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Relations préconjugales, fidélité, suicides: conduites sexuelles dans un groupe de Lapons nomades

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is to describe the sexual behaviour in a Lapp nomadic group, relatively preserved as far as acculturation is concerned. The authors hope to reveal that christian ideology has had very little influence on the sexual behaviour of the Lapps. This one is a coherent entity, integrated within specific Lapp culture. Suicide, resulting from an unfortunate love-affair, expresses several features of Lapp social structure in a most dramatic way: bilateralism, woman's high status.

Les éleveurs de rennes de Kautokeino (Nord de la Norvège), au nombre d'un millier, forment le groupe lapon le moins acculturé. Ils accomplissent une transhumance annuelle qui les conduit au printemps sur la côte de l'Océan glacial arctique; en automne, les troupeaux sont ramenés vers l'intérieur du plateau finnmarkien où les Lapons passent l'hiver. L'habitation traditionnelle est la tente, remplacée progressivement par la maison. Les familles se regroupent en unités coopératives d'élevage (*sii'da*) qui mettent en commun la force de travail, tandis que la possession des rennes reste strictement individuelle. La société lapone est une société à filiation indifférenciée, et l'appartenance à la *sii'da* se fait sur la base de la parenté bilatérale, en tenant compte de facteurs écologiques.

Robert Paine a brillamment montré ici même que la théorie ethnologique élaborée à partir de l'observation des sociétés uni-

linéaires n'est d'aucune aide pour l'analyse du rituel de fiançailles des Lapons de Kautokeino (Paine 1972). Ayant travaillé, une dizaine d'années plus tard, sur le même terrain que Paine, nous nous attachons à décrire dans cet article les conduites sexuelles non institutionnalisées (c'est-à-dire autres que les fiançailles et le mariage) que l'on observe à Kautokeino[1]. Ces conduites sont largement dépendantes de l'absence de groupes de filiation; nous espérons que l'article de Paine et le nôtre fourniront une description complète de la sexualité (ritualisée ou informelle) chez les Lapons, qui pourra contribuer à l'élaboration d'une théorie générale des sociétés cognatiques.

Sur le nombre considérable d'ouvrages consacrés aux Lapons, peu de choses ont été écrites sur la sexualité. Les textes du 17e et du 18e siècles font toutefois assez régulièrement mention, qui de la chasteté des jeunes filles et de la stricte fidélité conjugale, qui de la lascivité des femmes se donnant à tout venant. Il est évidemment difficile de démêler aujourd'hui la fantaisie de la réalité; il n'y a guère de doute que, depuis Regnard, une bonne part d'idées reçues — et pieusement transmises d'un auteur à l'autre — s'est glissée dans les sources les plus respectables. Les récits selon lesquels les Lapons accordaient leurs femmes aux hôtes de passage sont fortement suspects. Il peut s'agir d'une erreur d'interprétation, les Lapons cédant peut-être leurs femmes par crainte de l'étranger. Le seul ouvrage récent qui donne des renseignements de valeur sur le comportement sexuel des Lapons est un récit de voyage, qui concerne précisément Kautokeino (Newhouse 1952).

LES RELATIONS SEXUELLES AVANT LE MARIAGE

Les garçons commencent à rechercher la compagnie des filles à partir de seize ans environ; sans que cela soit formalisé d'aucune

[1] Cette enquête a été réalisée au cours de plusieurs séjours chez les Lapons de Kautokeino, de 1969 à 1972. Elle a été facilitée par le fait que nous ayons pu recevoir respectivement les confidences des hommes et des femmes, qui auraient montré davantage de réticences à se confier, sur un sujet aussi délicat, à un enquêteur du sexe opposé. En ce qui concerne le rituel de fiançailles, des modifications importantes sont intervenues depuis les travaux de Paine, à la suite de l'abandon rapide du renne de trait (qui jouait un rôle important dans le rituel), et son remplacement par le snöscooter (scooter à neige).

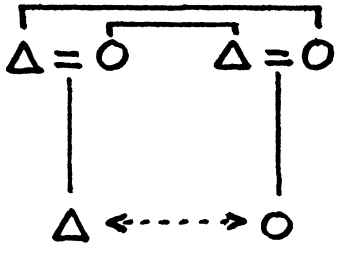
manière, cet âge correspond au passage de l'adolescence à la vie adulte: l'ennuyeux pensum qu'a constitué l'école est enfin terminé, on commence à boire et à entonner des *juoigos* (chant lapon traditionnel). C'est également à partir de ce moment que le jeune homme prend une part active à l'élevage. Il avait jusqu'ici souvent accompagné son père au troupeau, mais maintenant il marque lui-même ses propres rennes et peut prendre des décisions sur le nombre et la qualité des bêtes qui seront abattues. Bien qu'il n'y ait pas de passage si nettement marqué chez la jeune fille, c'est également à peu près au même âge qu'elle commence à se soucier des garçons. Jusqu'alors, et depuis l'âge de cinq ou six ans, garçons et filles s'étaient plutôt évités, montrant toujours une grande réserve les uns envers les autres.

Les campements sont de petite taille et ne comprennent que quelques familles, souvent étroitement apparentées. La recherche des partenaires exige donc de fréquents voyages dans d'autres campements; cela se fait presque rituellement tous les samedis soir. Dans un campement où habitent une ou deux jeunes filles pas trop farouches, on est toujours assuré d'avoir des visiteurs en fin de semaine. Les déplacements se font généralement à plusieurs dans une voiture, si on a la chance d'en posséder une. Sinon on loue un taxi à la ville la plus proche, ou bien on fait de l'auto-stop. En hiver, on utilise maintenant le scooter à neige. L'attitude des jeunes filles devant les avances des garçons est parfois réservée, mais le plus souvent compréhensive; jamais un garçon n'est repoussé violemment. Ici comme dans tous les aspects de la vie sociale lapone, on n'exprime pas directement son hostilité: pour fuir un visiteur indésirable, on fera semblant de dormir, ou bien on ira rendre visite à quelque voisin. L'entrée sous la tente ou dans la maison n'est jamais refusée à quiconque. En fait, il est rare qu'une fille évite un garçon, à moins qu'il ne soit ivre; encore cette restriction est-elle levée lors des circonstances exceptionnelles, comme les fêtes de Pâques, où les filles elles-mêmes s'adonnent au plaisir de l'ivresse: garçons et filles déambulent alors par groupe, chaque garçon tenant une ou deux filles par la taille ou la ceinture.

Le flirt a lieu souvent en groupe, sans échange de partenaires: les couples se forment au début de la soirée, et s'il y a un nombre impair de participants, un de ceux-ci (en général le plus

jeune) est exclu des jeux amoureux, qui sont d'ailleurs souvent remarquablement pudiques. Si les filles ont un grand nombre d'amis, elles n'acceptent de dépasser le stade du flirt qu'avec quelques-uns, qu'elles préfèrent. L'amour "romantique" n'est pas absent de la vie sexuelle des jeunes Lapons, et il n'est pas rare qu'un mariage en résulte.

Nous ne pensons pas exagérer beaucoup en disant que tous les garçons sont admis pour le flirt, y compris des parents trop proches pour que l'on puisse songer au mariage, par exemple un garçon doublement cousin par le père et par la mère[2]:



Une indulgence toute particulière envers les garçons est de mise s'ils viennent d'un autre campement ou village. La même observation est faite par Newhouse: "(les Lapones) considéraient comme une chose toute naturelle que tout jeune homme d'une *sii'da* voisine, qui demandait l'hospitalité, fût non seulement bienvenu sous la tente, mais en outre qu'il fût autorisé à partager une de leurs couvertures" (Newhouse 1952). Une jeune fille de 19 ans nous a affirmé qu'un autre comportement serait une impolitesse, car "ils ont fait un si long voyage pour venir jusqu'ici"[3].

Les Lapons ont un penchant immodéré pour les plaisanteries à caractère sexuel; c'est l'occupation favorite lorsque la famille

[2] Nous ne voulons pas dire que le mariage entre deux personnes doublement cousines soit formellement prohibé; en fait, il y en a plusieurs exemples à Kautokeino. Le degré de consanguinité admis varie suivant les individus: certains acceptent ce type de mariage, d'autres non. Et dans l'exemple que nous avons cité, les jeunes gens estimaient qu'ils étaient trop proches parents pour pouvoir éventuellement se marier.

[3] On pourrait trouver là une analogie avec les traditions hospitalières décrites par les anciens auteurs. Est-il besoin de préciser que cela ne concerne que les jeunes filles?

est réunie sous la tente, et tout le monde y participe joyeusement, de la petite fille de quatre ans à la mère de famille: on peut penser que ces plaisanteries tiennent lieu d'éducation sexuelle. Ce trait est commun à beaucoup de peuples "primitifs", ainsi qu'une certaine verdeur de langage (Levi-Strauss 1959). La langue lapone ne manque pas d'expressions imagées recourant au vocabulaire érotique ou scatologique: par exemple *nas'ti-luzâs,* "étoile qui a la diarrhée" (étoile filante). Les plaisanteries sont souvent le fait d'adultes (généralement des hommes), au détriment de la génération inférieure. Fréquemment, la plaisanterie n'est pas prise en mauvaise part; lorsqu'il en est autrement, la personne visée n'a guère d'autre recours que de sortir de la tente; on trouvera un exemple de ce comportement dans Pehrson (1964:33). Un vieux Lapon, après avoir plaisanté à notre détriment, s'inquiéta de savoir si nous n'étions pas furieux; "on doit beaucoup se plaisanter pour bien se connaître", ajouta-t-il. Lorsqu'une plaisanterie parait particulièrement bonne (et elles le paraissent presque toutes...), elle est répétée ad nauseam.

Dans tous les cas dont nous avons pu avoir connaissance, les parents ont une attitude totalement permissive devant le comportement sexuel de leurs enfants. Dans un campement isolé où vit une famille comprenant les parents, deux filles de 17 et 19 ans, et deux jeunes garçons, les deux sœurs dorment dans une petite tente à côté de celle des parents et des frères. Des garçons y passent souvent la nuit, sans que les parents marquent la moindre désapprobation, sauf s'il s'agit d' "étrangers" (Norvégiens ou Lapons finlandais). Cela correspond à l'attitude générale qui sous-tend tout le système d'éducation lapon. On n'exerce qu'une autorité minimum sur les enfants, considérés comme responsables de leurs actes et de leurs conséquences. En l'absence de méthodes contraceptives traditionnelles, la première de ces conséquences est évidemment un nombre élevé d'enfants nés avant le mariage. Vingt-quatre pour cent des enfants seraient ainsi conçus hors mariage (journal *Nuor'tanas'ti* 1950, cité par Whitaker 1955); cette statistique inclut les enfants nés moins de huit mois après le mariage de leur mère. Or le nombre moyen d'enfants (calculé sur le nombre de femmes qui ont au moins un enfant) est légèrement supérieur à quatre; la totalité (24% x 4,2 = 100%) des aînés seraient donc conçus hors mariage. Nous ne pouvons con-

firmer ou infirmer ce résultat tout de même étonnant, mais c'est un fait bien établi que l'on rencontre dans tous les campements plusieurs enfants illégitimes. Il arrive même qu'un homme ait, sans être marié, plusieurs enfants avec la même femme ou avec des femmes différentes. Un Lapon de Kautokeino a ainsi eu quatre enfants en quinze mois; le premier et le quatrième ont eu la même mère, tandis que le second et le troisième étaient de deux autres jeunes filles.

Aussi bien en ce qui concerne la fréquence des relations sexuelles que le nombre élevé d'enfants conçus hors mariage, la situation semble assez originale à Kautokeino, par rapport aux autres régions de Laponie. À Lainiovuoma (nord de la Suède), Whitaker relève une moralité beaucoup plus stricte; Wahlund dit que pendant la période 1791-1890, le nombre d'enfants illégitimes était insignifiant en Laponie suédoise (Wahlund 1932). Whitaker écrit: "it has not been possible to get any reliable data other than those relating to births, about pre-marital relationships, but these would appear to be at a minimum at the present". Cette "impossibilité" même d'obtenir des données sur ce sujet indique de la part des Lapons de Lainiovuoma une réserve que l'on ne rencontre guère à Kautokeino.

Aucune sanction n'est prise par les parents contre une fille qui a un enfant alors qu'elle n'est pas mariée. Dans cette attitude des parents, entre pour une grande part le souci de l'intérêt de l'enfant. Au récit de ce qui est le lot fréquent des filles-mères dans les pays méditerranéens (la mise à la rue), les Lapons s'indignent et font remarquer que c'est punir l'enfant, qui n'est en rien coupable. Beaucoup de communautés paysannes en Europe connaissent également un nombre élevé de conceptions hors mariage; ce qui fait l'originalité de la situation à Kautokeino est que le mariage n'y est nullement considéré comme la conséquence inévitable d'une maternité: en particulier, la jeune fille peut refuser le père de son enfant, s'il ne lui plaît pas. À notre connaissance, aucune pression n'est exercée dans ce cas par les parents. Il faut toutefois noter que Joan Newhouse a une opinion différente à ce sujet, mais elle rend peu probante sa thèse en ajoutant, contre toute évidence, que les naissances illégitimes sont rares. La présence d'un enfant n'est pas un obstacle à un mariage ultérieur de la mère; les enfants sont toujours considérés comme une ri-

chesse et une fierté, et il n'existe aucune discrimination entre les demi-frères et les demi-sœurs. Lors des enquêtes de parenté, les Lapones signalent d'elles-mêmes que tel ou tel de leurs enfants n'est pas de leur mari. La conséquence de cette situation est que les cas d'infanticide sont rarissimes; la tradition orale assure (sans qu'il soit possible d'en vérifier le fondement en l'absence de sources historiques sûres) qu'ils étaient fréquents autrefois. Leur importance est grande dans les représentations collectives: beaucoup de Lapons affirment avoir rencontré pendant les nuits d'hiver des *aepparaš;* ce sont des enfants qui sont censés avoir été étranglés par leur mère, et que l'on entend crier dans la nuit. Ils poursuivent les Lapons isolés dans la toundra, et ne trouvent le repos qu'après avoir été baptisés.

UNE CONTRADICTION?

Les Lapons de Kautokeino connaissent une stricte monogamie. Le divorce est inconnu parmi eux, et hautement désapprouvé (quand il se produit chez des Norvégiens); l'adultère est très rare, et également considéré comme désastreux. L'infidélité des hommes mariés se borne généralement à quelques avances faites en état d'ivresse aux jeunes filles. Nous n'avons jamais observé un seul cas de dispute entre époux: la bonne entente semble être la règle sous la tente ou le toit lapons.

On remarquera que les trois composantes du comportement conjugal qui viennent d'être énumérées — bonne entente, fidélité, absence de divorce — correspondent à des niveaux distincts, et hiérarchisés: comportement informel, rupture de fait, puis de droit, des liens conjugaux. Chacun de ces niveaux est relativement indépendant de ceux qui le précèdent: il est facile d'imaginer des disputes continuelles qui n'engendreraient pas d'infidélité, ou un adultère qui n'impliquerait pas forcément le divorce. Ils sont donc justiciables d'une analyse point par point.

La diversité des rôles masculin et féminin influe certainement sur la bonne entente entre les époux: les activités économiques de l'homme et de la femme constituent deux sphères séparées et les risques de discorde en sont amoindris d'autant. On sait par ailleurs que les Lapons cherchent en toutes circonstances à éviter

les conflits ouverts. Un conflit latent entre les conjoints ne se traduira généralement pas autrement que par des absences prolongées du mari, particulièrement dans le cas de couples sans enfants; cette conduite est d'autant plus informelle que la surveillance des rennes exige fréquemment que les hommes passent plusieurs jours loin de leur foyer. Quant aux facteurs qui peuvent rendre compte de la fidélité conjugale, on notera le statut égal des deux époux, qui implique un grand respect pour la femme; surtout, on relèvera l'âge tardif au mariage: environ 25 ans pour les femmes, 27 ans pour les hommes. Enfin, il est incontestable que la base économique du mariage (la réunion de deux troupeaux) explique en grande partie l'impossibilité du divorce. La dissolution des liens conjugaux signifierait la rupture de l'équilibre social et économique de la famille et du groupe; par contre, avant le mariage, la sexualité n'a encore aucune dimension sociale (Cazeneuve 1967).

Whitaker oppose ce qu'il appelle la liberté sexuelle avant le mariage et la stricte moralité qui suit celui-ci; il explique cette contradiction par l'influence de l'éthique chrétienne: "the fundamental motive for this attitude is, I believe, the Christian ethic, which plays a much greater part in the lives of married persons than with the unmarried young" (op. cit.). Il est à craindre que ce type d'explication ne soit insuffisant à rendre compte des faits observés; en effet, on ne voit aucune raison pour laquelle la morale chrétienne commencerait à jouer un rôle si efficace au lendemain du mariage, après avoir été complètement négligée auparavant. Et s'il en était ainsi, on devrait s'attendre à voir les parents exercer une influence moralisatrice sur leurs enfants; on a vu que ce n'était nullement le cas. Il nous semble plutôt qu'il y a erreur à vouloir opposer deux systèmes de valeurs qui seraient contradictoires: liberté sexuelle avant le mariage, stricte moralité ensuite. Comme nous racontions à deux Lapons (l'un marié, l'autre non) qu'en Afrique du Nord, il était interdit de flirter avec les filles, tous deux se sont exclamés de concert: "mais alors, comment les garçons font-ils pour trouver une épouse?". Cela semble bien être ici la fonction des relations sexuelles préconjugales; d'où l'inadéquation, à notre sens, du terme "liberté sexuelle", emprunté à notre société avec toute l'idéologie qu'il véhicule. De même, on vient de voir que plusieurs facteurs économiques et culturels ren-

dent compte des comportements conjugaux, qui ne peuvent être réduits à un simple certificat de bonne moralité. Rappelons que l'un de ces facteurs est précisément la multiplication des expériences sexuelles pendant une dizaine d'années, jointe à la liberté de choix du conjoint. La conception que les Lapons ont de la sexualité (institutionnalisée ou non) forme un tout cohérent, et y voir une contradiction qui ne pourrait être résolue que par le recours à l'idéologie chrétienne nous paraît être une erreur de méthode.

La destinée normale de l'homme et de la femme dans la société lapone est de se marier et d'avoir des enfants. Le nombre de célibataires est très faible; dans les quelques cas que nous avons rencontrés, il s'agissait uniquement d'hommes. Un mariage sans enfant est une calamité; une femme de 35 ans ne cesse de plaisanter avec amertume sur le fait que son mariage est stérile: "je ne peux pas sortir aujourd'hui, je dois garder les enfants" (en montrant les chiens...). Dans le cas d'un homme dont la responsabilité dans la stérilité du mariage est sans équivoque (sa femme ayant eu auparavant un enfant d'un autre homme), on plaisante à ses dépens. Le fait de ne pas avoir d'enfants est la seule cause de discorde durable entre deux époux; un homme sujet à des troubles mentaux s'est pendu pour cette raison après trois ans de mariage.

SUICIDES

Les suicides, ou tentatives de suicide, à la suite d'une déception amoureuse ne sont pas exceptionnels à Kautokeino, compte tenu de la petite taille de la population. Nous relatons ci-dessous deux cas survenus dans les vingt dernières années:

> Aslak était très amoureux de Marit; celle-ci s'en laissait aimer, mais accordait également ses faveurs à Henrik, le frère d'Aslak, et à d'autres encore. Un jour, elle a emprunté sans autorisation un renne de trait d'Aslak pour aller voir d'autres garçons. Ce jour-là, il n'a rien dit. Mais une autre fois, après que Marit ait passé la nuit avec Henrik, Aslak est resté plusieurs heures sans lui parler. Un jour qu'ils étaient tous trois sous la tente, Aslak est sorti sans rien dire. Intriguée, Marit l'a suivi de loin et est arrivée juste à temps

> alors qu'il commençait à se pendre à un bouleau avec son lasso. Marit a alors décidé de partir loin des deux frères, pour épouser un autre garçon. Lorsqu'elle est partie, Aslak est monté sur le toit d'une cabane et est resté plusieurs heures, immobile, à regarder le traîneau s'éloigner.
>
> Niilas avait promis à Mat'te la main de sa fille Inga qui était alors très jeune. Mat'te aimait beaucoup Inga, et il a travaillé pendant plusieurs années comme berger au service de Niilas, avec comme seul salaire cette promesse de mariage. Mais lorsque Inga a été en âge de se marier, elle a refusé d'épouser Mat'te. Celui-ci s'est alors pendu avec son lasso.

Citons également ce passage de *Reindeer are wild too:*

> "l'un de ses amants s'était pendu à un rocher parce qu'elle l'avait abandonné pour un autre et le père de sa petite fille menaçait souvent d'en faire autant si elle ne consentait pas à l'épouser." (Newhouse 1952).

Le suicide (*ieža*s*-goddit:* "se tuer soi-même") s'effectue toujours quelle qu'en soit la cause, avec le lasso que tout éleveur porte sur lui. Cette constante dans les moyens utilisés prouve que le suicide n'est pas un phénomène aberrant dans la société lapone, comme le sont par exemple les quelques très rares cas de meurtre. Les suicides passionnels cristallisent d'une manière dramatique plusieurs traits de la structure sociale lapone, et d'abord le statut élevé de la femme. Il n'est peut-être pas inutile de commenter un peu plus longuement ce dernier point: la femme est respectée et indépendante; lorsqu'elle se marie, elle garde son propre nom. Cette indépendance repose sur une base économique: la possession d'un troupeau de rennes qui restent marqués à sa marque personnelle pendant toute la vie d'une femme. En pratique, c'est le mari qui prend les décisions importantes concernant le troupeau commun, mais il consulte souvent son épouse. Un petit nombre de femmes accomplissent d'ailleurs toutes les tâches de l'éleveur; ceci peut arriver par exemple lorsqu'un Lapon n'a que des filles.

Il y a évidemment une relation étroite entre l'égalité des statuts masculin et féminin, et l'indifférenciation de la structure sociale: la descendance, l'héritage et la succession se font également par les hommes et par les femmes, la résidence peut être

matrilocale aussi bien que patrilocale, en fonction d'impératifs écologiques.

On a vu que ce statut élevé de la femme se manifeste avec éclat dans le domaine de la sexualité; le rituel de fiançailles place même, d'un point de vue psychologique, le garçon en position d'infériorité. À plusieurs étapes du rituel, la jeune fille est libre de refuser les offres du garçon (cf. Paine 1964 et 1972). Un certain ridicule est attaché à celui-ci, et à lui seul, si le rituel échoue. On dit alors du prétendant éconduit qu'"il a reçu un pantalon en peau de miessi" (renne de moins de six mois). La grande part d'initiative de la jeune fille dans les relations préconjugales, et la possibilité qui lui est laissée de choisir librement son époux, ont été à l'origine des drames que nous avons rapportés.

L'agressivité entraînée par une déception amoureuse peut être d'autant plus vivement retournée contre soi que toute manifestation de violence est l'objet d'une forte réprobation dans la société lapone; en particulier, le meurtre passionnel est inconnu. On pourrait certainement mettre en relation le taux très faible de meurtres, et celui, relativement élevé, de suicides; dans le premier cas que nous avons relaté, c'est par le silence et le renfermement sur soi que le garçon exprime ses reproches.

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Race Relations in an Alaska Native Village*

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RÉSUMÉ

Cet article présente une étude faite selon la méthode d'observation par participation des relations entre aborigènes et blancs dans un petit village aléoute où les contacts interraciaux sont inévitables et où les blancs, pour la plupart immigrants du Nord des États-Unis, contrôlent les ressources et les institutions principales de la communauté. La contribution centrale de cette étude porte sur la forme que les relations raciales prennent dans une situation de contact interracial réel.

La plupart des blancs du village évaluent les Aléoutes selon les croyances raciales acquises avant leur contact avec ceux-ci. Les blancs, par leurs contacts fréquents avec les Aléoutes, jouent un rôle de socialisation vis-à-vis eux. Ce rôle des blancs a deux facettes: d'une part ils essaient d'inculquer aux Aléoutes les valeurs de la société dominante; d'autre part, ils empêchent la réalisation de ce but en assignant aux Aléoutes un statut de subordonné et en détruisant leur confiance en eux-mêmes suffisamment pour qu'ils ne puissent atteindre les standards que les blancs leur proposent. Ce comportement contradictoire est attribué d'une part à l'ethnocentrisme des blancs et d'autre part au désir de protéger leurs propres intérêts et leur position.

There is a voluminous body of literature on race relations in the continental United States but virtually no systematic investigations of race relations in Alaska native villages. The mixed native-white village in Alaska differs in a fundamental way

* The data for this paper were collected in a participant observation study of an Aleut village in the summer of 1971. The study was financed by a National Science Foundation grant.

from the usual setting in which American race relations are studied. Unlike the urban setting where members of different racial groups can successfully avoid nearly any contact, interracial contact is inevitable in the small space of the native village where there is usually only one school, one church, one market, one bar, one coffee house, and one movie theater.

I was interested in examining the form race relations assumes in this situation of real interracial contact. Specifically, I asked: How do whites categorize and stereotype natives? How do they behave in interactions with natives and what are the socialization implications of this behavior? What variations in race relations appear and with what factors are they associated?

I examined these questions in the small Aleut[1] village of Rocky Bay in the summer of 1971.[2] Of 400 Rocky Bay residents, 316 are Aleut, 16 are other non-white, mostly Alaska Eskimo and Indian, and 68 are white.[3]

Most attitude studies on race rely on questionnaire methods. In this approach, it is not clear if subjects respond in terms of what they think they *should* believe or actual beliefs. Similarly, in the area of interracial behavior, questionnaires usually furnish information about how respondents think they would act in a hypothetical situation. Since I was interested in determining actual racial attitudes and beliefs, those volunteered, for example, in unguarded moments; and in observing interracial behavior in a natural setting, I deemed structured research methods inappropriate. Instead, I conducted a two-month participant observation study of Rocky Bay. During this period, I became acquainted with most members of the village, conducted interviews with 80 percent of white adults and about 50 percent of native adults,

[1] Aleuts are both racially and culturally distinct from whites. Their ancestors came from Asia and developed a distinctive culture in roughly 8,000 years of habitation in the Aleutians prior to white contact. See William S. LAUGHLIN, "Human Migration and Permanent Occupation in the Bering Sea Area."

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

[3] Transient whites such as college students who work in the fish processing plant during summer vacation are not included.

and observed a large proportion of both groups in interracial interaction.

In a prior paper dealing with the adaptations of whites living in Rocky Bay[3a], I described in detail the village setting and the characteristics of the white population. Here I shall summarize these descriptions.

VILLAGE SETTINGS

Rocky Bay in a remote fishing village accessible only by boat or air. Although it was the site of aboriginal habitation, Rocky Bay was uninhabited at the time of recent settlement in the 1880's when a customs house, supply station, and cod stations were established.[4] Until the late 1940's, only a few families lived in the village to run the small cod and salmon salteries. After that a major fish processing enterprise was introduced, and the population grew to its present size. The fisheries company, which has retained a monopoly on fish processing in the village, is the major employment source, providing direct and indirect (through the purchase of fish) employment for about 90 percent of the native work force and 75 percent of the white.

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

There was no organized government in Rocky Bay until 1966 when the village incorporated as a fourth class city under Alaska law (fourth class cities can levy a sales tax but have no financial or administrative responsibilities for schools).

Rocky Bay has many modern facilities and services including frame houses with indoor plumbing and modern appliances, an airfield and local roads, local and long-distance telephone service, community water and power systems, a school, a fundamentalist

[3a] Dorothy M. JONES: "Adaptations of Whites in an Alaska Native Village".

[4] Aleš HRDLIČKA, *The Aleutian and Commander Islands and Their Inhabitants*, p. 39; Robert PORTER, *Report on the Population of the United States at the 11th Census*, p. 85.

church, health clinic, cafe, bar, market, liquor store, post office, city hall, jail, and two movie theaters.

THE WHITE COMMUNITY

For the majority of whites, Rocky Bay constitutes the first Alaskan experience and for nearly every white, it is the first experience living in a racially mixed community where interracial contact is unavoidable.

Rocky Bay whites come primarily from northcentral and northwestern U.S. with the largest proportion coming from the state of Washington. About 40 percent have rural farm or small town (under 5,000) backgrounds.

These whites share some of the characteristics typical of "core" society Americans. They are predominantly Protestant, old American, and northern European in origin. And they are strongly committed to the Protestant work ethic — hard work, mobility, self-improvement, and disapproval of dissipation.[5] Rocky Bay whites are assertively mobile persons seeking opportunities for career and financial gain.

Before migrating to Rocky Bay, most white adults had limited skills for realizing their aspirations. Thirty-six of 52 adults have no college; 11 of the 36 are high school drop outs; and 16 of the 28 males have no training for a specific occupation.

Rocky Bay offered these persons unique opportunities. 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. In addition, the company offers fringe benefits such as transportation costs to and from the village, low rent company housing, and free utilities. Despite high living costs in Alaska, these fringe benefits effectively reduce living costs below those of the places whites formerly lived.

[5] For a description of "core" society Americans, see Charles H. ANDERSON, *White, Protestant Americans: From National Origins to Religious Group.*

The majority of whites work at high level jobs in the village (Table 1). Of 28 males in the work force, 16 are entrepreneurs, managers, professionals, or technicians. The number working at higher level jobs would be even larger if school teachers were included but the majority from the 1970-71 school year permanently left the village and teachers for the coming year had not arrived at the time of the field work. The school principal is the only teacher included in the professional category.

TABLE 1

Occupational Distribution of Rocky Bay White Population (Over 21 Years of Age), 1971

Occupation	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Self-employed	1	0	1
Managers	5	1	6
Professionals	4	1	5
Technicians	6	2	8
Skilled workers	6	1	7
Fishermen	6	0	6
Unskilled workers	0	4	4
TOTAL	28	9	37

While precise data are lacking, mean annual family income for whites can be estimated between $12,000 and $13,000. This figure represents an even larger amount if one considers fringe benefits.

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, school principal, teachers, preacher, and nurse. In addition, white leadership is dominant on the council; in 1971, five of seven members were white. Thus, though comprising only 16.7 percent of the village population, whites possess dominant economic and political power — to hire, fire, give or withhold credit, make arrests, impose sentences, and control council decision making.

THE ALEUT COMMUNITY

The majority of Aleut adults (over 21) are not indigenous to Rocky Bay. Only 18.4 percent were born in the village. For the remainder, mean years of residence is 13.5. Most immigrants came from nearby villages in quest of jobs. As a result of varied origins and recency of movement to the village, the networks of social relationships are splintered and no village-wide leadership or specifically Aleut organizations have evolved or been revived.

Intermarriage with whites (mostly Europeans attracted to the area early in the century when cod fishing was at its height) was widespread in the villages from which most Rocky Bay Aleuts came. Although only 12 contemporary Aleuts are married to whites, the majority have had a white relative through intermarriage sometime in the past three generations. As a consequence, about half of the contemporary Aleuts look white and the majority think of themselves as part white.

The presence of a white role model through intermarriage is one of the factors associated with relatively high acculturation levels in the village.[6] Rocky Bay Aleuts have had the opportunity to learn western values from trusted persons. In addition, Aleuts who look white tend to find greater acceptance by whites than their darker-skinned Aleut brothers.

Opportunities for nearly year-round employment and relatively high incomes have been major factors in hastening acculturation. Seventy of 84 males in the native work force are fishermen (Table 2); 55 of the 70 fish on a nearly year-round basis; the other 15 may work as unskilled fish processors when not fishing. Forty-one of 74 Aleut women also work, the majority as unskilled fish processors.

Although fishermen's incomes are variable, my estimate indicates a mean annual family income for natives in 1971 of $10,000 (probably higher than that for any other native village in Alaska).

[6] Bruner found the presence or absence of white relatives through intermarriage closely associated with group differences in Mandan-Hidatsa acculturation. Edward M. BRUNER, "Primary Group Experience and the Processes of Acculturation."

The Rocky Bay Aleut has responded to opportunities for jobs and relatively high incomes by largely abandoning traditional subsistence activities, thereby forging an irreversible link to western culture.

TABLE 2

Occupational Distribution of Rocky Bay Native Population (Over 21 Years of Age), 1971

Occupation	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
Self-employed	1	1	2
Managers and foremen	2	0	2
Professionals	0	0	0
Technicians	0	0	0
Skilled workers	3	1	4
Fishermen	70	6	76
Unskilled workers*	8	33	41
TOTAL	84	41	125

Migration to a village with a resident white population has accelerated the speed with which Rocky Bay Aleuts abandoned other visible signs of traditional culture. In contrast to some other Aleut villages, there is no chief system, no Russian Orthodox Church (the Russian Orthodox Church had become integral to Aleut culture), no traditional ceremonies, and little Aleut is spoken.

Despite these signs of acculturation, Aleuts manifest some distinct cultural differences from whites. Because of the exceptional diversity in the Aleut community and because of variations in rates of change, it is difficult to identify a modal Aleut cultural pattern. The distinctly Aleut behaviors I shall mention may characterize, in one instance, about half of the Aleut population; in another, perhaps only a fifth.

The most visible signs of cultural differences between Aleuts and whites appear in orientations to work, money, drinking, and

* All but five of the unskilled workers are fish processors. Individuals who may work at the processing plant intermittently but whose major source of income is fishing are excluded from this category.

sex. In contrast to the white's dominant valuation of hard work and self-improvement, some Aleuts place top priority on the personal relationship and interpersonal harmony.[7] These persons tend to be averse to the competitiveness and acquisitiveness necessary for success and status in the white world. In line with traditional values of cooperation, mutual aid, and egalitarianism, some Aleuts eschew fishing competition and see little reason for working after earnings are sufficient to purchase needed or desired items. If such persons possess more money than they need, or even if they do not, they often place higher value on a period of leisure or abandon or on sharing their larder with friends in the bar than in acquiring additional cash or material items.

Aleut attitudes toward drinking also differ from those of the middle class whites of Rocky Bay. Familiarity with alcohol is long-standing in the Aleutians. The Russians introduced *kvas* (home-brewed beer and wine) about the same time that they suppressed certain Aleut ceremonials such as mask dances, and thus the beer bust appears to have replaced these ceremonies. Aleut drinking is characteristically periodic and of the "bender" variety. It is rarely solitary but occurs in the context of parties and group celebrations.[8] Drinking constitutes one of the goals toward which Aleuts may work. After arduous fishing for an uninterrupted week or month, for example, a fisherman may anticipate returning home to go to the bar, not count his sums. He is likely to dance until dawn, continue the party at friends' or relatives' houses, visit anyone in the village at any hour, return to the bar the next day for more dancing and socializing, and so forth. By contrast, when whites of Rocky Bay drink, they seek to remain prudent, sober, dignified, and in control of themselves at all times. They are, as a consequence, incredulous at the Aleuts' display of uninhibited abandon and waste of money.

Sex norms also constitute a source of cultural differences between Aleuts and whites. Before white contact, Aleut society observed few restrictions on sexual activity. Aleut unions were

[7] Ioann Veniaminov, a Russian priest who lived in the Aleutians for ten years noted this propensity in the 1820's. William H. DALL, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 389, citing Veniaminov.

[8] Gerald D. BERREMAN, "Drinking Patterns Among the Aleuts."

polygynous although a wife's freedom to enter a new relationship required her husband's permission.[9] While the nuclear family has become dominant, casual and open attitudes toward sex persist among certain segments of the village population.[10] These orientations contrast sharply with white middle-class *ideal* norms regarding sexual fidelity in marriage and secrecy in pre and extra-marital sex relations.

These, then, are some of the characteristics that distinguish Aleut and white life styles in Rocky Bay, although it should be remembered that cultural similarities between whites and many Rocky Bay Aleuts are often more striking than cultural differences.

CATEGORIES AND STEREOTYPES

White Categorizations

Like most people everywhere, Rocky Bay whites try to simplify their social environments by placing people in categories. In this case, whites assign village members to a racial category. When I queried whites about the criteria they use for identifying Aleuts, most revealed the same five cues: (1) skin color, (2) place of origin — whether from the Aleutian area or elsewhere, (3) identity of parents and relatives, (4) place of residence in the village — whether in a predominantly white or native section, and (5) use of Alaska native health services. Generally, whites use a combination of cues because none by itself is uniformly effective in distinguishing Aleuts. For example, skin color distinguishes only about half of the Aleuts, and whites may lack information about an individual's place of origin or whether he uses Alaska native health services.

The tenacity with which whites pursue the information they need to make a racial classification suggests that it is an important

[9] HRDLIČKA, pp. 160-168; Arthur RUBEL, "Partnership and Wife Exchange Among the Eskimo and Aleut of Northern North America."

[10] In a study of a more traditional Aleut village, Berreman elaborated the casual and permissive attitude toward sex. "A Contemporary Study of Nikolski, an Aleutian Village," pp. 230-236.

determinant of behavior — that is, they act as if their social preconceptions would be profoundly upset if they made the mistake of treating a native like a white. I observed several whites in encounters with unknown persons suspected of being native. In these situations, whites fired a series of questions at the person regarding his place of origin, relatives, or area of residence in the village. Other whites asked neighbors or fellow church members similar questions about individuals whose racial classification was unknown to them. Among whites who have lived in the village for a year or more, I encountered not a single person who expressed uncertainty about the racial classification of every family in the village.

The Content of White Stereotypes

After identifying the Aleuts, what characteristics do whites attribute to them? Do they apply the same racial preconceptions to Aleuts as they do to other racial minorities such as U.S. blacks? Do they perceive Aleuts in terms of the "romantic Indian" image? Or does frequent contact with Aleuts generate a more realistic appraisal. Let the facts speak.

Shortly after arriving in the village, I visited a white couple who had lived in Rocky Bay for several years. They volunteered their impressions of Aleuts:

> Have you ever seen such people in all your life? Have you ever seen such drinking and running around? Fish and drink, fish and drink, that's all they know. They don't care about money. They don't even care about their children... and they're so clannish. Not one of them has ever visited us.

Other whites elaborated the list of stereotypes. Aleuts are dirty, lazy, irresponsible, hostile, defiant, stubborn, non-assertive, lacking in respect for law and property, and lacking in pride (this euphemism refers to Aleuts' reliance on Alaska native health services for which whites are ineligible). The majority of whites interviewed applied some combination of the above stereotypes to Aleuts. Some whites drew analogies between Aleuts and other racial minorities: "They (Aleuts) are just as lazy, shiftless, and sexually loose as the Negroes in Seattle."

Reinforcement of Stereotypes

Clearly, Rocky Bay whites judge Aleuts in terms of previously held racial beliefs despite the evidence before their eyes.[11] And their behavior suggests that they seek to discover evidence that confirms these preconceptions, and to deny that which contradicts them.[12] One white based his conclusion of Aleuts' lack of ambition on the observation of an Aleut house abandoned in the midst of construction for no apparent reason; time and money were available, he said. But this is the only such house in the village; about half of the Aleuts' homes are in good repair. Whites who charge Aleuts with being filthy housekeepers usually have been in only one or two Aleut homes. Several whites based their conclusion of Aleut promiscuity on tales they had heard about three sexually loose Aleut women. The large majority of whites believe that Aleuts en masse are drunkards even though more than half of the Aleut adults do not engage in excessive or "bender" drinking.

Whites' racial preconceptions receive reinforcement by the dearth of feedback that would contradict them.[13] Whites tend to associate with others who perceive Aleuts the way they do. Therefore, they receive no negative feedback from their own group. Nor is there feedback from the Aleut group. For one reason, Aleuts, as members of a powerless minority group, are generally afraid to challenge the white's racial misperceptions. For another reason, whites are not susceptible to feedback from Aleuts. When encountering Aleut behavior that contradicts their racial preconceptions, whites usually discount it by designating such behavior as exceptional.

Another factor reinforcing whites' racial preconceptions in Rocky Bay is the visibility of negative attributes. Behavior that confirms racist beliefs is usually far more visible and memorable than that which contradicts them.[14] It casts a far more striking

[11] Investigators of race relations commonly refer to the tendency for one racial group to judge another in terms of previously held racial beliefs. Gordon W. ALLPORT, *The Nature of Prejudice,* pp. 189-205; Arnold ROSE, *The Negro in America,* pp. 31-54; Henry TAJFEL, "Cognitive Aspects of Prejudice," p. 82; Reginald G. DAMERELL, *Triumph in a White Suburb,* p. 262.

[12] Tajfel, p. 83, refers to a similar tendency.

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] I use the term "racism" to refer to the practice of basing invidious distinctions between groups on real or imagined genetically transmitted differences. See Pierre VAN DEN BERGHE, *Race and Racism,* p. 11.

impression to see one drunken Aleut than ten who remain sober, one open act of sexual promiscuity than 12 of sexual prudence, one act of destruction of property than dozens of instances of respect for property. Such dramatic and highly visible behavior, therefore, appears to whites to be far more prevalent than it actually is.

An equally or more important factor reinforcing whites' racial preconceptions is whites' need to rationalize inequality in terms that are acceptable to them. Because Rocky Bay whites occupy a position of advantage in the village and because they also perceive themselves as democratic and fair minded individuals who do not exploit or take advantage of others, they manifest a strong need to rationalize the inequality in terms of Aleut inadequacy and inferiority. This inadequacy and inferiority, they assert, is due to Aleuts' failure to live according to the Protestant ethic.

Aleut Stereotyping of Whites

I did not set out to study Aleut patterns of categorization and stereotyping of whites but some casual observations seem worth noting. In contrast to the white's tendency to refer to Aleuts as "they", I seldom heard Rocky Bay Aleuts allude to whites in similar terms. Aleuts frequently refer to whites but nearly always as individuals. They might say: "X is nice, he is lots of fun," or "Y is a funny guy, he wants to boss everyone around," or "M isn't very friendly." Aleuts in Rocky Bay generally discuss only what is concretely known about a person.[15] If my observations are valid, it raises the question of why Aleuts use stereotypes far less frequently than whites. I suggest that Aleuts have a greater need for accurate information about the characteristics of whites than whites do of Aleuts. To maneuver successfully in white-controlled economic and political institutions, Aleuts must know the characteristics of the individuals with whom they deal. Aleuts need whites for other reasons; some aspire to marry whites, to

[15] The Honigmanns noted the same tendency among the Eskimos of Frobisher Bay in Canada. John and Irma HONIGMANN, *Eskimo Townsmen*, p. 5.

acquire white friends, and to use whites as models of acculturation, all of which require accurate information about individual whites.[16]

Variations in Patterns of White Stereotyping

While the forms of white stereotyping discussed above characterize a majority in Rocky Bay, two small groups show variant patterns. One, a group of fishermen and their wives, consistently characterize Aleuts in positive terms. The other, the better educated whites, stereotype Aleuts in equivocal terms rather than strictly negative or positive ones.

Eight whites express positive attitudes toward Aleuts. Aside from a company engineer, this group comprises fishermen (four of the six white fishermen in the village) and their wives. Each of the seven works side by side with Aleuts, the men on boats, and the women on the assembly line in the fish processing plant. When I asked these persons their impressions of Aleuts, they generally replied, "...they live the same way we do, there is no difference." I never heard these persons generalize from the behavior of a minority to the entire Aleut group. Rather, similar to the way Aleuts evaluate whites, they tend to judge Aleuts on an individual basis.

A striking characteristic of the setting in which these fishermen and their wives encounter Aleuts is the lack of competition for jobs. Employment opportunities for both fishermen and fish processors are usually abundant in Rocky Bay. Moreover, white and Aleut fishermen work together in a relatively non-hierarchical situation so there is little competition for position advancement. There is no career ladder in fishing to speak of — one can be either crew member or skipper. Similarly, Rocky Bay white women who work as unskilled fish processors are not seeking career advancement; they usually view the job only as a temporary source for cash.

[16] In a study of social categories used in urban India, Berreman noted that persons from lower status groups were more familiar with the characteristics of higher status groups than members of the latter were with the characteristics of lower status groups, "Social Categories and Social Interactions in Urban India."

That the most positive racial attitudes are found among the lowest status whites in the village raises an interesting question about the relationship between social class position and prejudice. A large body of race relations literature posits an inverse relationship between class and prejudice.[17] Although the numbers are too small to warrant a definitive statement, the Rocky Bay data suggest that there is nothing intrinsic in the personality or position of working class whites to make them racists. Rather, these data suggest that economic competition is a more critical determinant of race attitudes than class position. Where economic competition is minimal, as with white and Aleut fishermen and fish processors in Rocky Bay, positive racial attitudes develop. Thus, we may assume that the inverse relationship between class position and prejudice characterizes situations of economic competition between racial groups.

Seven other whites also stereotype Aleuts differently than the majority of Rocky Bay whites. These seven are middle class — professionals and managers and their wives. But their patterns of stereotyping are not typical of middle-class whites in Rocky Bay. Rather, they appear to be representative of those with advanced education. Only 11 Rocky Bay whites have two or more years of college. I interviewed nine of these. Of the nine, seven stereotyped Aleuts in ambiguous terms, emphasizing positive attributes only to contradict or deny them in the next breath. Some typical examples are:

> Aleuts are very warm and generous people. But have you ever seen such filth?
>
> Aleuts are remarkable people. They are so accepting of one another, even of their ex-mates. You know, they frequently change mates and then they socialize freely with them, often sitting with two of them at the same time in the bar. You wonder if they have any pride or self respect.
>
> Some people object to their (Aleut) drinking and sexing around. But I tell them, it's none of their business. Aleuts have as much right to their life styles as we do to ours. And who is to say which way is better.

[17] William MacKinnon and Richard Centers, "Authoritarianism and Urban Stratification"; Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy and Working Class Authoritarianism"; Albert Cohen and Harold Hodges, Jr., "Characteristics of the Lower Blue Collar Class."

> But what gets me is that they have no interest in getting ahead. They don't understand the value of money. They don't care about improving themselves.

In a recent study of anti-semitism, Selznick and Steinberg[17a] found that the higher a person's educational level the lower his level of prejudice. They attribute this finding to the influence of higher education in developing a commitment to an "enlightened" world view and to rules of evidence. The seven educated whites mentioned above, indeed, showed far more concern with demonstrating "enlightened" racial attitudes and objectivity than other whites. They tried to present a balanced picture, giving as much weight to positive as negative Aleut attributes. But the resulting picture was not really a balanced one because the negative statements were inaccurate. The positive statements these whites made appear to serve as a cover for basic prejudice against Aleuts.

These seven whites would undoubtedly score higher on a race attitude questionnaire than the less well-educated. But differences in racial attitudes based on education may be only rhetorical, reflecting the better-educated person's greater skill in rationalization and verbal disguise.[18]

BEHAVIOR IN INTERACTION

Earlier I mentioned that Rocky Bay whites tend to rationalize racial inequality in terms of Aleuts' failure to live according to the Protestant ethic. Whites, however, do not simply rationalize the issue of inequality and then forget about it. They tend to be activists. They act on their belief in their own superiority and Aleuts' inferiority by trying to instruct the Aleut in Protestant ethic virtues. In this way, they actively function as agents of culture transmission.

If whites succeed in this effort, however, they face the threat of competition from Aleuts and the actual or potential loss of

[17a] Gertrude J. SELZNICK and Stephen STEINBERG, *The Tenacity of Prejudice.*

[18] In reviewing attitude studies on race, Simpson and Yinger point to the bias that may arise from the fact that middle-class respondents possess greater verbal skills than lower-class ones. George E. SIMPSON and J. Milton YINGER, *Racial and Cultural Minorities: An Analysis of Prejudice and Discrimination,* p. 105.

their positions of advantage. Consequently, whites face a dilemma. On one level, their ethnocentrism leads them to try to change Aleuts' values and behavior, to convince Aleuts to emulate them. On another perhaps less conscious level, their positions of advantage promote an interest in preventing Aleuts from entering into competition with them. This dilemma appears to be critical to an understanding of the interracial behavior of a majority of Rocky Bay whites.

I examined interracial behavior in informal social relations, excluding those that occur at the work place. Again, I found a modal and variant pattern based on degree of social closeness with Aleuts. The majority of Rocky Bay whites who perceive Aleuts negatively tend to avoid interpersonal relationships with them while the minority who view Aleuts more positively usually engage in primary group relations with Aleuts. (For ease of communication, I shall refer to the latter group as "variant" whites.) However, the apparently positive correspondence between racial attitude and behavior disappears when examining the socialization roles whites perform *vis-a-vis* Aleuts. Both groups of whites exhibit similarities in their efforts to socialize Aleuts to dominant society values and to a subordinate position. First, I shall discuss the interracial behavior of the majority of whites in Rocky Bay.

Social Separation

Most Rocky Bay whites live residentially segregated from Aleuts — in the all-white section near company facilities and in the predominantly white area in the hills overlooking native sections. On the surface, this residential segregation does not appear to reflect racist attitudes of whites. Everybody in the village knows and seems to accept that whites live in segregated residential sections because of the availability of low-rent company housing in these places. However, the very fact that the company places its housing in areas distant from native residential sections suggests a demand by white company employees. Residential segregation in Rocky Bay is an example of institutional racism, of how housing segregation has become so well accepted that it seems natural.

The majority of whites remain socially distant from Aleuts in other ways, leading separate social lives and avoiding primary group relations with Aleuts. This social distance is not one-sided. Aleuts manifest a similar pattern of social avoidance of whites. But there is a difference when whites display disinterest in and avoidance of Aleuts and when Aleuts exhibit such behavior. Since whites are the decision makers, leaders, and dominant members of the village, their social avoidance of Aleuts is an offensive act connoting contempt for Aleuts. Aleut exclusion of whites is defensive and self-protective. Moreover, Aleuts' exclusion of whites usually gives way to acceptance when whites demonstrate a sincere interest in and respect for them.

The White as Socializer

Despite the social distance between Aleuts and whites in Rocky Bay, frequent contact between members of the two groups is unavoidable. They encounter each other at the dock, processing plant, market, bar, liquor store, cafe, movie theater, post office, church, and on the street. In these casual encounters, whites' socialization efforts focus on two issues. One is when Aleuts' behavior deviates from the whites values such as industry, self-improvement, respect for property, and avoidance of dissipation.

Drunk Aleuts are common targets of white socialization efforts. It should be noted that many whites appear to consume as much alcohol in absolute amounts as Aleuts but these whites drink small amounts on a regular basis rather than large amounts in periodic drinking binges. Thus, it is not the amount consumed but the style of drinking that concerns the white. When seeing a drunk Aleut on the street, whites may publicly chastise him, as one does a misbehaving child, telling him to go home. I have heard whites lecture drinking Aleuts about their profligate spending habits and all the improvements they could make on their homes if they stopped drinking. This contrasts with whites' behavior toward the few white persons who drink excessively. Though whites gossip about these drinkers, I saw or heard of no instance in which they intruded with advice or instructions.

Whites also instruct Aleuts in respect for property. One white, in a stroll through the village, saw Aleut children playing

in a boat not belonging to their parents. Shocked at their disregard for private property, she severely admonished them. On another occasion, she observed Aleut children playing in a car not belonging to their parents. To intensify her concern, she saw adult relatives of the children standing nearby. This time, she exhorted both children and adult relatives. This woman had lived in the village for a number of years but was apparently uninformed about Aleut orientations to property. Aleut children are accustomed to relatively free access to belongings of relatives and close family friends.

A common issue is white socialization efforts concerns self-improvement. When an Aleut woman just back from a year at college announced her intention to remain permanently in the village to a group of fellow workers at the processing plant, a white co-worker reproached her: "But you have a chance to make something of yourself. You'll never get ahead in a place like this." As this white later confided to me, her efforts to instill motivation in this relatively educated Aleut to get ahead in the world were unrelenting, albeit ineffective. "I keep trying to influence her but I don't know how to make an impression. She's so stubborn," said the white socializer.

The second socialization issue that prompts white interventions is when Aleuts violate whites' conception of a proper racial etiquette,[19] that is, when Aleuts become "uppity" and forget their subordinate place.

In the market, if an Aleut child, especially a dark-skinned one, says, "give me a package of gum," the clerk, at times in a snappish voice, may instruct him to say, "Please Mrs. X, may I have a package of gum." I did not see clerks exhibit such behavior when white children used similar forms of address. When the native child commits the cardinal sin of interrupting the white adult, he may evoke a sharper response either in a chilling stare or a verbal reproach.

With Aleut adults, whites generally use more indirection in posing the expectation for subservience. A scene at the church

[19] The concept "racial etiquette" refers to forms of control that define and maintain social distance. See Robert E. PARK, *Race and Culture*, p. 183; Gunnar MYRDAL, *An American Dilemma*, Vol. 1, pp. 610-618.

sewing circle attended by six white and three native women is illustrative. The white women monopolized the conversation, apparently expecting the native women to accept and enjoy their role as passive spectators. Then one native, who possesses greater verbal facility than the other native women present, assertively entered the conversation, telling a lengthy story about her childhood in a more traditional native village. Shortly after she finished, a white woman addressed the following comment to her: "I'm cleaning the rubbish out of my closets and cellar. Do you want my junkies?" The native woman mumbled an affirmative reply but thereafter was subdued.

Situations such as these occur in encounters in private homes. An oldtime Aleut raconteur visited me and was spinning yarns when three whites arrived. The whites acted bored and indifferent, looking away, yawning, grim-lipped when the native recounted a humourous incident. Then, after a few minutes, with apparent ressentment at the central role the native played in the conversation, the whites rudely interrupted him with a complete change of subject, and proceeded with their own conversation. The Aleut left, with the comment, "I feel I'm in the way here."

Aleuts are not very assertive in a dominant society sense. This is undoubtedly due not only to Aleuts' traditional reserve but also to the opposition they encounter from whites when they do assert themselves, as the above descriptions suggest. When Aleuts' assertiveness takes the form of direct economic competition, more severe sanctions than those mentioned above may be applied. To illustrate: an industrious Aleut couple in Rocky Bay sought to establish an enterprise that would be independent from the company. The husband's long-range plan involved building his own dock and warehouse. As a first step, he arranged to sell fish to a Japanese firm. But the company owns the dock and the white company superintendent refused to allow the Japanese vessel to tie up at the dock. Subsequently, when the wife opened a bakery, the white company superintendent threatened to withhold water and power utilises (also owned by the company) and refused to sell oil to her husband. Since profits from the company store cover a large share of the administrative costs for the fish processing plant, the superintendent was obviously concerned about competition with the company store.

While the company superintendent may have behaved similarly with a white competitor, it is important to point out the difference when a white competitor is thwarted and when the few Aleuts who seek to compete with white-owned enterprises are defeated. In the former case, only the individual white is involved. In the case of an assertive Aleut being defeated, the entire Aleut community, the members of which are generally keenly aware of these interactions, is affected, for Aleuts, in both this and the preceding incidents, must cope with contradictory socialization messages when the very whites who urge them to be assertive prevent them from doing so.

Before considering the implications of the socialization role of these whites, let us examine the interracial behavior of the small group of whites who do engage in primary group relations with Aleuts.

Variations in Interracial Behavior

Other than whites married to Aleuts who obviously engage in primary group relations with at least one Aleut, ten whites maintain friendship relationships with natives. This group comprises the eight individuals who perceive Aleuts in positive terms and two of the seven better-educated persons who apply both positive and negative stereotypes to Aleuts. This group has two distinguishing characteristics. First, seven of the ten — fishermen and their wives — work in a non-competitive situation with Aleuts. Second, nine of the ten have no stake in the community power structure. They are not employers, council members, law enforcement agents, school or church administrators, or persons with authority to give or withhold credit. Thus, it appears that interracial friendships are more likely to arise in situations where economic competition and political domination are not issues.

The 12 natives involved in these interracial friendships constitute a select group. All but three look white, four are married to whites, and all but one are among the most highly acculturated in the village. Thus, unless natives have special attributes attractive to whites, they are excluded from any primary group relationships with whites.

On the surface, the socialization roles of these "variant" whites differ from those of other Rocky Bay whites. "Variant" whites do not try to change the behavior of their native friends, most of whom have already adopted western values and life styles. But on an implicit level, their socialization roles parallel those of other whites. The frequency with which "variant" whites inveigh against Aleut life styles in the presence of Aleut friends suggests an implicit mandate to the Aleut to change the behavior of his less acculturated associates. To illustrate: one white, just back from a visit to a white friend in another Aleut village, vigorously derided Aleut life styles in that village to a visiting native friend. She said: "The way they (Aleuts) live is horrible. The kids are so filthy. And they run into your house and climb all over the furniture and touch everything in sight. Ugh! I wouldn't let my kids play with any of those kids after seeing what they were like." Another white, in the presence of an Aleut visitor, launched into a 20-minute tirade against Aleut life styles in Rocky Bay. She addressed the evils of drinking, sexual immorality, and especially parents allowing children to run wild. "There are no other ways to live here," she lamented, "everyone lives like that." "Variant" whites are either grossly insensitive or are indirectly conveying an injunction to native friends to change the behavior of less acculturated Aleuts.

The behavior of "variant" whites matches that of other whites in enforcing an etiquette of race relations, although the context shifts from the casual encounter to primary group relationships. The most striking way in which "variant" whites keep Aleuts in their place is by assigning a higher status and importance to white than to native visitors. In a native visit to a white home, if other whites are present, the host invariably ignores the native, directing eye gaze and conversation to the white. The native may respond by leafing through a magazine or mail order catalogue, or by leaving. The host may barely notice the leave taking.

"Variant" whites teach natives their proper place in other ways. They infrequently visit natives but expect native friends to be available to visit them when invited. I observed several instances in which natives countered the white's invitation with one to their homes. In each case, the white simply said, "No, you come to my place," as if it were a command. "Variant" whites

also discourage verbal expressions of affection from native friends. When a native told a white friend, just back from a lengthy vacation, how much she had missed her, the white abruptly changed the subject. Some "variant" whites respond with more biting rejections. After a native remarked to a white she was visiting, "I don't know what I would do if I didn't have you to visit," the white looked uncomfortable and several minutes later said, "Goodness, you're getting fat in the rear end."

Thus, even whites who befriend Aleuts express racist sentiments that consign natives, however acculturated they may be, to a secondary and subservient status. How can we explain this apparent paradox? Unlike the majority of Rocky Bay whites, most "variant" whites do not enjoy a position of economic and political advantage in the village, and therefore we can assume that their interracial behavior is not motivated by an interest in protecting a privileged economic or political position. But in a racist society that accords, in addition to economic and political privilege, rewards in social status for the dominant white group, all whites may perceive benefits in maintaining the symbols of racial inferiority and superiority.

CONCLUSIONS

Rocky Bay whites are not formal agents of culture change; they do not plan an agenda for changing Aleut behavior; they are responsible to no one for the consequences of their interventions with Aleuts. But, nonetheless, because they come into frequent contact with Aleuts, they play a socialization role. Free from the organization imperatives that accompany formal, publicly acknowledged socialization roles, their informal socialization roles reflect the imperatives of the racist structure of the larger society, a society whose ideology emphasizes the superiority of the values of white middle-class Americans, and whose structures determine the distribution of economic, political, and social status rewards along racial lines.

The whites' belief in the unquestioned superiority of their culture prompts them to socialize Aleuts to mainstream values and life styles. But the whites' desire to protect their positions of

advantage leads them to defeat these socialization goals. By socializing Aleuts in denigrating and humiliating ways, by assigning them to a subservient status, and by opposing their assertiveness, whites succeed in undermining Aleut confidence and self-esteem sufficiently to prevent them from achieving the standards whites set for them, and most importantly, to exclude them as serious competitors for economic, political, and social status rewards.

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Economic Structures and Cultural Continuity: A Consideration of Monopoly Control in the Eskimo Arts and Crafts Industry

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RÉSUMÉ

Le fonctionnement de *Canadian Arctic Producers* est analysé à deux niveaux: a) celui des conséquences politiques et sociales des structures de la compagnie, b) celui des relations internes entre les éléments qui composent sa structure opérationnelle. Le succès de la compagnie dans l'avenir et la survie de la culture esquimaude sont analysés en termes de leur niche culturelle, de la capacité adaptive de la compagnie aux variations du marché et du contrôle de la production sur la base des ressources. La position soutenue est qu'un système de contrôle monopolisateur de l'industrie assurerait une certaine continuité dans la culture esquimaude et dans la structure de leurs valeurs.

INTRODUCTION

Canadian Arctic Producers (C.A.P.) has grown from a $60,000 sales operation in 1965 to a $1¼ million dollar turnover in 1971 and is expected to gross double that figure within the next three years. It deals with over thirty producing communities in Canada's Arctic and while its main retail outlet is still in Canada, seven hundred dealers in eleven countries handle the company's products.

The corporate origins of C.A.P. began in 1965 under the sponsorship of the federal Department of Indian and Northern

Affairs and the Co-operative Union of Canada. The intent was to establish a central marketing outlet for northern arts and crafts products and to ensure, over the long term, that the producers became owners of the company. Until 1970 the company operated on limited capital and in terms of a commission basis, which produced delays in payment to the producers until the merchandise had been sold in retail outlets, and also curtailed the operating capital available to northern producer communities. To overcome these difficulties, of delayed payments and limited operating capital, the company became capitalized in 1970 through the federal government's purchase of 400,000 $1. shares in the company and the provision of loan facilities for a further $250,000. This permitted C.A.P. to pay cash on delivery of products and to speed up payment to producers, ensuring that the producers had sufficient operating capital to increase their production.

At the time of this capitalization a new structure of the company was devised in that the producer communities could receive shares in the form of dividends from the profits of the company. The amount of dividend due to any producing unit was calculated in terms of the amount of their marketing through C.A.P. in the previous year.

In addition to the government appointed board of directors and a managing director responsible to this board, provision was made for increased representation of northern producers on the board of C.A.P. Once the producing communities own 51% of the shares they will then take over the control and ownership of the company and appoint the entire board. Until that time the federal government has appointed two trustees (Commissioner of the North West Territories, and Deputy Minister of the Department of National Revenue), who exercise general control of the company until it becomes the property of the northern producers.

This paper examines the operation of Canadian Arctic Producers (C.A.P.) in terms of (a) the wider political and social consequences of the company's structure and (b) the internal relations between the components that constitute C.A.P.'s working structure. The focus is on the weaknesses rather than the strengths of the organization as the success of the company to date would appear to speak for the latter set of considerations.

STRUCTURES AND CONSEQUENCES

An important consideration with regard to development contingencies in the Arctic (indeed anywhere) is to critically appraise the direct and indirect consequences of associated structures. In this regard C.A.P. itself has to be examined. The structure of C.A.P. as a transferable corporation has direct implications for (a) Eskimo control re access to the boardroom and decision making powers and (b) Eskimo ownership re issue of shares to producer communities on a patronage basis. This corporate structure — intended to give Eskimo control over a unique resource — has a number of problems when one considers indirect implications of C.A.P.'s structure for the continuity of Eskimo culture.

If one takes as an initial given the fact that structures have consequences on the domain of human action, it then follows that different structures in different environments have different problems to solve in order to maintain continuity in values and norms over time. The corporate structure of C.A.P. is designed to bring about a system of producer control in the Eskimo arts and crafts industry. This system of producer control is being established by an organization that relies on an alternative structure — that of industrial capitalism. The danger is that the continued success of C.A.P. as an industrial enterprise may bring about the erosion of the system of producer control it is beginning to establish. The success of C.A.P. rests on the success of the capitalist ethic, which is antithetical to a system of producer control of enterprise unless a number of conditions are built into the situation. It will be argued that the conditions minimally necessary are a separate niche within the wider economy, and producer control over the exploited resource base.

A system of producer control can only be maintained (a) in a socialist state (which Canada is not) or (b) in situations whereby the producing community occupies a "niche" separate from a structure of industrial capitalism (that characterises Canada's economic base) and exercises control over its own resource base. The concept of niche implies that two or more cultures can enter into a balanced symbiosis whereby each preserves its cultural identity, providing they occupy non-competitive niches. In other

words if one expects the Eskimo to compete in the same niche and on the same terms as the rest of Canada, one is expecting him to adopt a set of values consistent with Southern Canadian norms, and furthermore one expects an eradication of Eskimo culture and structure of values.

If one proceeds with the assumption that there is a great deal of value worth preserving in Eskimo culture, then it follows that development plans and contingencies *must* be informed by considerations of non-competing niches. The very rapid erosion of Eskimo values and the attendant symptoms of a culture in transition — alcoholism, mental illness, religious revivals, etc. — are direct consequences of the demands and properties of the system of industrial capitalism that regulates Canadian affairs. It is pointless for well intentioned observers and industrialists to bemoan this erosion of Eskimo culture, as they are in fact the indirect causes of it. There is the very real danger that the continued success of C.A.P. may contain the seeds of further inroads for Eskimo culture, unless either its structure or its present environment of operations is changed. As it is not forseeable that the structure can be improved, given the present political and social context, it is necessary to divert attention to the possibilities of changing the operational environment.

The point to be made is that if C.A.P. in its enterprise can successfully retain a discrete niche for local Eskimo economies within Canada's national economy, then there is a possibility of continuity in what is left of Eskimo culture and structure of values. Without this safeguard the Eskimo will simply provide material for a new substratum in Canadian society that development in the MacKenzie Delta bears adequate testimony to. In the MacKenzie Delta and other parts of the West Arctic, geographic isolation was an insufficient safeguard for cultural identity. The capitalist ethic of industrial concerns and short sightedness of government concerns did not provide any consistent or familiar set of norms by which Eskimo communities could assert themselves. This results in "anomie" or normlessness, and is an unfortunate but inevitable feature of cultures in transition from one set of norms to another.

This situation *could* be avoided in the E. Arctic given due consideration for a) causes of cultural erosion and b) implications

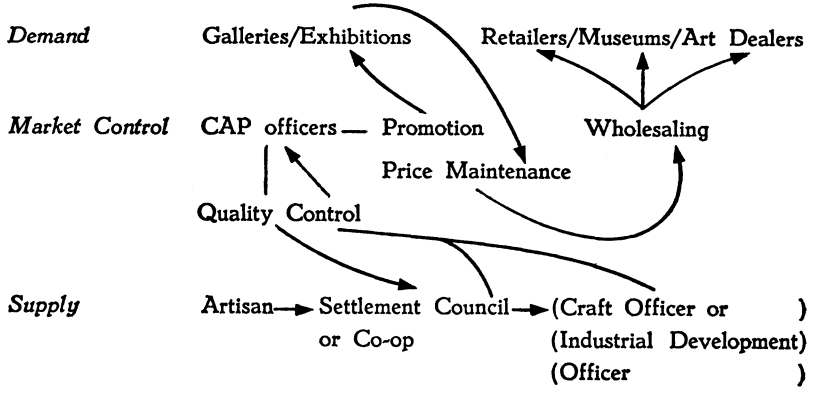
of consequences of non-competing niches. There are sufficient documented instances of the course followed by cultures in transition that our sociological knowledge on niches, cultural identity and competition can be translated into political and bureaucratic action whereby cultures can be maintained.

ORGANIZATIONAL CONSTRAINTS

A more specific analysis of C.A.P. as an organization requires that it be broken down into its component parts and subsystems, and be discussed in terms of the way the subsystems interrelate with regard to flow of information, and adaptive capacity to changes in market conditions. If we consider the following components — retailers, board of C.A.P., President, galleries, settlement co-ops, artisans; and the following problems — promotion, market control and price maintenance, diversification, public relations and training — it may be easier to pinpoint the bottlenecks in the organization's internal structure.

The linkages between factors of supply, demand and market control are represented in simplified form in the diagram below.

Figure I: Simplified Flow Diagram of C.A.P.'s Internal Structure



The point to note, given the vast geography that separates market from supply, is that all kinds of bottlenecks, misinformation,

flow blockages, etc. are possible at each link in the flow system. Unless the linkages can be firmly established as the free flow of information, revenue and products the organization as a total system would *not* be able to adapt very quickly to changes in market conditions. The structure would appear to be best designed for a controlled marketing situation which at present is not the case.

Market Control

As a marketing agency C.A.P. has a great many constraints operating on it in terms of market anticipation and control and also in terms of reliability of producers and competition from free lance dealers. Although C.A.P.'s frame of reference is first and foremost defined in terms of local Eskimo economies — it does have a number of disadvantages in terms of its centralized buying structure. Unless a company official or representative is on the spot, as it were, immediate payments for products is not always possible. C.A.P.'s policy is to pay the optimum price on goods and frequently increases the amount it will pay on any consignment. This intervening evaluation process takes time. This is no competition for a dealer who goes into a community, negotiates rock bottom prices and pays cash on the spot.

Considering the economic marginality of most Eskimo communities this short term consideration in many instances is preferable to long term payoffs, despite the fact that C.A.P. pays higher prices. It would seem that a more permanent and visible C.A.P. "presence" in the settlements both in terms of buying and education is required.

In terms of conditions of supply and monopoly, craft officers in the Northwest Territories have as part of their job definition to ensure a supply of products only to C.A.P. — but C.A.P. is frequently bypassed for reasons as varied as ignorance to bureaucratic jealousy. With a monopoly C.A.P. would be able to manipulate market conditions and the lack of cohesion between its component parts would not then constitute such a great obstacle to adaption to changes in market conditions. A monopoly (or near monopoly) would permit maintenance of quality products,

creation of artificial scarcities and price maintenance. However there is not a monopoly — private dealers can and do bring the market and prices down by cheap promotion and furthermore profits are not returned to the producers.

A selective use of the market and choice of outlets can produce conditions of artificial scarcity which necessarily increase prices. C.A.P.'s business interests are constituted in terms of maintaining a high and viable (through time) return to the producer. Free lance dealers, by definition, have only their own interests to consider. They are going to buy cheap and sell dear often without any regard to the long term prospects of Eskimo products in the international art market.

It would appear that for C.A.P. to provide the separate niche required for Eskimo culture to continue through time, then some legislative action is required to cut out or radically curb the independent dealers. Though competition in most enterprises is conducive to increase efficiency, the problem re the continuity of Eskimo culture is so pressing and desperate that perhaps a monopoly situation could be justified. This monopoly may provide the "niche" and control over a resource base discussed earlier in this paper.

Public Relations

While public relations between C.A.P.'s officers and retail and promotional outlets are extremely good, the relation between C.A.P. and producing communities in many instances suffers from an educational gap. The very rapid growth of C.A.P. has been primarily associated with a small number of communities producing a large proportion of the total products e.g. Cape Dorset and Pelly Bay. This may obscure a very definite educational lag which exists between C.A.P. and many other producing communities. The structure of C.A.P. as a transferable corporation first to Eskimo control and then ownership, involving considerations of shares, dividends, patronage basis for appointment of directors, etc. is a difficult and complicated set of elements to put across. To rely solely on verbal communication does not ensure that the "message" will be fully understood.

Repeated reinforcements — verbal, visual, animation — are required to fill in the educational gap that exists between the company's intentions and the artisan's comprehension of his part in it. Perhaps a short film — animated, using Eskimo characters and language, which explained the structure of C.A.P. and pointed out the disadvantages of dealing with other traders would be useful. Though films have been talked of for several years at C.A.P. — that there has not been a film produced would indicate that the company's rapid growth has led to certain neglect of vital educational tasks that the company has to overcome to ensure further sustained growth. I would stress that the major priority at this stage of C.A.P.'s development is that of educating the producers as to why C.A.P. works to their advantage.

Training

It may be in the interests of C.A.P. to use existing Eskimo skills in terms of transferring it to other communities. For example, Pelly Bay people are renowned carvers of ivory and antler — producing exquisite and delicate jewellery and carvings, — as there was very little soapstone or whalebone in the area. Now that the latter commodities could be imported the carvers found that they could not make the technical and "feel" leap to working in what to them appeared to be mammoth proportions. Eskimo sculptors versed in the required techniques could be brought in from other communities to teach them. C.A.P. could possibly use its own funds or co-ordinate grants from Manpower, State Secretary and Northern Affairs Departments to facilitate this type of training.

The most pressing consideration re training lies in anticipation of the final implications of C.A.P.'s structure. What happens when the boardroom and financial control of the company passes to the Eskimo producers? Will they be encouraged to hire a business director in a manner similar to the example of Cape Dorset, will there be any government watchdog, or will those presently concerned with the company be prepared to take the risk and leave the future operation of the company in Eskimo hands? Not to do the latter with all the attendant uncertainties would seem to defeat the initial purpose of C.A.P.

Expansion

It has been argued earlier that C.A.P.'s structure seems to be best suited to a situation of market control. At present the economic reality is not capable of the amount of control of the market that C.A.P. needs, in order to prevent its poor linkages between artisan and company subsystems obtruding as a major obstacle. This implies that the company is not highly adaptive to rapid changes in market conditions. This situation can be altered by (a) ensuring monopoly control by C.A.P. and (b) improving communications and linkages between production level and co-ordinating level. The latter alternative is necessary whatever the circumstance while the former is required if a separate niche for Eskimo culture is to be granted priority consideration.

The present range of products covered by C.A.P. include prints, stationary, garments, craftwork and sculpting. This is too undiversified a base for continued viability of the company over time. Expansion of C.A.P.'s mandate and structure to gourmet foods and tourism would create a political possibility for wider Eskimo control over their own resources and economies, and would make sound economic sense as a potential tourist boom is imminent in the Arctic.

CONCLUSION

Many parts of the company's operations have not been considered here. The author has considered it more useful to concentrate on the weaknesses of the company rather than the strengths. Under certain conditions of the market the company's structure is very sound; under other conditions — of competition and undersupply — C.A.P. is not highly adaptive. The main point to be made is that as a particular kind of economic and bureaucratic structure there are a series of political and social constraints which determine (a) the continued success of C.A.P. and (b) the continued existence of Eskimo culture.

Given the constraints of geography and the current political and social situation in Canada it is unlikely that the present structure of C.A.P. can be improved in any way in terms of the

interests of the producers it serves. However, it has been pointed out that this structure is not highly adaptive to conditions of competition, market uncertainty and undersupply. This implies by elimination, that the only major variable that can be altered is the environment in which C.A.P. operates. Due regard to the argument made with respect to niche and cultural continuity requires political and legislative action to ensue a monopoly for C.A.P. This "nationalization" of the arctic arts and crafts industry *would* alter the company's operational environment and provide it with a more viable economic base. The implications of this however, are beyond considerations of market control and eradication of commercial competitions — it would ensure the Eskimo of at least some control over a set of unique resources, and perhaps provide the opportunity for some Eskimo values and structures to persist in the next generation.

In the transitional state that Eskimo culture presently finds itself, there is virtually no way back to a traditional mode of life and its attendant set of values and structures. At present the forces and contingencies that bear upon Eskimo culture from the rest of Canada appear to be accelerating the likelihood of Eskimos occupying ghettos in Arctic urban areas and constituting the lowest economic and social rung in Canadian society.

The importance of C.A.P. is that it has been established in an attempt to reverse this trend. The argument made here is that, consideration of cultural niche and resource base in terms of monopoly control would enhance the likelihood of C.A.P. achieving both its economic and cultural priorities.

Mass Media and a Moslem Immigrant Community in Canada*

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RÉSUMÉ

Le principal but de cet article est de développer un ensemble d'hypothèses, plus ou moins rigoureusement reliées entre elles et fondées sur une analyse fonctionnelle, au sujet du type d'utilisation des *mass media* par un groupe ethnique immigrant doté d'un système culturel et linguistique très différent de celui du pays industriel où ils sont établis.

Les résultats de cette recherche exploratoire semblent indiquer une dépendance très limitée des *mass media* du pays où ce groupe réside, mais un contact persistant avec les programmes sur ondes courtes diffusés de leur lieu d'origine.

On analyse les conséquences de cette situation sur l'immigrant, la communauté ethnique et le pays de résidence. Finalement, on présente les implications de cette situation pour la survivance de communautés ethniques dans leur pays d'adoption.

This paper is about the pattern of mass media use and its consequences by Moslem Arab immigrants in a Canadian city.

The paper consists of two parts. The first part deals with empirical findings based on standardized interviews with 51 Moslem and 22 Christian Arab male immigrant residents of the Prairie City regarding their use of shortwave radio broadcasts from abroad and the Canadian mass media.

* I wish to thank Carole L. Heath and Hedy Zeer for their help in data collection and my colleague in the Anthropology Department, University of Calgary, S. Graham S. Watson, who has discussed this paper with me.

In the second part an attempt is made to organize a framework, based on functional analysis, into which can be fitted a variety of hypotheses about the consequences of mass media use by an ethnic group such as the Moslem Arabs in a modern industrial society. But before mass media use by Moslem Arabs is examined, some background information is necessary.

The Moslem Arab Community

There were approximately sixty Moslem Arab families in the Canadian Prairie City at the time of the study. Of the 51 household heads interviewed, 92% had come from Lebanon. Seventy-eight percent had been in Canada for 2-14 years, and 12% had been residents longer. Fifty-one percent were under 30 years of age and 76% were married. Most of these Moslem Arabs were manual workers (41% unskilled, 41% skilled, 4% white collar, 4% unemployed, 6% attending schools, and 4% retired). With respect to education, only 12% of the respondents had finished high school.

The center of community life for Moslem Arabs in the Prairie City was a mosque established a few years prior to the study in a small, old building (previously used as a church). The Moslem Association ran the business affairs of the mosque through an elected council. Religious services were conducted on Sundays by a trained religious leader, or imam sent by the Egyptian government. He also conducted a combination "Sunday school" and Arabic language class for children before services. On special religious holidays the people would gather in the mosque hall after the service to eat Arabic food while listening to Arabic music.

The imam appeared to be the leader of the community, not only because of his religious training, but also for his superior education and good command of the English language.

The Moslem Arab immigrants in the Prairie City were part of a larger group — Arab immigrants. The non-Moslem or Christian Arabs, while in contact with Moslem Arabs, were largely considered outsiders. Of the 22 household heads contacted, 82% were Lebanese, 64% had been in Canada between 2-14 years, and 10% had been residents longer. They were more educated and

had a higher socioeconomic status (41% had a high school education or higher, and 23% had white collar occupations). In general, Christian Arab immigrants appeared to be more assimilated in Canada than Moslem Arabs. The data on Christian Arabs are reported in this paper to help produce a sharper picture by providing a basis for comparison.

I. THE PATTERN OF MASS MEDIA USE BY MOSLEM ARAB IMMIGRANTS

Examination of the pattern of Moslem Arab immigrant use of mass media indicates heavy exposure to Arabic radio broadcasts from abroad and limited exposure to Canadian mass media. In the present section these two points will be considered.

Exposure to the Arabic Radio Broadcasts from Abroad

Table I shows that almost all Arab immigrants in the Prairie City listen to Arabic programs from shortwave radio, and Moslem Arabs listen to these programs even more frequently.[1]

In response to the question, "Why did you start listening to Arabic radio programs from abroad?" Table II reveals some interesting reasons such as attachment to the mother tongue and

[1] Fifty percent of Christian Arabs (N=20) and 37% of Moslem Arabs (N=49) had shortwave radio sets. Discrepancies in N for different items of information are due to the fact that some respondents did not answer all the questions.

Arab Stations Which can be Picked up on the Prairies by Shortwave Radios:

I. Cairo (Egypt)
   1. Special North American program in Arabic everyday 6:45 - 7:45 P.M. (MST)
   2. Local daily programs for Egypt which can be picked up about eight months during the year (especially in the springtime). The reception in this case is not always clear.

II. Beirut (Lebanon)
Only local daily programs for Lebanon which can be picked up with difficulty.

III. Algiers (Algeria)
Same as in II.

IV. Baghdad (Iraq)
Same as in II and III.

V. B.B.C. (London), Voice of America (Washington, D.C.) and Moscow (U.S.S.R.) also have regular Arabic programs (news, music, etc.) that can be picked up on the Prairies.

home country, hearing the news because the subject understood only Arabic, and because the subject thought the Arabic stations to be more reliable. On this last point Table III very clearly shows that among Moslems foreign Arabic stations are more credible than Canadian ones.[2]

TABLE I. TIME SPENT WITH ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

Amount of time	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Every night if possible	35%	14%
3 - 4 times a week	17	—
Less than 3 times a week	46	86
Does not listen	2	—
N	48	21

TABLE II. REASONS FOR STARTING TO LISTEN TO ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

Reason	*Moslems*	*Christians*
To hear home news, attachment to language and home	53%	76%
To hear news because only understands Arabic	18	5
To hear news and music	5	5
News from Arabic station more reliable	5	—
Liked programs	11	14
Ambiguous response	8	—
N	38	21

TABLE III. CREDIBILITY OF CANADIAN VS. ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

Believes more	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Egyptian Cairo radio	55%	11%
Canadian radios	28	44
Would not believe either	12	39
Compares and makes own inference	5	6
N	42	18

[2] For a correct interpretation of the data in Table III it should be noted that the question asked was about the news of the Arab-Israeli war in the Middle East. The position of the Moslem Arabs is very clear on this issue, and it probably influenced their responses to the question.

When asked about favorite shortwave radio programs, the responses in Table IV show that Moslems are more evenly divided among the different programs than are Christians who seem to be primarily interested in news and in the Arabic music. Religious Moslem programs (i.e., recitation from the Koran) naturally appeal only to Moslems.

Table V reveals the occasions which Arab immigrants are most interested in listening on shortwave Arabic radio. These are national and religious holidays, and when an Arab leader speaks.

Table VI shows that both Moslem and Christian Arab immigrants in Canada rely mainly on Arabic shortwave radio programs in learning about new Arabic songs.

Listening to Arabic radio programs is definitely a social activity which brings Arab immigrants together as indicated in Table VII. To a lesser degree it provides subjects for discussion among Arabs, and even between Arabs and non-Arab Canadians according to Table VIII.

TABLE IV. FAVORITE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS

Type of Program	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Like all same	8%	7%
News	35	40
Music	4	13
News and music	21	40
News and religious	25	—
Religious, news, and music	7	—
N	48	15

TABLE V. WHEN MOST INTERESTED IN LISTENING TO ARABIC RADIO STATIONS

Occasion	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Moslem religious holidays	24%	—%
National holidays of country of origin	18	48
When an Arab leader speaks	49	52
Both Moslem religious holidays and national holidays	9	—
N	45	21

TABLE VI. SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT NEW ARABIC SONGS

Learned from	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Friends in Canada	22%	14%
Friends or relatives back home	11	33
Shortwave Arabic radio stations	50	38
Tapes, records sent from home	4	5
Arabic newspapers	2	—
Not interested in songs	4	5
Do not hear new songs	7	5
N	45	21

TABLE VII. WITH WHOM ARABIC RADIO STATIONS LISTENED

Persons listen with	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Alone	13%	14%
Arab Moslems	30	5
Arab Christians	—	33
Both Arab Moslems and Christians	53	48
Non-Arabs	2	—
Do not listen	2	—
N	47	21

TABLE VIII. ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

Discussed with	*Moslems*	*Christians*
No one	47%	57%
Arab Moslems	14	5
Arab Christians	—	—
Arab Moslems and Arab Christians	19	33
Canadians	8	5
Canadians and Arabs	12	—
N	49	21

The subjects were asked if their children should listen to Arabic programs from shortwave radios and why. Table IX clearly indicates that nearly 90% of both Moslem and Christian Arab immigrants want their children to learn the language and culture of their parents.

The tape recorder provides another link with "home" among Arab immigrants. According to Table X, 53% of Moslems and 48% of Christian Arab immigrants own tape recorders; and Arabic music and Koran recitals are among the most favored tapes. But tape listening is not restricted to those who own a tape recorder. Whether an owner or not, 77% (N=49) of Moslems and 81% (N=21) of Christian Arabs listen to other people's Arabic tapes.

In response to the question, "How often do you listen to Arabic tapes?" Table XI shows that tape listening is quite popular especially among Moslem Arabs, and Table XII reveals that listening to Arabic tapes creates occasion for interaction with other Arabs. Finally, when asked should their children be exposed to

TABLE IX. SHOULD CHILDREN LISTEN TO ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS?

Should Children listen	*Moslems*	*Christians*
No	—%	—%
Not unless they want to	5	—
Yes, to learn and/or retain the Arabic language	49	63
Yes, to learn about their parents' country	31	19
Yes, to learn about the language and country of their parents	8	6
Don't understand	5	6
Up to the children	—	6
Yes, they would enjoy it	2	—
N	39	16

TABLE X. CONTENT OF TAPES OWNED

Content	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Do not own a tape recorder	47%	52%
Arabic music	6	19
Arabic and Canadian music	8	14
Koran	6	—
Arabic music and Koran	16	—
Baby's voice and/or family parties	10	10
Baby's voice, Arabic music	4	5
Others	2	—
N	49	21

TABLE XI. HOW OFTEN ARE ARABIC TAPES LISTENED TO

Amount of time	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Three to four times a week	65%	45%
Once a week	22	20
Once a month	9	10
Less than once a month	4	25
N	45	20

TABLE XII. WITH WHOM ARE ARABIC TAPES LISTENED

Persons listened with	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Alone	7%	—%
Other Arab Moslems	25	—
Other Arab Christians	—	15
Both Arab Moslems and Christians	59	75
Non-Arabs	2	5
Arabs and Canadians	7	—
Arabs, Pakistanis and Canadians	—	5
N	44	20

Arabic tapes 94% (N=49) of Moslems and 95% (N=20) of Christians answered in the affirmative.

The evidence presented so far shows that Arabic programs from abroad, either directly, or indirectly with the aid of the tape recorder, play an important role in the lives of Arab immigrants, particularly Arab Moslems.

Exposure to the Canadian Mass Media

With respect to the radio in Canadian mass media, 92.2% (N=51) of Moslems and 91% (N=22) of Christian Arab immigrants listen to local Canadian radio programs. When asked how much time is spent listening to local stations Table XIII reveals that Moslems spend less time than Christian Arab immigrants.[3] Table XIV shows that the major attraction of Can-

[3] In research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that in Canada 83% of those over fifteen years of age listen to radio daily. The number of hours is not reported. (Report of the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media, 1970:III, 11).

adian radio for Moslem immigrants is the news, while Christian Arabs appear to divide their attention among a variety of programs. When asked with whom subjects discussed local radio programs, Table XV gives evidence that the majority of Moslems do not engage in any discussion. The data show that more Chris-

TABLE XIII. TIME SPENT WITH CANADIAN RADIO STATIONS

Amount of Time	*Moslems*	*Christians*
3 hours a day or more	15%	25%
Between 1-2 hours a day	30	25
Less than 1 hour a day	55	50
N	47	20

TABLE XIV. PROGRAMS LISTENED TO ON CANADIAN RADIO STATIONS

Type of program	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Music	2%	10%
News	49	15
Talks	2	5
Music and news	30	25
News and talks	6	10
Music, news, talks and commercials	7	35
Others	4	—
N	47	20

TABLE XV. CANADIAN RADIO PROGRAMS DISCUSSED

Discussed with	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Nobody	57%	30%
Arab Moslems	2	—
Arab Christians	—	—
Arab Moslems and Arab Christians	4	10
Canadians	29	50
Canadians and Arabs	8	10
N	48	20

tian (55%, N=20) than Moslem (33.3%, N=48) Arab immigrants buy products advertised on local radios. Moslems seem to rely more on non-mass media channels such as other people or ads in the store windows to find out about sales according to Table XVI.

With respect to T.V., 90% (N=49) of Moslems and 86% (N=21) of Christians have a set at home.[4] But according to Table XVII we see Moslems, more than Christians, prefer "escape" programs. When asked if subjects buy products advertised on T.V., 35% (N=49) of Moslems and 65% (N=20) of Christians answered affirmatively.

TABLE XVI. SOURCE OF INFORMATION OF SALES

Source of Information	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Other people	4%	—%
Newspaper	27	35
Radio	2	—
T.V.	6	—
Newspaper, radio, or T.V.	40	45
Flyers in the mail	2	—
Children	2	—
Ads in store windows	4	10
Mass Media and other people	9	5
Do not hear of sales	4	5
N	48	20

TABLE XVII. FAVORITE T.V. PROGRAMS

Type of Program	*Moslems*	*Christians*
Do not remember the name	19%	21%
Escape shows (e.g., Lucy, Untouchables)	56	37
Non-escape shows (e.g., news, sports, and/or documentaries)	15	5
Combination of escape and non-escape	10	37
N	48	19

[4] In the research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that 96% of Canadians have at least one T.V. set in their homes. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Only three persons regularly received a daily local paper among Moslem Arabs.[5]

Comparing foreign and Canadian mass media, it appears that Moslem Arab immigrants are less dependent on Canadian mass media than are Christian Arab immigrants. For example, Moslems seem more to trust Arabic broadcasts from abroad for world news, they do not appear to enjoy western music as much as Christian Arabs, and shop with less guidance from advertisements.[6]

II. PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR MASS MEDIA USE BY MOSLEM ARAB IMMIGRANTS

The limited data in the first part of this paper seem to suggest that the pattern of mass media use among Moslem Arab immigrants is worthy of special attention. Now it is time the consequences of such behavior be looked at to provide a framework for a systematic approach to the study of mass media use by an ethnic group such as Moslem Arabs. The emerging framework also helps organize the findings reported in the first part of the paper.

In the attempt to organize a framework about the consequences of mass media use by the Arab Moslems C.R. Wright's scheme (Wright, 1960) is followed. Following Lasswell, C.R. Wright distinguishes four areas of mass communicated activities (Lasswell, 1948). *Surveillance,* the collection and distribution of information concerning events in the environment, "Thus corresponding approximately to what is popularly conceived as the handling of news." *Correlation* includes the interpretation of information about the environment and prescriptions for conduct,

[5] Comparable data for Christians were not obtained. In the research studies for the Special Senate Committee on Mass Media it is reported that in Canada 87% of homes receive daily newspapers. *Ibid.,* p. 12.

[6] It may be reasonably argued that the differences between Moslem Arab and Christian Arab immigrants is due to the differences in their socioeconomic standings. This may be true. However, the intention of the study is exploratory. Its aim is to identify the possible consequences of access to foreign broadcasts from abroad by an ethnic immigrant community. The small community of Moslem Arab immigrants in the Canadian Prairie City seems to serve this purpose very well.

commonly called editorials. *Transmission of culture* refers to the communication of a group's store of social norms, information, values and the like from one generation to another, or from members of a group to newcomers. Finally, *entertainment* refers to a communication intended to amuse people.[7]

In his scheme Wright following Merton makes a distinction between manifest and latent functions: the intended and unintended consequences for an activity. He also separates function from dysfunction: helpful consequences from harmful ones (Merton, 1957).[8] Considering these factors, Wright then examines the way mass communicated activities affect the normal operation, adaptation, or adjustment of four systems: individuals, sub-groups, social, and cultural systems (1960).

In this paper Wright's scheme will be followed except that the systems under examination are the individual Moslem Arabs, the Moslem Arab Community, and the Canadian Society. The scheme is used to answer two questions. The first question concerning the exposure to Arabic programs by shortwave radio can be formulated in the following manner:

	1. manifest	3. functions	
What are the	and	and	of the Arabic
	2. latent	4. dysfunctions	

shortwave radio
5. surveillance (news)
6. correlation (editorial activity)
7. cultural transmission
8. entertainment, from abroad

for
9. the individual Moslem Arab immigrants
10. the Moslem Arab Community
11. and the Canadian Society?

[7] Lasswell does not include entertainment in his structural functional scheme of communication (Lasswell, 1948).

[8] Although the organizing framework of Wright's and consequently this paper's is based on functional analysis, limitation of space does not allow any discussion of this subject. For a discussion on functional analysis in sociology see Merton, 1957:19-84.

The second question that deals with the consequences of limited exposure to Canadian mass communicated activities by Moslem Arab immigrants can be presented according to the same pattern with a minor modification (i.e., replacing the phrase "Arabic broadcast" by "the Canadian mass media"). The accompanying charts in which the elements of the above formula are transformed into categories present some of the proposed consequences of mass media use by Moslem Arab immigrant.*

These charts can only be of demonstrative value. A complete list of functions and dysfunctions of exposure by Moslem Arab immigrants to shortwave radio programs or limited exposure to Canadian mass media can not be undertaken at this stage. However, a discussion of the limited content of these charts probably helps demonstrate the utility of the approach.

Functional Analysis of Exposure to Arabic Broadcasts from Abroad

Beginning with Chart I, let us consider what it means to the individual Moslem Arab immigrant, Arab Moslem community, and the Canadian society to have available news in Arabic via shortwave radio. The positive consequences or functions for the individual immigrant are several. Firstly, he becomes aware of the major events in the Arab world or at "home".[9] These news items of much interest are not often accessible to him by any other means. Secondly, even with respect to world news, shortwave programs are often superior to Canadian radio because the immigrant understands his own native tongue better than English and probably trusts Arabic sources more.[10] A third function of exposure to the Arabic news via shortwave radio is to bestow prestige upon those who make an effort to keep themselves informed about events at "home". In the language of sociology of mass communication they often become "opinion leaders" in matters of the "home" country (Katz and Lazarsfeld 1955; and Merton, 1957: 387-420). The fourth function of exposure to Arabic news for

* Chart I starts on page 214.

[9] For the support of this point see Table II. (First row of the Table). Page 204.

[10] See Table II (Second and fourth row of the Table), and Table III.

CHART I.
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
	I MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: SURVEILLANCE (NEWS)		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Learns about major events in the Arab World 2. Learns about world news (understands native tongue better than English and trusts Arabic stations more than Canadian) 3. Gains prestige (opinion leadership for regular listeners) 4. Psychological satisfaction because of contact with the home culture. 5. A more objective world view when comparing world news from different sources.	1. Legitimizes ethnic culture in the eyes of its members (i.e. "There are also broadcasts in Arabic." "The causes of Arabs and Islam are also aired."	1. If also exposed to Canadian news, immigrant citizens will be more informed and have a more objective world view. 2. Aids cultural growth.

CHART I. (Cont'd.)
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. To the extent that needs are satisfied by S.W.R. (e.g. world news), becomes less dependent on local mass media & (1) may not try to learn the language of adopted country & (2) may not learn the ways of country of adoption.		1. Impedes efficient acculturation of immigrants.
	II MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CORRELATION (EDITORIAL SELECTION, INTERPRETATION, AND PRESCRIPTION)		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Provides efficiency in assimilating news about the old country. 2. Impedes anxiety about the fate of relatives and the country of origin.	1. Produces solidarity within the ethnic community (by reminding members of the social bonds that unify them)	1. Decreases social conformism.

CHART I. (Cont'd.)
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
Dysfunctions	1. By stimulating allegiance to the old country, marginality in the Canadian society would be reinforced.		1. Hinders social cohesion.
III MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CULTURAL TRANSMISSION			
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Reinforces already internalized norms and continues socialization according to the norms of the country of origin even after the emigration (psychic support)	1. Aids socialization according to ethnic culture.	1. Impedes mass society and fosters pluralistic society (variety of sub-cultures). 2. Fosters cultural growth through contact with a different culture.
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Contributes to the idiosyncratic behavior of the immigrant in the adopted country and hence hinders integration into the adopted society.	1. Fosters prejudice against the ethnic community by maintaining the gap between ethnic and dominant cultures.	1. Hinders cultural consensus.

CHART I. (Cont'd.)
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR EXPOSURE TO SHORTWAVE ARABIC RADIO PROGRAMS BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
	IV MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: ENTERTAINMENT		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Respite (not adequately provided by Canadian mass media).	1. Provides another factor for cohesion within the community. 2. Fosters solidarity by bringing community members together.	1. Developes aesthetics (by preventing the emergence of "mass culture")
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Another factor hindering integration into the adopted society.		1. Another factor hindering social cohesion.

the individual immigrant, according to Chart I, is the feeling of security and psychological satisfaction which results from being in touch with the "home" culture.[11] Finally, exposure to the same news from different sources (i.e., world news by shortwave radio and Canadian mass media) may enable the individual to see events from several perspectives and thus develop a more objective point of view.[12]

A significant function of exposure to Arabic news via shortwave radio by Moslem Arab immigrants for the Moslem Arab community is the legitimization of the ethnic culture in the eyes of its members. For example, Arabic language can maintain its prestige because English is not the only language used by the mass media. Again, the Moslem Arab listener is able to develop a sense of pride because the interests of the English speaking Christian Westerners are not the only ones expounded and propagated to the world. The cause of the Arabs and Islam can be aired too.

What are the positive consequences of exposure of Moslem Arab immigrants to Arabic news from abroad for Canadian society? If these immigrants are also exposed to news broadcasted by local mass media, the result would be more sophisticated citizens for Canada. Firstly, knowledge about the events of another country as well as Canada would produce better informed citizens. Secondly, as indicated previously, exposure to the same news from different sources can produce a more objective world view.[13] Further, Canadian society would be enriched through the information about other cultures, as well as the possible growth and adaptability of the Canadian culture as a result of such contacts.[14]

The availability of Arabic news from abroad also presents negative consequences or dysfunctions. The individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada, to the extent that he is less dependent on Canadian mass media would be less available for assimilation into the society of his adoption.[15] He may not learn the language

[11] See Table II (First row of the Table).
[12] See Table III (Last row of the Table).
[13] See Table III (Last row of the Table).
[14] See Table VIII (Last two rows of the Table).
[15] See Table II (Second row of the Table).

as quickly, and consequently may take longer to acquire a knowledge of the Canadian way of life. For the Canadian society news from a foreign source in such a situation would interfere with successful acculturation of its new citizens.

The second mass communicated activity under consideration in Chart I is correlation. According to C.R. Wright, raw news may overwhelm the individual and lead to anxiety. Editorial selection, interpretation, and prescription help prevent this. Again, correlation through organization and interrelating different news items helps the audience digest the news (Wright 1960). What are the functions and dysfunctions of correlation provided by Arabic shortwave radio programs? For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant it has the helpful consequence of enabling him to digest news about the "home" country. It also impedes possible anxiety about the fate of relatives and the home country.

For the Moslem Arab community in Canada the editorial activity of the Arabic shortwave radio programs produces and reinforces solidarity within the ethnic community by reminding its members of the social and cultural bonds that tie them together.[16] For the Canadian society, these editorials result in decreasing the extent of homogeneity and conformity in the society by attracting the attention of Arab Moslem immigrants to non-Canadian issues and by giving different interpretations or prescriptions.[17] If "mass society," being characterized by herd-like behavior where the masses uncritically conform to directions and prescriptions is undesirable (Mills, 1959; Josephson and Josephson, 1962:9-53), then the existence of segments of the society which are not influenced in the same way can be considered an advantage (Porter, 1967:72).

With respect to the dysfunctions of correlation, or the editorial activity of Arabic shortwave radio stations, since the individual Moslem Arab immigrant would stimulate his allegiance to the old country and the Arabic radio editorials would thus reinforce his marginality in the Canadian society,[18] therefore, his

[16] See Table V.
[17] See Table V (Third row of the Table).
[18] See Table V.

integration into the Canadian society becomes problematic. For the Canadian society such a situation has the undesirable consequence of hindering social cohesion, i.e. the society would be handicapped in promoting concern about public issues, or in developing solidarity in response to national emergencies.

The third mass communicated activity in Chart I is cultural transmission or the communication of a group's store of social norms, information, and values from one generation to another, or from members of one group to newcomers. For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant this activity by shortwave radio has the advantage of reinforcing the already internalized values and norms, and giving him additional psychic support by continuing socialization according to these values and norms even after his emigration from the fatherland.[19] The Moslem Arab community also would benefit from cultural transmission by Arabic radio programs because they aid socialization of the young and continue socialization of the adult members according to the ethnic culture of the community.[20] For the Canadian society such a situation would produce and reinforce the existing variety of cultures. Thus, Canada would be able to maintain its pluralistic character (Porter, 1967:68-73) and would less suffer from the problems that afflict a mass society (Vidich and Bensman, 1958; Josephson and Josephson, 1962; and Klapp, 1969). Again, cultural transmission via foreign radio programs for the Canadian immigrant has another advantage for Canada. The immigrant in his contact with other Canadians may relay to them new ideas, practices, or information thus helping cultural growth in terms of diffusion of cultural elements into the society.[21]

The transmission of Arabic norms and values by shortwave radio programs, like any social phenomena, often has dysfunctions as well. For the individual Moslem Arab immigrant it is dysfunctional because it contributes to idiosyncratic behavior in his adopted country by reinforcing and implanting in him norms and values which are incongruent with those of Canada.[22] This situa-

[19] See Table II (First row of the Table) and Table V.
[20] See Tables IX and II (First and fifth rows of the Table).
[21] See Table VIII (Last two rows of the Table).
[22] See Tables II and V.

tion, of course, hinders the integration of the immigrant into Canadian society.

Although the transmission of Moslem Arabic culture, as indicated, has the function of supporting the ethnic Moslem Arab way of life in the Moslem Arab community, it also has the dysfunction of fostering prejudice against the community by other Canadians. This is because cultural transmission via shortwave radio tends to maintain the gap between the Moslem Arab way of life and the North American Christian norms and values. As far as the Canadian society is concerned, all this impedes cultural consensus. By cultural consensus we mean similarity of norms and values which unify a nation.

The final mass communicated activity is entertainment. The obvious functions of such an activity by Arabic shortwave radio for the individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada is to provide respite.[23] Although the T.V. is very popular among the Moslem Arab immigrants as an entertainment medium, it can not provide the range and types of respite they are used to (e.g., Arabic music). Canadian radio is even less helpful than T.V. in this respect.[24] Thus for music, "meaningful" dramas, and religious programs, Moslem Arab immigrants turn to foreign Arabic radio programs.[25] In this way the inadequate supply of entertainment by the Canadian mass media is supplemented directly by heavy reliance on the shortwave radio or indirectly by taping the desired broadcasts, such as recitation of the Koran or new Arabic songs.[26]

This heavy exposure to Arabic entertainment provides the Moslem Arab community in Canada with an additional factor for cohesion by bringing to the attention of its members another bond that ties them together. When one considers the fact that entertainment via mass media is often a group activity and seldom an individual one, the community spirit and group affiliations which are fostered on these occasions seem to provide still another element in support of social cohesion among the Arabs and within the Moslem Arab community in Canada.[27]

[23] See Tables I, IV and VI (Third row of the Table).
[24] See Tables XIII and XIV.
[25] See Tables I, IV, V, and VI.
[26] See Tables X and XI.
[27] See Tables VII and XII.

For Canadian society the Arabic entertainment provided by shortwave radio programs for Moslem Arab immigrants produces a situation where "mass culture" would not be as likely to develop. Mass culture is defined here as standardized mass production of mediocre cultural products with an emphasis on marketability of these products. One particular area of concern affecting mass society is the consequence accompanying mass culture on the general level of taste (Lowenthal, 1950; Coser, 1960; and Kaplan, 1967).

As for the dysfunctions of entertainment provided by shortwave Arabic programs for the Moslem Arab individual, one can state that it is another factor hindering his integration into Canadian society. The more a Moslem Arab immigrant is exposed to the non-Canadian content of Arabic radio programs (and as a consequence the less time he has for Canadian mass media),[28] the more he remains alien to the Canadian way of life, be it music, language, or politics.

Again, with respect to Canadian society, exposure to non-Canadian entertainment by its immigrant citizens is another area of activity which is incongruent with the Canadian way of life and consequently another wedge in the unity and solidarity among Canada's citizens.

In discussing some of the functions and dysfunctions of exposure to foreign Arabic radio programs for Moslem Arab immigrants in Canada, it should be noted that although for analytical purposes one can separate surveillance, correlation, cultural transmission, and entertainment activities, or the individual, the community, and the society, but in actual life situations these separations are unrealistic. For instance, news, editorials, cultural transmission, and entertainment by Arabic shortwave radio all tend to buttress the social organization of the Moslem Arab community, and such a reinforcement also tends to foster the prejudice against the Moslem Arab community by the rest of the Canadians. Again, from another point of view, although the surveillance activity of mass media is concerned primarily with dissemination of the news and information, a certain amount of cultural transmission

[28] Compare Table I with Table XIII, and Table IV with Table XIV.

also takes place in the process. The same is also true of editorial activity and entertainment.

Functional Analysis of Limited Exposure to Canadian Mass Media

The previous discussion of Chart I has outlined the consequences of exposure to foreign Arabic radio programs for the Moslem Arab immigrant. Chart II deals with the consequences of limited or lack of exposure of these immigrants to the Canadian mass media.* It can be argued that the consequences in both cases are more or less the same in the sense that exposure to non-Canadian mass media would have the same results as lack of exposure to the Canadian media. For instance, listening to foreign Arabic shortwave radio and lack of exposure to the Canadian mass media both have similar consequences in terms of hindering the assimilation of immigrants and impeding cultural consensus in Canadian society. This assertion is basically true, but there are notable exceptions. These exceptions warrant the presentation and discussion of Chart II. The entries in Chart II that are similar to those in Chart I will not be considered. The special consequences that emanate from limited exposure to the Canadian mass media are concentrated upon.

In the area of surveillance or news activity, one of the possible functions of limited exposure to local news for the individual Moslem Arab immigrant in Canada[29] would be his immunity to narcotization. Lazarsfeld and Merton hypothesize that access to mass-communicated news might lead to the unhealthy belief that the individual may think an informed citizen is equivalent to an active one (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948). Because of limited exposure to the news from Canadian mass media, Moslem Arab immigrants would not develop such a belief. In other words, they assess their own situation realistically as one of inactive Canadian citizenship.

* Chart II starts on page 224.

[29] Although news appear to be the most popular Canadian radio program among Moslem Arab immigrants (Table XIV), from Tables XIII, XV, and XVI one can make the logical inference that their exposure to the Canadian electronic media, except for T.V., is very limited and consequently their exposure to the news from these media subnormal. Note that there are only three persons among Moslem Arabs who receive daily newspapers regularly.

CHART II.
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR SUB-NORMAL EXPOSURE TO THE CANADIAN MASS MEDIA BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
	I MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: SURVEILLANCE (NEWS)		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Narcotization less effective.	1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the larger society.	
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Warning against danger problematic. 2. Instrumental function problematic. (Must rely on pre-mass media mechanisms).		1. The problem of warning against danger. 2. Instrumental function problematic (e.g. a business cannot reach a certain segment of society to make a sale).
	II MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CORRELATION (EDITORIAL SELECTION, INTERPRETATION, AND PRESCRIPTION)		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Critical faculty less affected (does own thinking).		1. Decreases social conformism.

CHART II. (Cont'd.)
PARTIAL FUNCTIONAL INVENTORY FOR SUB-NORMAL EXPOSURE TO THE CANADIAN MASS MEDIA BY MOSLEM ARABS IN CANADA

	System Under Consideration		
	Individual Moslem Arabs	*Moslem Arab Community*	*Canadian Society*
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Lack of timely preparation or mobilization in times of danger (except through pre-mass media mechanisms). 2. Fosters anxiety.		1. Problems of mobilization. 2. Decreases social cohesion.
	III MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: CULTURAL TRANSMISSION		
Functions (manifest & latent)	1. Decreases role conflict (does not learn alternative ways of doing things).	1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the Canadian society.	1. Fosters variety of sub-cultures.
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Hinders integration to the adopted society.		1. Impedes cultural consensus.
	IV MASS COMMUNICATED ACTIVITY: ENTERTAINMENT		
Functions (manifest & latent)		1. Protects the ethnic community against cultural invasion by the Canadian society.	1. Fosters diversity of tastes (weakens "popular culture").
Dysfunctions (manifest & latent)	1. Hinders integration.		

With respect to the dysfunction of not being adequately exposed to the surveillance activity of Canadian mass media, one can think of the problem that the Moslem Arab immigrant faces by not being as quickly alerted against danger in times of emergency as other Canadians. Again, if one agrees with writers who consider mass media a tool for daily living in urban industrial societies, or the instrumental function of the media, the Moslem Arab immigrant is also handicapped due to the lack of information about weather, road conditions, sales, etc. In all these occasions immigrants have to rely on inefficient pre-mass media devices such as friends, flyers and signs in stores.[30]

For the Canadian society, lack of, or limited exposure to the surveillance activity of local media by Moslem Arab immigrants would create problems in warning the citizens about imminent threats and dangers such as epidemics or natural disasters, because certain segments of the population can not be reached quickly. Regarding the instrumental function, there would also be difficulty in reaching everybody in the target population regarding situations such as traffic control by the police or in sales by department stores.[31]

In the area of correlation or editorial activity, one of the functions of lack of exposure to Canadian mass media by Moslem Arab immigrants is that they would not be influenced by the interpretations or prescriptions coached in terms of possible interests of a power elite (Mills, 1959). By not developing the habit of someone else evaluating the situation and charting a course of action for the rest (Mills, 1959), the Moslem Arab immigrant would be in a better position of maintaining his critical faculty.[32]

However, limited exposure to the editorial activities from local mass media would put the Moslem Arab immigrants in a problematic situation because they could not be guided and helped in times of emergency. In such situations they would have no choice but to fall back on pre-mass media devices such as advice

[30] See Table XVI.
[31] Ibid.
[32] See Tables XIII, XIV, and XVII, and note also that there are only three persons who receive daily newspaper regularly among Moslem Arab immigrants.

and assistance of neighbours and acquaintances. Again, lack of exposure to interpretation and prescription of local media by the immigrants may create undue anxiety in the latter who may misinterpret a rumor or simply panic when somehow forewarned of an emergency without any evaluation or guidance available. For the Canadian society this state of affairs produces problems of coordination and mobilization in times of crisis.

With respect to cultural transmission activity of Canadian mass media, lack of exposure by the Moslem Arab immigrant to nominally Christian North American norms and values would have the function of reducing the probability of his experiencing role conflict. The Moslem Arab immigrant, knowing only one set of behavior standards, would not be under as much cross pressure as when dealing with two sets of conflicting standards (i.e., the Moslem Arab and Christian North American) equally applicable to the situation.

As indicated earlier, the rest of the entries in Chart II are more or less similar to those of Chart I, and do not need further discussion.[33]

CONCLUSION

The primary aim of this paper has been to develop a set of approximately interrelated hypotheses based on functional analysis about the pattern of mass media use by an ethnic immigrant group with a cultural and linguistic background very different from that of the industrial host country.

A complete list of functions and dysfunctions of exposure by Moslem Arab immigrants to foreign Arabic radio broadcasts and their limited exposure to Canadian mass media is not possible at the present stage. Also, the small number of subjects does not

[33] Some of the functions and dysfunctions presented in Charts I and II have also been discussed by Wright in his scheme (i.e., opinion leadership, warning and instrumental functions, cultural growth, and continuation of socialization among adults). Giving reference for each item separately would have been rather cumbersome. Thus the present paper is indebted to Wright not only for its organizing scheme, but also for some of its contents (Wright, 1960).

provide adequate information for generalization. However, there seems to be some support for the proposed hypotheses which encourages and warrants further investigation.

In addition to the above objective, this paper also tends to question the notion of future society possessing a high degree of conformity and homogeneity.

In sociological literature of thirty years ago the industrial urban societies were considered as consisting of atomized, unrelated individuals uprooted from their social moorings and at the mercy of mass media. The impact of the media was assumed to be direct and effective — hypodermic needle model (Blumer, 1946). Sociological researchers of later years have demonstrated that even in urban industrial areas most people are well anchored to groups, and group affiliation plays an important role in the behavior of the audience of mass media (Friedson, 1953; and Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955).

However, concepts such as "mass society," "mass behavior," and "mass culture" still persist in literature (Bell, 1961; and Josephson and Josephson, 1962:151-199). Often writers who "predict" future society to be a "mass society" characterized by a high degree of conformity, decrease in originality, loss of critical faculty, and low level of taste, refer to mass media as one of the significant "causes," (Rosenberg, 1957; and Macdonald, 1962).

This paper takes a different point of view. According to the study, it seems that with the increase in cross-national and cross-cultural contacts due to advances in communication technology (i.e., the communication satellite), at least in a pluralistic society such as Canada the fear of "massification" is not well founded. The study seems to suggest the hypothesis that unlike the situation of minority ethnic groups and immigrants of fifty years ago and previous, the language and culture of the ethnic communities of today and tomorrow are less in danger of extinction. If it is true that every group desires to maintain and perpetuate its social heritage, and the advance of communication technology greatly facilitates contact between people of similar cultures, separated by distance, it reasonably follows that the chance for the survival

of distinct ethnic communities is better today and in the future than in the past.[34]

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[34] The exploitation of modern technology for the purpose of preservation of traditional values has a wide range of applications. For instance, Srinivas reports that the introduction of the printing press in India made possible the transmission of not only modern knowledge, but also knowledge of traditional epics, mythology, lives of saints, and other religious literature (Srinivas, 1969: 55). Plotnicov also reports a similar situation in Nigeria where the traditional social institutions have been preserved in urban settings with the assistance of modern technology (Plotnicov, 1970).

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Bibliography for the Study of Eskimo Religion

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INTRODUCTION

Among the peoples of the world which are classified as "Primitive", the Eskimos have been one of the most intently studied. There is an abundance of information on almost every aspect of Eskimo culture; from the mechanics of building iglus, to studies of their adaptation to the technological and cultural advantages and disadvantages brought to them through their contacts with "Kabluna", the White Man. For one trying to study the original religious practices and beliefs of these people, this mass of information can be somewhat imposing. Although excellent bibliographies are available for studies in Eskimo culture, nothing has been compiled for the specific area of Eskimo Religion. This paper is a first attempt to classify the principle reference material, in English and French, for the study of Eskimo Religion. The classification system is, of course, arbitrary; it is hoped, however, that it will be helpful for future research in this area. Works not available to me, but which are known from other sources and are thought to contain information on Eskimo Religion have been classified and are marked with an asterisk (*). In the classification system, I have tried to move from the general to the specific, and cross references have been made for works which readily fit into several categories.

An outline of the classification system precedes the bibliography itself. Sections B, C, and D of Part III are self explanatory, however, the other divisions need explanation.

I. *Bibliographies and Journals*

The first section is a listing of the bibliographies and volumes of various journals which have been scanned for references and articles pertaining specifically to Eskimo Religion. This list is given to show what material has been covered completely and will, therefore, not need to be covered in future research of this kind. These materials are, of course, not the only source of information used for the bibliography. Two bibliographies are listed which have not been covered; those from the Société des Américanistes de Paris, "Bibliographie Américaniste", and the Arctic Institute of North America, *Arctic Bibliography*. The former was not completely available, and although the latter would be a good source of information for works in German and Russian, it is believed that most of the works specifically on Eskimo Religion listed there in French and English are included in the present work.

II. *General Works*

This section lists some major works on Religion or Primitive Peoples in general which include references to Eskimo Religion. Their information is largely based on the works of others. These works are included for the purpose of placing the religion of the Eskimos in the context of other religious traditions. Those works which offer extensive information have been cross referenced.

III. *Source Material*

This is the principle section of the bibliography, containing the most important material for the study of Eskimo Religion.

A. *Introductory Works*. The works included in this section are of an introductory nature for the study of Eskimo religion, and are further divided into four parts.

1. *Origin, Pre-history, Neighboring Cultures*. This is the only section containing works which do not deal with Eskimo Religion. They have been included because of their importance for a proper understanding of Eskimo culture in general. Since it is of a peripheral nature, this section is by no means exhaustive; however, it does contain many of the major works on the history

of the Eskimo. The works on neighboring cultures (the Aleuts and some tribes from Northeastern Asia only) deal mostly with religion and are given in order to compare their religion with that of the Eskimos.

2. *Accounts of Explorers, Missionaries, etc.* Works listed in this section are those which do not deal solely with the Eskimo, but because the authors lived near or among the Eskimos they do offer valuable information for the study of Eskimo Religion. These works were mostly written for other purposes; they include accounts of Eskimo Religion along with the accounts of the authors' other activities. Because of the massive amount of material which could be included under this heading, this section is not exhaustive. However, most of the important works have been listed. Where possible, page numbers of the most relevant sections are given.

3. *General Works on Eskimos.* The works in this section deal solely or mostly with Eskimos, but were not written for the purpose of furthering the academic study of Eskimo Culture. Included are works by people who have lived among the Eskimos or by Eskimos themselves. Many were written for general readers, however, they contain valuable information of a first-hand nature on the religious beliefs and practices of the Eskimos.

4. *Studies in Eskimo Culture.* This section contains works of a more academic nature on Eskimo culture. They are the results of field-work by Anthropologists or Ethnologists, or are compilations of information collected by others. They differ from the previous categories in that they were written specifically for scholarly purposes and deal only with Eskimos.

The rest of the bibliography contains the more specific works on Eskimo Religion, and are listed in categories which should be self explanatory. It is hoped that the system of categorization used will enable researchers to find works which have been done in any area of Eskimo Religion easily and quickly.

OUTLINE

III. Source Material.
  A. Introductory Works.
    1. Origin, Pre-history, Neighboring Cultures.
    2. Accounts of Explorers, Missionaries, etc.
    3. General Works on Eskimos.
    4. Studies in Eskimo Culture.
  B. Eskimo Religion in General.
  C. Collections of Myths and Songs.
  D. Specific Aspects of Eskimo Religion.
    1. Ritual.
    2. Mythology.
    3. Shamanism.
    4. Art.
    5. Burial Customs.
    6. Games.
    7. Miscellaneous.

ABBREVIATIONS

AA	*American Anthropologist.*
AMNH AP	*American Mus. Nat. Hist., Anthropological Papers.*
AMNH Bull.	" " " " *Bulletin.*
AMNH Mem.	" " " " *Memoirs.*
APUA	*Anthropological Papers, University of Alaska.*
BAE AR	*Bureau of American Ethnology, Annual Report.*
BAE Bull.	" " " " *Bulletin.*
CHR	*Canadian Historical Review.*
ICA	*International Congress of Americanists.*
JAFL	*Journal of American Folk-Lore.*
JSA	*Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris.*
JSA B	" " " " " " " *Belgique.*
MoG	*Meddelelser om Gronland.*
NMC Bull.	*National Museum of Canada, Bulletin.*
RCAE	*Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition.*
RFTE	*Report of the Fifth Thule Expedition.*
RJNPE	*Report of the Jesup North Pacific Expedition.*
SWJA	*Southwestern Journal of Anthopology.*

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