anthropologists. As Scheffler conclusively notes, "the notion of 'social kinship'... (divorced from genealogical consideration)... is sociological and verbal nonsense" (p. 387).

In conclusion, Ward H. Goodenough contributes an "Epilogue: Transactions in Parenthood." He distinguishes three constant components of parenthood: (1) "the human process of procreation, (2) the human capacity to form emotional attachments, and (3) the social necessity to order human relations according to a code of rules in which social relationships are categorized and differentially assigned rights and duties" (p. 391).

By considering how these components are "culturally structured in particular societies" and how rights and duties are transferred in adoption and fosterage, we hope to gain a clear idea "of the phenomenon of parenthood" (pp. 391-2).

Parenthood itself is segregated into the aspects of motherhood and fatherhood. Each aspect is discussed in terms of the rights and duties associated with the physical, psychical, and jural components and their functional interrelationships.

After these preliminaries, Goodenough then moves to a consideration of adoption and fosterage both of which are now seen to "refer to transactions in the rights, duties, privileges, and powers of jural parenthood" (p. 398), or, phrased differently, it is the jural aspect of succession to parenthood with rights, duties, etc., regarded as forms of property (pp. 399-401).

With these considerations in mind, Goodenough then draws upon the ethnographic material presented in the volume and discerns five types of transactions relating to parenthood (pp. 408-9).

In sum, the first monograph of this new series lives up to its advance billing; data oriented papers on topics of concern to Oceanian Anthropology. Specialists in other areas may profit by reading these essays as well.

Edwin A. Cook
Southern Illinois University

Ngawbe: Tradition and Change among the Western Guaymi of Panama. Philip D. Young. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1971. xiv-256 pp. $9.50

"This study is intended mainly as a description of much that is traditional in Guaymi society, especially in the realm of social and economic organization." (p. 1) The author, interested in studying social organizational features that served to bind together a highly dispersed population, tries to show the inter-relation of economic and social organization and change in a historical and ethnographic perspective.

The Ngawbe 'traditional' culture with a strong man-land relation became and is becoming influenced in time and space by the surrounding societies and the economical pressures by the process of modernization. The cash-based economy is becoming increasingly important and has an impact on the social relations but also on the expectations, previously rooted firmly and exclusively in the subsistent agriculture economy.

The function of community, the kinship patterns and the land (chapter V) is logically and anthropologically combined with the findings by the author on 'social organization of production and consumption' (VI) which makes clearer the 'notion of the ties that bind' (VII).

The longing for identity and integration of the Guaymi people, partly illustrated by the author in chapter VIII, into a new nativism through their own revival of the cultural and religious values and tribe ideologies can be seen functionally as the author has done. However it can be further evaluated, from the structural point of view, as the result of alienation through the process of modernization which is partly bringing in new structures, while the values of the people continue to go in a different direction. This study can be of value to the reader who wishes to draw first conclusions towards this structural direction.

Frank P. VanderHoff, s.j.

The Church and Revolution: from the French Revolution of 1789 to the Paris Riots of 1968; from Cuba to South Africa; from Vietnam to Latin America. François Houtart and André Rousseau. (translated by Violet Neville) Mary-knoll, N.Y., Orbis Books, 1971. xi - 371 pp. $3.95

The authors' concern in undertaking this study has been expressed in the following statement taken from the preface: "Why is it that Christianity, a proclamation of man's total liberation, historically finds itself in opposition to the movements which attempt to give concrete expression to this liberation and always identifies itself with the forces of oppression." (p. ix)

The book incorporates an overview of seven revolutionary settings: The French Revolution, the French Worker Movement in the Nineteenth Century, the Cuban Revolution, the War in Vietnam, the Revolutionary Movement in Latin America, the Revolutionary Movements in South Africa, and the events of May 1968 in France.

Notwithstanding the fact that there is a great amount of material and data collected in these seven chapters, there is a tendency to use vague statements and at times incorrect information. The statements attributed to church groups in regard to these events are used too generally.

The first chapter deals with a sociological approach to Revolution. It must be regretted that the authors, who complain about the lack of a profound sociological study on revolution, have not made use of the excellent study on this subject done by W. F. Wertheim, (Evolutie en Revolutie; de golfslaf der emancipatie, Amsterdam, 1970).

The last chapter confronts sociologically the position of the Church with regards to revolution and considers the reaction of the institutional Church to the changes in society. The subject is challenged but needs further development as the authors themselves admit. As a first introduction this is a good and worthwhile book.

<div style="text-align: right">Frank P. VanderHoff, s.j.</div>

Cognitive Anthropology. Readings edited by Stephen A. Tyler. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. 1969. xiii - 521 pp.

Le champs de l'Anthropologie cognitive — aussi appelé *ethnoscience, sémantique ethnographique* ou *analyse formelle* — prend de plus en plus d'importance en Anthropologie et un volume qui réunit les études les plus remarquées dans ce domaine est certainement très bienvenue. Ce recueil comprend vingt-cinq articles dont seulement quatre n'avaient pas été publiés ailleurs.

En plus de l'introduction Stephen A. Tyler a préparé pour cette anthologie un article intitulé "Context and Variation in Koya Kinship Terminology". Mary B. Black et John J. Gumperz fournissent aussi des articles originaux à cette édition ("Eliciting Folk Toxonomies in Ojibwa" et "Communication in Multilingual societies").

Le choix des articles reproduits donne une idée excellente de la qualité du travail qui s'accomplit en Anthropologie cognitive. Il est inutile de rappeler les contributions remarquables de Lounsbury, Goodenough, Conklin, Frake, Wallace, Romney et D'Andrade, Hymes et elles sont bien représentées dans ce recueil. Si l'on pourrait peut-être souhaiter voir d'autres articles, on ne peut

reprocher de les avoir écartés au détriment d'articles de moindre valeur. La quantité des articles permet aussi de présenter un assez large éventail des possibilités de cette approche.

Comme il se doit dans un tel domaine l'éditeur présente un cadre formel dans lequel il inscrit les différents articles choisis. Ce cadre indique les différentes dimensions que Stephen A. Tyler reconnaît à l'Anthropologie cognitive. Dans une première partie il présente des contributions sur les différentes manières d'organiser selon une logique interne les données de l'investigation. Une deuxième partie intitulée *acquisition des données* recueille des articles qui traitent des problèmes reliés à la découverte des données et au besoin de critères pour que des chercheurs différents atteignent les mêmes données. Une troisième partie est consacrée à l'analyse formelle des dimensions semantiques du domaine d'investigation.

Les deux dernières parties mettent l'accent sur l'évaluation des analyses formelles ainsi obtenues. La quatrième section s'interroge sur l'isomorphisme entre les analyses sémantiques formelles et la *réalité psychologique,* alors que la dernière section, compare l'organisation interne des analyses sémantiques à d'autres éléments du contexte culturel où sont élaborés ces systèmes.

Cette organisation aidera l'étudiant dans ce domaine à distinguer différents niveaux de problèmes dans le champs de l'Anthropologie cognitive, mais le contenu des différentes sections suggérera certainement au lecteur d'autres formes d'organisation dont il pourra se demander si elles rendent mieux compte du champs d'étude. Malgré les contributions certaines des articles choisis à la section où ils ont été placés, cette contribution n'est pas toujours le principal objet de l'article lui-même et beaucoup d'articles pourraient se retrouver indifféremment dans une section ou dans une autre.

Les articles qui paraissent ici pour la première fois s'inscrivent dans la ligne des autres études publiées précédemment. La contribution de John J. Gumperz devrait intéresser spécialement les canadiens pour ses suggestions sur la nature du bilinguisme.

On peut traiter le bilinguisme comme une variation de formes de communications selon les contextes qui serait comparable aux variations que l'on retrouve au niveau d'une seule langue: on pourrait former une grammaire d'un certain bilinguisme comme on peut former une grammaire d'une langue. On s'étonne cependant qu'un des seuls exemples d'expressions canadiennes françaises influencées par l'anglais soit "Pourquoi tu l'as fait pour": une expression totalement inusitée alors que des parallèles comme "la compagnie que je travaille pour..." aurait mieux illustré sa pensée.

Finalement, on ne peut que recommander Anthropologie cognitive. La seule réserve à faire pour des gens qui s'en servent comme introduction serait de bien faire la part entre les réalisations actuelles de l'Anthropologie cognitive présentées dans le volume et les affirmations enthousiastes de l'éditeur sur les possibilités de ce champs d'investigation.

<div align="right">Jean LAPOINTE</div>

Les Indiens Wayana de la Guyane française: Structure sociale et coutume familiale. Jean Hurault. Paris: Office de la recherche scientifique et technique outre-mer. 1968. xvi-152 pp., 12 figures, 16 planches.

Les Wayana sont des Indiens du groupe Carib de la région de la Guyane. Leur location, près des monts Tumuc-Humac les rend très difficiles d'accès et explique qu'on n'ait eu que très peu d'information à leur sujet avant les travaux de Jean Hurault.

Jean Hurault, ingénieur géographe, a été en contact avec les Wayana de Guyane française durant une période de trente mois entre 1948 et 1965, alors qu'il effectuait une série d'expéditions au Litani pour l'Institut géographique national. Il a vécu six mois dans des villages Wayana. Des résultats de ses observations sur ces Indiens ont déjà paru dans différentes publications depuis 1961. Le présent volume donne une vue d'ensemble de la vie des Wayana et ajoute beaucoup d'informations aux publications précédentes, tout en reprenant de grandes sections.

On peut dire en général que l'auteur réalise bien l'objectif qu'il se propose dans les termes suivants: "Cet ouvrage est consacré à la description du système social et de la coutume familiale des Wayana, ainsi qu'à leur système de représentation du monde... Nous nous sommes attachés à décrire avec toute la précision possible les cérémonies d'initiation des adolescents, qui constituent un aspect particulièrement original de la culture spirituelle Wayana, conservé intact jusqu'à nos jours. Les problèmes de contact des civilisations, et la pression culturelle dont les Wayana sont l'objet, seront évoqués à la fin de l'ouvrage" (p. xvi).

Ce volume recueille donc des informations très précieuses sur un grand nombre d'aspects de la vie de cette société à peine connue. Et ma propre expérience avec les Wayana du Paru de Leste au Brézil me permet de dire que Jean Hurault a fait un travail de pionnier tout à fait remarquable du point de vue de la collecte des données.

A certains points de vue, cependant, des réserves s'imposent face à cet ouvrage. D'abord, l'auteur s'acharne à trouver et à délimiter des patrilignages et des matrilignages là où ses propres données (comme les miennes d'ailleurs) ne justifient pas une telle construction. L'instance de Jean Hurault à trouver des matrilignages semble s'expliquer par le fait qu'ils seraient la conséquence logique d'une règle de résidence matrilocale. Il est vrai qu'on rencontre chez les Wayana l'énoncé d'une telle règle et qu'au mariage le couple s'établit d'ordinaire avec les parents de la mariée. Mais il faut bien se rendre compte qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'une règle de résidence permanente mais d'une manière d'assurer le travail que le gendre s'engage à accomplir pour son beau-père au moment du mariage. Les Wayana sont des semi-nomades qui, traditionnellement, n'ont pas de villages permanents et où l'association d'une famille à un groupe résidentiel n'est liée à aucune règle de descente. Ce qui est d'ailleurs confirmé par les données de Jean Hurault. Comme le système de parenté Wayana est bilatéral, l'auteur s'efforce de trouver des patrilignages symétriques

des matrilignages. Ici encore, il ne s'agit que d'un jeu qui ne jette aucune lumière sur le système; au contraire, il rend la description des comportements très fastidieuse.

La projection dans le passé d'une règle de résidence permanente amène Jean Hurault à considérer ses données comme représentant des *dégradations,* des *abandons* et des *disparitions* de coutumes. C'est très dommage d'entendre répéter ces termes de *décadence* quand le point de départ des situations est assumé aussi arbitrairement.

Une autre réserve doit être introduite quant à l'usage des termes: endogame/exogame. La règle de mariage chez les Wayana stipule qu'on s'allie à un cousin croisé, de quelque degré que ce soit. Le groupe des cousins croisés bilatéraux constitue donc, dans le vocabulaire traditionel de l'Anthropologie, le groupe exogamique pour un individu donné, du point de vue de la filiation. Hurault semble appeler endogames les mariages entre cousins croisés rapprochés et exogames les mariages entre cousins croisés éloignés, ce qui n'a rien à voir avec le système Wayana. Ici encore, ses jugements sur la dégradation d'un système (endogame) qui n'a jamais existé sont pénibles à supporter. Encore une fois, le système effectif est facile à construire à partir des données mêmes de l'auteur.

L'effort de l'auteur pour expliquer la psychologie des Wayana rend très apparentes les difficultés rencontrées par l'anthropologue dans son travail auprès de gens dont la culture est si différente de la sienne, mais il est dommage de constater que cet effort ne se veut que l'explication de "comportements essentiellement instinctifs et affectifs" (p. xv).

Malgré les réserves faites au niveau de l'interprétation, l'ensemble des informations recueillies par Jean Hurault dans ce volume en font une ethnographie très précieuse.

Jean LAPOINTE

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ANTHROPOLOGICA

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Les auteurs sont priés de soumettre un résumé de leur article, en anglais si possible.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Authors are requested to submit all manuscripts on standard 8½ x 11 inch paper, double-spaced, and typed on one side only. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout the manu-script and submitted on a separate sheet of paper. All references within the text should be placed in parentheses, indicating the author's name, date of publication, and page number, e.g. (Jenness 1954:151). The bibliography must also be presented, double-spaced, on a separate sheet and in alphabetical order according to authors (for an illustration, refer to an article in this issue).

All articles must be accompanied by an abstract, in French if possible.

Book reviews are expected to include the title, author (Series number, if applicable), place of publication, publisher, date, pagina-tion, illustrations, price.

C.P.S. (1955)